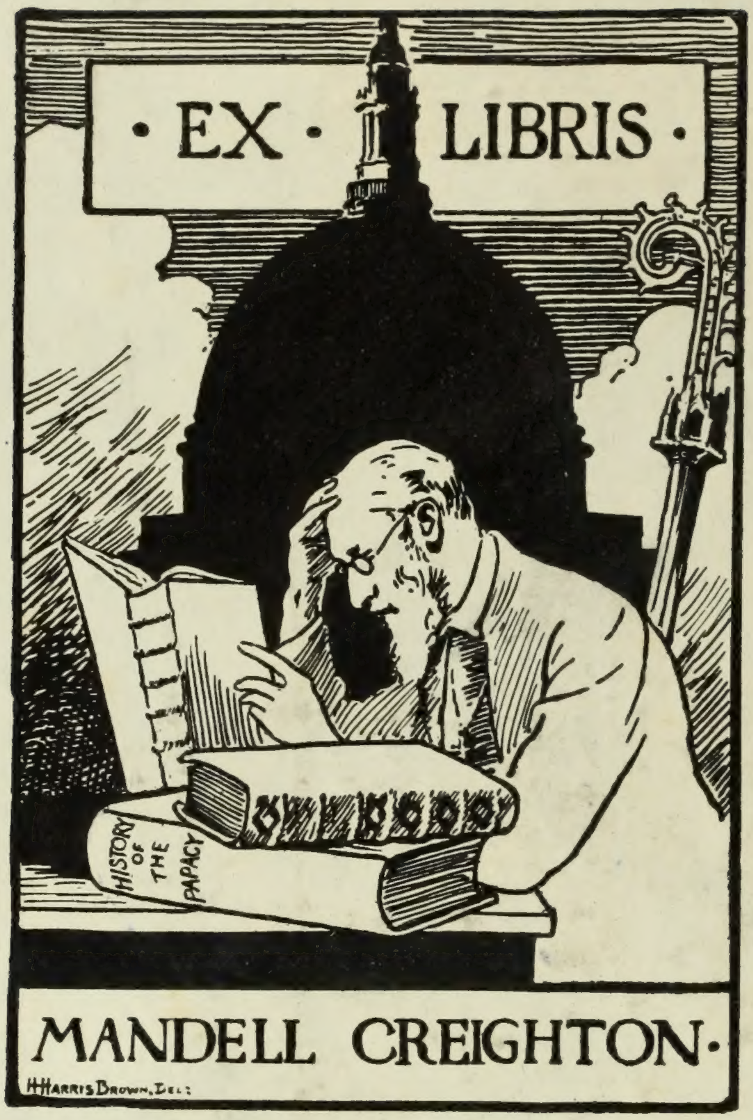

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HISTORY OF THE PAPACY
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INSCRIPTIONES

BRITANNIAE CHRISTIANAE

EDIDIT

AEMILIVS HÜBNER

ADIECTAE SVNT TABVLAE GEOGRAPHICAE DVAE

ACCEDIT
SVPPLEMENTVM INSCRIPTIONVM CHRISTIANARVM
HISPANIAE

MDCCCLXXVI

BEROLINI
APVD
GEORGIVM REIMERVM

LONDINII
APVD
WILLIAMS ET NORGATE

SOCIETATI

ANTIQVARIORVM LONDINIENSI

D · D

SCRIPTOR

HONORIS IN SE CONLATI MEMOR

PRAEFATIO.

CONSILIUM OPERIS

1. In omnibus imperii Romani provinciis praeter priorum saeculorum monumenta etiam aevi christiani reliquiae servatae sunt. Itaque mirum sane foret, si Britannia provincia, cuius condicionem a reliquarum imperii Romani provinciarum ea in re minime diversam fuisse constat, eius generis monumentis careret sola. Tamen dudum observatum est a viris doctis titulos aevi christiani inscriptos eius modi, quales abundant in Italia et in Gallia et in aliis provinciis, in patria imperatoris Constantini omnino repertos esse nullos. Ne ipsius quidem Constantini eorumque qui post eum fuerunt imperatorum ibi monumenta supersunt multa. Miliaria enim septem tantum eorum nominibus inscripta aetatem tulerunt; praeterea versiculi aliquot pavimentis tessellatis inserti nonnullaque inscripta instrumento quod dicere consuevimus domestico, massis plumbi ponderibus vasculis. Nummi contra aevi Constantiniani etiam in Britannia inventi sunt non pauci. Aedes deinde aediculasve christianas ibi extitisse conditas iam ante provinciam a Romanis relictam testimoniis scriptorum aequalium ipsisque earum reliquiis probatur. Tamen qui nuper quidquid de eis sciri posset conposuerunt plenissime Arthurus W. Haddan iam vita functus et Guilelmus Stubbs professor Oxoniensis libro utilissimo *Councils and ecclesiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland* cet. (vol. I Oxonii 1869 8. p. 37) tredecim non amplius eius generis aedificiorum memoriam per totam insulam potuerunt resuscitare. Titulos vero sepulcrales hominum christianorum atque operum publicorum privatorumve a christianis factorum honorarios vel dedicatorios quaeque similia alibi inveniuntur inde a saeculo fere quarto medio litteris mandata frustra in Britannia quaesiveris. At vero ibi quoque, ut in Hispania accidit, peculiare quoddam monumentorum genus in locum titulorum illorum cessit. In eis enim potissimum insulae regionibus, in quibus labante iam potestate Romanorum post barbarorum incursiones cum fide christiana etiam sermonis Latini usus servatus est, reperta sunt monumenta non pauca sepulcralia maximam partem, quae cum ab Romanae aetatis titulis christianis omnino diversa sint, in syllogen inscriptionum Britanniae Latinarum, quam septimum corporis inscriptionum Latinarum Berolinensis volumen continet a me editum consilio et auctoritate academiae regiae Borussicae a. MDCCCLXXIII, recipi non potuerunt; ut ibi monui suis locis (p. 13. 44. 186).

Itaque invitus sane, sed obtemperans sensui cuidam officii a re ipsa mihi inpositi in hunc campum descendi tenebricosum atque philologo, qui in litterarum antiquarum clara luce versari soleat, paene ignotum. Neque vero temere hoc feci. Nam postquam syllogen titulorum Britannicorum maiorem absolvi, speravi fore ut alii existerent in ipsa Britannia homines harum rerum gnari, qui mihi syllogae huius christianae edendae otium facturi sint. Quae spes postquam fefellit, tum demum opus hoc aggressus sum atque ad finem perduxi. Turpe enim fore putavi, si hanc

operam quamvis satis inpeditam utpote alienam a studiis meis in me suscipere aspernarer, praesertim cum similem in Hispanicis christianis praestiterim non sine fructu, ut puto. Nam quibus titulorum paganorum in Britannia repertorum corpus tradidi homines doctos tam Britannos quam exteros etiam christianorum hanc syllogen a me exigere posse persuasum habui. Atque ut praeter artis antiquae opera primaria etiam opificum figmenta vilia plerumque servamus in museis, ut praeter titulos inscriptos nobilioris notae non dedignamur in syllogarum ordinem recipere etiam exilia illa domesticae supellectili inscripta, ignari saepe cuinam ea aliquando utilitatem possint afferre, ita etiam monumenta haec in confinio quasi antiquitatis recentiorisque aevi posita secundum artis nostrae leges recensere atque inlustrare operae pretium est; nihil enim antiqui a nobis alienum esse existimamus. Existent fortasse inter Britannos atque inter nostrates qui hominem peregrinum in hanc provinciam temere insiluisse conclamaturi sint; quos ego contemnam candido iudicio optimorum virorum, quibuscum amicitia iam diuturna iungor, hanc meam operam cum fide permittens.

Qua opera mea quid profecerim aut certe voluerim proficere ut plane perspiceretur, seorsum exposui in paragraphis huius praefationis quae secuntur de titulis ipsis, de auctoribus eorum, de ordine quo eos proposui, de regionibus e quibus prodierunt, de generibus eorum temporibusque, deinde de nominibus, de formulis, de carminibus, de signis et symbolis quae in eis reperiuntur, denique de sermonis itemque de litteraturae quibus utuntur proprietatibus.

TITULI

2. Vetusta videtur fuisse consuetudo earum potissimum gentium, quas Celticae originis esse probabile est, sepulcra tumulosve hominum defunctorum, qui quidem prae ceteris conspicui fuerint vel dignitate vel opibus, ornandi lapidibus altis magnisque supra ea erectis, quibus nomina illorum inscriberent. Atque apud Astures Callaecosque Hispaniae ipsorum adeo virorum imagines rudes solebant exculpi nominaque defunctorum inscribi in lumbis earum (cf. C. I. L. II 2462 2519). Apud Celtas Italiae septentrionalis lapides item rudis operis aliquot reperti sunt et ipsi nominibus mortuorum inscripti, at contra morem Romanum non ita, ut a stante de plano recte legi possint; lege enim certa nulla, ut videtur, aut sursum deorsum aut versa vice scriptura procedit. Vidi ego eius generis cippum magnum et satis, ut apparebat, vetustum (i. e. aevo fere Augusti adscribendum), qui repertus est ad Alpium radices in agro inter Durias duas atque servatur Eporediae (quae hodie *Ivrea* est), inscriptum ita (C. I. L. V 6903):

VELAGENVS
ATILIF

Similes videntur esse in Valle Ossolae repertus unus (C. I. L. V 6650) duoque item agri Duriensis (6907 6908), inscripti et ipsi solis defunctorum nominibus rudesque admodum. Ex ipsa Gallia eiusdem generis cippi vetusti nondum innotuerunt, quantum quidem resciscere potui ab amico eo, qui in Galliae titulis conligendis occupatus est. Sed potest conparari aliqua ratione statua Galli hominis armati reperta apud Montem Draconis in Valle clausa, servata in museo Avenionensi (cf. C. R. Smith collectanea antiqua V 1858 p. 37 et *revue archéologique* XVI 1867 p. 69 ss. tab. XIII). Recentiore autem aetate, i. e. saeculo fere septimo posteriore, in Britannia Gallica cippi crucesque in sepulcris solebant erigi prorsus eadem atque in insulis Britannicis ratione; qua de

re adscripsi infra integrum viri docti alicuius Francogalli testimonium[1]). Cippos igitur sepulcrales vel potius pilas lapideas rudes inscriptas ea fere ratione, qua inscriptus est lapis Eporediensis, tum etiam recentioris aetatis ratione solita inscriptas, deinde cruces tam simplices quam variis ornamentis ornatas itemque inscriptas, quae in Britanniae variis regionibus repertae sunt, ducentas plus minus, quibus accedunt alius generis de quibus infra dicetur accuratius monumenta multo pauciora, scilicet triginta plus minus, in hac sylloge conposui.

3. Conlegerunt, ut consentaneum est, hos quoque titulos homines non pauci Britanni ea sedulitate, eo patriae amore, ea in rebus illis gerendis liberalitate, quibus vetustioris aetatis monumenta Romana in Britannia conlecta edita servata esse in maioris syllogae praefatione demonstravi. Atque antiquissimis iam titulorum Britannorum conlectoribus quaedam eius generis monumenta nota fuerunt, Lelandio dico et Camdeno, inter cuius amicos Franciscus Godwin episcopus Landavensis ea suppeditavit; inde in Orellii syllogen pauca eorum translata sunt (N. 92 = Or. 2778; N. 106 = Or. 2779). Primarius rerum Cambricarum scriptor Edwardus Llwyd, qui saeculo XVII vixit, multa huius quoque generis monumenta primus descripsit. Aliquanto deinde plura a singularum regionum historiographis, quales abundare notum est inter Britannos, ex locis ubi extant abditis plerumque protracta et operibus illorum inserta sunt. Raro autem eius generis libros patrios fines excedere rariusque etiam ab eis legi, quorum interest monumenta illa novisse, inter omnes constat. Nuper demum consociata multorum opera, quae quantas vires habeat non in vitae publicae privataeve tantum rationibus totiens conpertum est, plenius illa quoque monumenta conquiri et inlustrari coepta sunt. Inter societates enim varias Britannicas, quibus in res vetustas inquirere propositum est, cum interdum reliquae veluti antiquariorum Londiniensis, institutum archaeologicum Britannicum, associatio quae vocatur archaeologica, Archaeologia Aeliana et Archaeologia Scotica, generis illius monumenta proposuissent, tum quae Cambriae quae dicitur sive Galliae Britannicae vel principatus Wallensis historiam et antiquitates praecipue colendas sibi sumpsit, Archaeologia Cambrensis, inde ab anno fere huius saeculi quadragesimo quinto in voluminibus actorum, quae publici iuris facta sunt nunc iam triginta numero, lapides illos indagandos inscriptos et edendos curavit. E sociis autem eius societatis praeter iam vita functos aliquot, veluti Henricum Longueville Jones aliosque, duo inprimis extiterunt viri docti provectioris aetatis alter, alter iuvenis, qui de titulis Cambriae potissimum christianis bene meriti sunt, IOH. O. WESTWOOD professor Oxoniensis et IOH. RHYS Rhylensis.

AUCTORES

Atque Westwoodius quidem, qui iam in libro suo Palaeographia sacra pictoria inscripto (*being a series of illustrations of the ancient versions of the bible* cet. Londinii 1843—1845 4.) et in aliis operibus palaeographicis accuratum eius modi rerum arbitrum sese praestiterat,

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[1]) R. F. Le Men in *revue archéologique* XXIX 1875 p. 89: *à une époque ancienne, peut-être au VIIIe, au IXe ou au Xe siècle, il était d'usage en Basse-Bretagne, comme en Écosse, en Irlande, dans le pays des Galles et dans la Cornouaille anglaise, de marquer la sépulture des personnages importants par une longue pierre plantée, ayant la forme d'une pyramide ou d'un cône tronqué. Ces pierres étaient souvent cannelées de haut-en-bas dans tout leur pourtour. Elles étaient quelquefois surmontées d'une croix de pierre. Souvent aussi une croix pattée était gravée en creux sur une de leurs faces. Rarement, en Bretagne surtout, elles portaient une inscription qui faisait connaître le nom du défunt. Le département de Morbihan possède quelques-unes de ces inscriptions qui sont fort intéressantes. On désigne actuellement ces pierres, en Bretagne, sous le nom de Lec'hs. Elles sont excessivement nombreuses, principalement dans le Finistère et dans le Morbihan.*

cum in variis Archaeologiae Cambrensis voluminibus singulos titulos christianos Cambricos a se depictos edidit et inlustravit, tum integram eorum syllogen sese parare nuntiavit in altero quod edidit volumine palaeographico ita inscripto *Facsimile's of the miniatures of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts* cet. (Londinii 1868 fol. p. 149). Itaque ego cum in eo esset ut syllogen meam inscriptionum Britanniae Latinarum in schedis absolutam typothetis describendam traderem (quinquennium nunc iam inde ab eo tempore elapsum est), circumspicere coepi atque per amicos sciscitari, Westwoodii illam syllogen christianarum quando in lucem prodituram esse probabile esset. Responsum tuli (quod postea confirmatum vidi variis Archaeologiae Cambrensis locis, ser. IV 2, 1871 p. 206 344; 3, 1872 p. 73 166; 4, 1873 p. 107), nondum sufficere eorum qui inpensam operis splendide inlustrandi ferrent numerum. Sed in Westwoodii sylloga illa earum tantum inscriptionum imagines, quae ad Cambriam propriam spectant, additis praeterea solis Dumnoniensibus, si recte intellexi, accurate depictae proditurae sunt, omissis omnibus, quae ad reliquas Britanniae regiones pertinent; deinde opus illud tam pretio quam ratione universa, qua argumentum tractabitur, huic nostro usui, ut certo licet augurari, minus accommodatum erit. Itaque si tandem aliquando prodibit, cuius rei nondum omnem spem abiciendam esse nuper audivi (cf. Archaeologia Cambrensis ser. IV 6, 1875 p. 378), equidem valde laetabor. Interim scriptor, qua est humanitate, intercedente Maximiliano Muellero, quem utraque civem sibi vindicat Germania atque Britannia, non dedignatus est schedas meas ad se transmissas accurate perlegere atque e copiis suis hic inde augere, adnotationibus quas ego subministraveram ipse postea identidem usus.

Westwoodius titulorum in Cambria repertorum longe plurimos investigavit depinxit inlustravit; ego si plures aliquot exhibeo quam ille adhuc edidit multosque eorum emendatiores, debetur id Iohanni Rhys, socio olim conlegii Mertonensis, quod Oxonii est, nunc in *Rhyl* oppido Cambriae septentrionalis degenti ludisque puerorum inspiciendis a regina Britannorum praefecto. Westwoodius enim quamvis docte et accurate titulos descripserit, tamen linguae vetustae Celtarum ignarus hic illic erravit necessario; Rhysius autem ab eius linguae studio profectus ad monumenta patria accessit atque in tractandis eis non antiquarium, sed grammaticum se agere confessus est ubique. Propter hanc unam rem magnam eum laudem meruisse concedent quicunque quanta ignorantia, ne dicam inpudentia, linguae eius reliquiae a multis ibi soleant explicari non ignorant. Itaque ille traditae titulorum lectioni diffidens ipsa monumenta per Cambriae valles invias sparsa indagavit viator indefessus atque itineris eius epigraphici primi narrationem edidit in ephemeride *the Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald* dierum 29 m. Nov. et 6 m. Dec. a. 1873 (unde seorsum expressa prodiit inscripta *the early inscribed stones of Wales*, Carnarvon 1873 p. 12 4.; cf. *revue Celtique* 2, 1875 p. 280; libellum commercio non traditum scriptoris benevolentiae acceptum refero); postea similiter (in Archaeologia Cambrensi ser. IV 4, 1873 p. 74 ss.; 5, 1874 p. 21 ss.; 6, 1875 p. 359 ss. alibi) reliquas Cambriae atque etiam Dumnoniorum (*Cornwall* et *Devon*) regiones rogatu meo peragravit titulorum describendorum causa. Is huic syllogae meae operam praestitit constantem acrem fructuosam, plagulas singulas priusquam inpressae sunt perlegit et emendavit, additamenta subministravit. Quo minus ipse Britanniam tertium adirem ut titulos illos nullo certo loco conlectos ipse inspicerem, prohibebant rationes meae: quae res ne obstaret fidei, qua tituli repraesentandi erant, Rhysii officiosa sollertia effecit paene sola.

Quos praeter duces hosce primarios secutus sum scriptores varios, eorum libros schedasve enumeravi maximam partem in praefatione capitis ad Cambriam spectantis in sylloge Britannica

maiore (p. 43); unde ad eius voluminis indicem auctorum (p. X ss.) lectores sunt relegandi. Quos ibi nondum nominavi, eorum nequid desideraretur elenchum subiunxi huic praefationi.

In Scoticis recensendis duces potissimum secutus sum societatis archaeologicae Scoticae acta maiora minoraque et opus splendidum eiusdem societatis cura editum ab Iohanne Stuart *Sculptured stones of Scotland*, cuius vol. I a. 1856, vol. II a. 1866 Edinburgi prodiit.

Singulari deinde gratissimi animi significatione ei viri mihi prosequendi sunt, qui quod iam fecerant ex parte dum in maiore sylloge edenda occupatus eram, huic quoque minori praestiterunt, scilicet ut sciscitanti mihi de singulis monumentis deve libris schedisque responderent plenissime et accuratissime; illi enim effecerunt, ut aliqua cum confidentia spondere possem quaecunque alicuius momenti essent ad hoc monumentorum genus inlustrandum me non neglexisse. Itaque honoris causa hic nomino viros doctissimos A. W. Franks, A. S. Murray, E. M. Thompson, C. K. Watson Londinienses, I. Kenrick et I. Raine Eburacenses, I. Wordsworth Oxoniensem, W. Greenwell Dunelmensem, H. M. Scarth olim Aquensem, I. C. Bruce Aelianensem, H. Stuart Edinburgensem.

Exclusi, ut par erat, Hibernica; nam Romanae tantum provinciae monumenta atque Latinae linguae in ea usum indaganda mihi proposui. Hiberniam vero nunquam in provinciae formam redactam fuisse constat. Praeterea siqui cum Britannicis conparare volent Hibernica, invenient quae huc pertineant, ut libros vetustiores omittam, in actis academiae regiae Hibernicae tam maioribus (*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* voll. 24 a. 1787 ad 1873 4.) quam minoribus (*Proceedings* cet. voll. 10 a. 1841 ad 1870), item in societatum Hibernicarum ephemeridibus (veluti in *the Ulster journal of archaeology* voll. 9 a. 1853 ad 1862 4. et in *the journal of the Kilkenny archaeological society* ser. I voll. 3, 1849—1855, quae ter nomen mutavit, deinde enim *the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland archaeological society* ser. II voll. 6, 1856 ad 1867, porro *the journal of the historical and archaeological association of Ireland, originally founded as the Kilkenny archaeological society* ser. III vol. unicum a. 1868—1869, postremo *the journal of the Royal historical and archaeological association of Ireland* voll. 2, 1870 ad 1875, dicta est), deinde in Georgii Petrie operibus (*the ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland anterior to the Anglo-Norman invasion* cet., quod est volumen transactionum academiae regiae Hibernicae vicensimum a. 1845 4.; et *christian inscriptions in the Irish language chiefly collected and drawn by G. P., edited by Miss Stokes*, Dublinii a. 1872 4.). Parat praeterea academia Hibernica corpus titulorum Hibernicorum litteris Celticis scriptorum, de quibus infra dicendum erit, eiusque corporis cura mandata est, ut audio, Samueli Ferguson (cf. *the Academy* a. 1875 p. 219).

Omisi denique item quaecunque monumenta Runicis litteris inscripta in Britannia extabant paucis eis exceptis, quae cum Latinis mixta inventa sunt neque recte ab illis potuerunt segregari (n. 184 189 190). Conlegisse ea notum est Georgium Stephens Havniensem in voluminibus inscriptis *The Old-northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England* (Londinii et Havniae vol. I 1866 ad 1867, vol. II 1867 ad 1868 fol.).

In Runica et Anglosaxonica, quae item exclusi, ut consentaneum est, inquisivit non sine fructu Daniel Henricus Haigh presbyter Erdingtonensis in scriptis variis (*Notes on the history of S. Begu and S. Hild; and on some relics of antiquity discovered in the sites of the religious establishments founded by them*, Hartlepool s. a. pp. 40 et VII 8.: *cryptic inscriptions on the cross at Hackness in Yorkshire* in ephemeride archaeologica Kilkennensi ser. II 2, 1858 p. 170 ss.; *the Monasteries of S. Heiu and S. Hild* in *the Yorkshire archaeological and topogra-*

phical journal vol. III p. 349 ss.; *the Runic monuments of Northumbria, a paper read at the meeting of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire, at the Cutler's Hall, Sheffield, on Friday, April 29, 1870* pp. 40 8.), quae omnia debeo scriptoris benevolentiae; idem de aliis quoque rebus quaerenti mihi nunquam defuit. Recepi tamen ex titulis illis eos, qui bilingues sunt sive potius admixtis vocabulis Latinis concepti (ut n. 178 179 180 181 184) quique habiti sunt pro Latinis (ut n. 16 170 187), denique qui tam Latini esse possunt quam barbari (ut n. 168 174 189 190 212 213 223*a* 224); ii enim omnes in vicem sese explicant atque propterea a Latinis commode separari non possunt. Ceterum malui in hisce peccare plura recipiendo quam poterat expectari quam omittendo quae fortasse desiderarentur.

Nomina hominum, quae in titulis leguntur, Celticae originis esse pleraque infra apparebit. Itaque ne eius linguae ignarus errarem in legendis illis neve peccarem in scribendis locorum nominibus noviciis auxilium petii Hermanni Ebel, conlegae quondam clarissimi, quem inter eius linguae peritos primarium obtinuisse locum notum est, facileque inpetravi ab eius humanitate. Sed posteaquam primas huius voluminis paginas inpressas legerat, acerbo fato litteris nobisque ereptus est. In errores graviores ne inciderem Iohannis Rhys peritia cavit; Ebelii doctrinam in reliquiis hisce tractandis desiderari quibus haec cordi sunt mecum semper lugebunt.

Ordo titulorum

4. Disposui autem titulos ordinem secutus geographicum eundem fere atque in opere maiore. Scilicet a regionibus insulae maxime versus meridiem occidentemque sitis incipiens, quae fuerunt Dumnoniorum olim, hodie comitatus sunt *Cornwall*, *Devon* et *Dorset*, transii primum ad principatum Walliae sive Cambriam. Quae cum titulos omnium insulae regionum plurimos servaret, singulos eius comitatus ita percensui, ut a meridionalibus *Brecon* et *Glamorgan* incipiens primum occidentem versus procederem ad *Caermarthen* et *Pembroke*; deinde oram orientalem secutus comitatus *Cardigan* cum *Montgomery*, porro *Merioneth, Caernarvon* cum *Anglesey* paeninsula, *Denbigh* denique et *Flint* septentrionales inlustrarem. Casu fortasse accidit, ut ex eis Cambriae comitatibus, quae Britanniae reliquae adiacent, nulli adhuc tituli innotuerint[1]); sed exploratio earum regionum adhuc nequaquam perfecta est. In singulis comitatibus eadem quoad fieri potuit via progressus sum. Appendix quasi Cambriae *Man* insula est, cuius unum tantum titulum novi. Multo pauciora monumenta eius quod inlustrandum mihi proposui generis reliquae Britanniae regiones omnes ab ora inde meridionali usque ad fines Caledoniae continent. Earum igitur titulos uno omnes conprehendi capite incipiens a singularibus, qui in *Hants*, *Kent*, *Gloucester*, *Sussex*, *Cambridgeshire* reperti sunt, progressus deinde per comitatum Lindensem ad Eburacensem et ad palatinatum Dunelmensem, qui inter huius partis regiones titulos plurimos exhibent, atque in Northumbriae paucis quibusdam desinens. Quod sequitur caput Caledoniae titulos proponit item non multos. Claudunt agmen more nobis consueto inscriptiones aliquot adscriptae instrumento domestico, vasculis lamminis annulis tegulis lucernis et quae sunt similia. Eis accedere volui sarcophagi lignei, supellectilis, vestimentorum sancti Cuthberti titulos in sepultura eius Dunelmi repertos.

Diligentissimos et fuisse paene semper et esse hodie quam maxime homines Britannos

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[1]) Cf. I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 11: '*it appears that the Welsh counties bordering on England are all but entirely devoid of ancient inscriptions. Are we to suppose there never existed any in them, or that wars between the Welsh and the English occasioned their destruction? It is to be hoped that the Powysland Club will make a diligent search for early inscribed stones in the counties of Montgomery and Radnor*'.

in monumentis patriis indagandis servandis explicandis supra iam praedicavi. Itaque conplura huius generis monumenta adhuc latere in universum probabile non est. Ego ne qua omitterem qua potui diligentia cavi, adiutus amicorum, quos supra laudavi, diligentia indefessa. Nova quaedam sine dubio aliquando accedent; quae conlegi necesse est sufficiant ad tentandam sane interpretationem secundum artis leges instituendam.

Pauca quaedam quae iam exhibui in sylloge maiore putavi repetenda esse (n. 31 185), quod feci additis hic imaginibus; item supellectilis domesticae quaedam hic redeunt aucta (n. 217 220 222 223 228). Alia quae fortasse potuerunt iterum recipi (C. I. L. VII 1264 1267 1271 al.) omisi sciens.

A fraudibus epigraphicis fere liberam mansisse Britanniam praedicavi item iam in maiore volumine; tamen appendicem addere commodum visum est trifariam divisam. Primum enim tituli non pauci falso pro christianis habiti conponendi erant, ne fallerent minus peritos; deinde quos propter aetatem nimis recentem non recepi in ordinem nec tamen prorsus omittere volui, ne desiderarentur, pauci adiecti sunt; postremo indicavi, non adscripsi, Caledoniae monumenta nonnulla propter litteras Celticas, quae in eis leguntur, ad conparationem apta.

Quod in fine syllogae huius quamvis non numerosae tamen additamenta ponenda erant, id altera ex parte debetur Iohannis Rhys, ut dixi, sollertiae; is enim quae post plagulas singulas inpressas ei innotuerunt nova continuo mecum communicavit ea quam ab homine ingenuo expectaveris liberalitate. Altera additamentorum pars originem duxit ex humana inbecillitate; observavi enim sero, ut solet fere accidere, quaedam aliter aut legenda esse aut explicanda ac feci antea.

5. Regiones et loca, quibus singuli huius syllogae tituli reperti sunt, siquis consideraverit depicta in tabulis geographicis duabus, quas Heinrici Kieperti nostri doctrina huic volumini ornamento esse voluit, haec statim ultro observabit. Primum in eis potissimum regionibus christianos titulos repertos esse apparet, quae paganis fere carent. Nam in Dumnoniis et in Cambria, si miliaria nonnulla exceperis quaeque hic illic ex castris Romanis prodierunt, nulla fere extant vitae Romanae testimonia; quae abundant in reliquis insulae regionibus, atque in eis praesertim quae sunt ab Eburaco versus septentriones sitae, ubi inde a Traiani fere temporibus per saecula aerae nostrae alterum tertiumque militare provinciae robur sedem praecipuam habuisse constat. In Caledonia quoque extra valli Antoniniani castella aliaque quaedam eius generis praesidia tituli perpauci tantum reperti sunt. Apparet igitur recte titulos christianos omnino separari a paganis Britanniae Romanae, quibuscum ne locorum quidem ubi olim conlocati fuerunt vinculo coniuncti sunt. Deinde vero illud alterum tabulae geographicae docent, scilicet omnino fere non in oppidis vetustis extitisse titulos illos christianos plerosque, si paucas exceperis ecclesiarum dedicationes in coloniis Lindensi [1]) et Eburacensi repertas et alia quaedam similia in reliquis Britanniae regionibus servata, sed sparsos fuisse vicatim fere sive potius per montes vallesque regionum earum, quas Romanae provinciae mores institutaque vix unquam videntur attigisse. Nata est inde ei, cuius peritiae tabulas geographicas meas deberi dixi, molestia non levis locorum illorum notationes interdum ambiguas perquirendi et

REGIONES

[1]) Inter nomina episcoporum actis concilii Arelatensis a. 314 subscripta iuxta Eburacensis et Londiniensis dioecesis episcopos etiam *Adelfius* aliquis *episcopus de civitate colonia Londinensium* nominatur. Scribendum est *Lindensium,* non *Legionensium,* ut proposuerunt Haddan et Stubbs I p. 7; civitas enim Legionensis nunquam colonia fuit.

describendi. Itaque ipsa iam conlocatione monumenta haec quodam modo demonstrant diversam fuisse eorum ad quos pertinent condicionem ab reliquorum provinciae Romanae incolarum.

Genera titulorum

6. Eodem ducit varietas vel potius aequalitas titulorum si genera eorum respicimus obvia. Etenim sepulcrales sunt tantum non omnes, videlicet erecti, ut supra monui alibi etiam apud Celticae originis gentes observatum esse, contra communem hominum inferioris condicionis consuetudinem, altioris tantum ut apparet dignitatis viris mulieribusque in locis plerumque solitariis, qui electi videntur esse propter causas privatas nobisque ignotas. Mulierum monumenta rariora esse quam virorum non est quod miremur (cf. n. *7 [1]) *10 *55 101 112 121 125 *137 162); interdum mulieris cum viri memoria coniuncta est (n. 99 130 150 153 *156). Alius generis tituli ex eis regionibus, quas supra dixi maximum titulorum illorum numerum exhibere, Dumnonios et Cambriam, paene nulli prodierunt. Sunt autem hi: mensa altaris (n. 8), putealia duo (n. 33 129, hoc ligneum), sella lapidea e viva rupe facta (n. 90), tabula sepulcralis una (n. 37), omnia satis recentia; deinde versus pavimento tessellato inscripti (n. 31), qui quamvis christianae originis ideoque in hanc syllogen recipiendi magis tamen pertinent ad vitam provincialem. Caledonici quoque tituli plerique sepulcrales sunt. E reliquis tantum Britanniae regionibus praeter sepulcrales tituli aliquot dedicatorii proferri potuerunt a ceteris illis scriptura tempore ratione omnino diversi. Tales sunt dedicationes illae ecclesiarum, quas dixi, Lindensis (n. 170), Eburacensis (n. 175), in *Jarrow* extans (n. 198); bases deinde variae, quibus cruces inponebantur (n. 171 173 176 182—184 186 187 199 204); denique horologia solaria hominum Anglosaxonum (n. 168 179 180 181). Verum est inter Cambriae Dumnoniorumque titulos recentiores cruces quoque esse inscriptas (veluti n. 6 22 61 62 63 66 67 74 103 160); sed sunt illae cum sepulcralibus vetustioribus earundem regionum aliquanto artiore vinculo coniunctae, ut infra apparebit.

Prorsus singularis est titulus n. 185; quanquam enim interpretationis adhuc incertissimae, tamen aperte ad castrum aliquod Romanum saeculi quinti sextive spectat.

Tempora

7. Temporum autem notas, quas cum maxime desideramus, si titulis recte uti volumus, statim fatendum est deesse in eis paene omnibus. Conposui quidem in indice altero (infra p. 93) temporum aliquot indicationes, quas aut certo aut probabiliter licet ex titulis quibusdam derivare. Sed pertinent eae ad reliquas potissimum Britanniae regiones et ad instrumentum domesticum, quinque tantum exceptis (n. 62 120 130 149 160). Illae autem quinque, simodo certae sunt, hoc tantum docent, inter saecula a septimo ad nonum fere cadere monumenta ad quae pertinent; quod aliunde satis constat. Quaeritur possitne etiam titulorum reliquorum temporum notis omnino carentium, qui plurimi sunt, aetas aliqua sane cum probabilitate paullo accuratius definiri. Tria sunt, unde talis quaestio ordiri potest: res in titulis memoratae, sermo eorum, litterarum formae. Deinde consentaneum videtur esse ad Romanum morem magis accedere titulos christianos vetustiores, minus cum illis similitudine coniunctos esse recentiores. Ita ut quo magis a vetusto more titulus aliquis recedat argumento lingua litteratura, eo fere recentior habendus esse videatur. Quae tamen observatio, ut in universum sane probabilitatis numeros omnes in se habet, certis finibus est circumscribenda. Hoc ut recte fiat, infra primum

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[1]) Asterisco notavi monumenta lectionis interpretationisve incertae.

rationem eam consideremus necesse est, qua nomina defunctorum in titulis plerumque, ut dixi, sepulcralibus inscripta sunt; reliqua deinceps postea examinabimus.

In titulis christianis Hispanicis edendis eam secutus sum rationem, ut qui certas ob causas, quales ibi facile deprehendas, saeculo circiter octavo antiquiores habendi sunt tituli, eos una exhiberem in priore operis parte, reliquos vero omnes, utpote saeculo octavo fere recentiores, conicerem in appendicem. Ea divisio etiam in Britannicis quo minus institueretur ipse numerus titulorum non magnus lectorumque commoditas videbantur inpedire; deinde de tempore cui singuli tituli attribuendi sint tam anceps est quaestio tamque lubrica, ut maluerim coniunctos exhibere cum vetustioribus recentiores, quam seiunctis illis de reliquorum aetate nimia cum confidentia iudicare. Seclusi tantum, ut iam monui, paucos eosque recentissimos, reliquos proposui coniunctos, ut hoc demum loco de temporibus aliquanto adcuratius quaererem.

8. Itaque ut incipiamus a nominibus defunctorum, vetusto Romanorum more genetivo casu inscribi solebant filii et patris nomina, veluti in hisce exemplis: NOMINA

Anatemori fili Lovernii n. 147
Bonemimori filli Tribuni n. 13
Camelorigi fili Fannuci n. 95
Caturugi fili Lovernaci n. 231
5 *Conetoci fili Tegernomali* n. 12
Dobunni fili Enabarri n. 25
Etterni fili Victor(is) n. 110
Evali fili Dencui n. 99
Evoleggi fili Litogeni n. 98
10 *Figulini fili Locu . . ei* n. 138
Macaritini fili Berici n. 80
Neprani fili Conbevi n. 27
Quenvendani fili Barcuni n. 91
Sagrani fili Cunotami n. 106
15 *Severini fili Severi* n. 87
Trenegussi fili Macutreni n. 108
*Vailathi fili *Urchani* n. 21
Vinnemagli fili Senemagli n. 157
Ulcagni fili Severi n. 14

Genetivos rustice a nominativis in *is* desinentibus derivatos haec quoque exempla videntur habere:

20 *Icuenali fili Eterni* n. 139
Vitali fili Torrici n. 9

Ne de *Iuvenali* hic cogitemus, quod in promptu est, lapidis imago videtur prohibere.

Nomina peregrina illa reliqua facile possunt desiisse in *us* (*Anatemorus*, *Fannucus* cet.), ut Latina *Eterni Figulini Severini Severi*, aut in *ius*, ut *Lovernius Bonemimorius* (si recte hoc idem esse statui atque *Bonaememorius*); observandum praeterea *fili* genetivum ubique forma contracta scribi secundum vetustam consuetudinem. Si *Bonemimori* et *filli* scripturas unius tituli n. 13 exceperis,

omnia haec tam altero tertiove saeculo scribi potuerunt quam quinto sextove; *Tribuni* forma in eodem titulo non necessario pro *Trebonii* habenda est, sed potest *Tribunus* nomen fuisse.

Contra sermonis Latini legem genetivo casui, quo nomen defuncti positum est, additur *filius* nominativus in hisce:

Barrivendi filius Vendubari n. 88
Boduoci filius Catotigirni n. 71
Cunocenni filius Cunoceni n. 48
Dob . . . . i filius Evolengi n. 109
5 *Dervaci filius Iusti* n. 50
Latini filius Magarii n. 17
**Nemni filius Victorini* n. 45
Solini filius Vendoni n. 111
. . us . . nih . . i filius Cuuri . . cini n. 148

Similis videtur esse pluralis hic:

Nonnita Ercili Viricati tris fili Ercilinci n. 10

ubi *Nonnita* tantum nominativi formam habet. Conparandum cum illo hoc est:

(illi) . . . duo filii Liberali n. 209

Simile etiam hoc:

Cantiori Venedotis cive(s) fuit consobrino(s) Magli magistrati n. 135

Quod ultimum exemplum eo ducit, ut ita fortasse intellegendos esse censeamus titulos hosce:

Barrivendi hoc est sepulcrum; is *filius* fuit *Vendubari*

Nam nomina illa velut *Barrivendi* breviata esse in *i*, sicut gentilicia Romana in *ius* vetusto more in *i* breviabantur, id nemo facile statuet.

Raro defuncti nomen nominativo casu legitur, ut in his:

**Decabarbalom filius Brocagni* n. 113
Tegernacus filius Marti n. 58
Trenacatus filius Maglagni n. 114
Vetta f. Victi n. 211
5 *Ulcagnus fius Senomagli* n. 90

In his primi exempli nomen incertum est. Mulierum vero nomina utrum nominativi an genetivi sint incertum; hoc probabilius:

Oruvite mulier Secundi n. 150
Restece filia Paternini n. 125
Tunccetace uxsor Daari n. 101

Adde hoc:

Evali fili Dencui, Cuniovende mater eius n. 99

Barbare vero interdum aut patris nomen pro genetivi nominativi formam habet, scilicet in his:

Catacus filius Tegernacus n. 35

aut defuncti genetivo, patris nominativo effertur, ut in:

Cnegumi fili Genaius n. 5
**Valci fil. V . . aius* n. 30

aut denique ad nominativum defuncti *fili* genetivus additur, ut in mutilo hoc:

*. . *pugniacio fili Vendoni* n. 49

Nisi in his inverso omnino ordine patris nomen praecedere, defuncti sequi statueris, contra morem. Anceps etiam hoc est:

fili Lovernii Anatemori n. 147

Raro post defuncti nomen patris statim sequitur addito in fine *fili* vel *filius* vocabulo, ut in:

Rialobrani Cunovali fili n. 2

**Drustagni Cunomori filius* n. 20
Quenatauci Dinui filius n. 3

Curcagnus . . . urivi filius n. 85

5 *Broeagan *Nadotti filius* n. 15
**Cilroron Vilici filius* n. 19

In quibusdam nomina nulla omnino flexionis vestigia exhibent, ut:

**Catgug fius Gideo* n. 52
**Hiroidil filius Carotinn* n. 122
**Ianert filius Iacobi* n. 120
**Margeteud f. Eccettey* n. 96

Quae omnia incertae etiam lectionis sunt; similiter in titulo n. 160 leguntur:

Concenn filius Catteli, Catteli filius Brohcmail,
Brohmail filius Eliseg, Eliseg filius Guilloauc

et

. . brituat . . m filius Guarthi

aut addita flexione aut omissa. Mutila denique haec sunt:

Regin . . filius Nuvintii n. 84
Pauli . . . fili Ma . . . . n. 68
. . . . s . . . curi n. 52

In regionibus quibusdam, quas Celticae originis gentes habitaverunt, veluti in Lusitania et Callaecia, Graeco fere more *filius* vocabulum omnino omitti, patris genetivo puro indicari notum est. Eius consuetudinis etiam in Britannia videntur haec extare exempla:

Aviti Noromerti n. 164
Artmali **Tecani* n. 62
Caelexti Monedorigi n. 128
Clotuali Morhatti n. 230
5 **Dixtuidoci Conhinoci* n. 29
Iohannis Moridici n. 44
Saumilini Tovisaci n. 159
Vitaliani Emereto n. 102

Caelexti genetivus est rustice ita pro *Caelestis* scriptus. *Emereto* barbare pro *Emeriti* positum videtur.

Rarius in hoc quoque ordine defuncti nomen nominativo datur, ut in:

Maccu Decceti n. 154
**Obarrus Conburr* n. 152
Tir . . us Catiri n. 54

Nulla vel incerta flexionis vestigia haec habent:

**Alhortu Seimetiaco* n. 146
Briamail Flou n. 40
**Mail Domnc . .* n. 93

Incerti unumne an duo nomina indicentur haeremus in hisce:

Cavoseniargii aut *Cavo Seniargii* n. 133
**Cenlisini* . . . . . n. 118
**Dalucdusnelvi* aut *Daluc Dusnelvi* n. 119

Adde hoc:

Conbellini possuit hanc crucem pro anima eius Scitlivissi n. 67

Non desunt denique, quanquam rariora sunt et in recentioribus fere obvia, defunctorum nomina simplicia aut genetivo casu posita aut nominativo, quae satis est conposuisse in indice VII (p. 94). In reliquis vero omnibus, ubi duo omnino nomina sola exhibeantur, filii cum patris indicari certum est.

Adde exempla haec solitaria, in quibus *pater* nominatur:

anc crucem **Hovelt properabit pro anima* **Res patres eius* n. 63

et

Cantusus pater Paulinus n. 77

ubi alter uter certe nominativus pro genetivo intellegendus est.

Semel tantum praeter patris etiam proavi, non, quod expectaveris, avi nomen additum est:

Boduoci filius Catotigirni, pronepus Eternali Vedomavi n. 71

Eternali genetivus est ab *Aeternalis* nominativo. Semel item alius adfinitatis gradus additur:

Cantiori Venedòtis cive(s) fuit consobrino(s) Magli magistrati n. 135

Interdum autem tertium nomen additur, quod utrum ad filii an ad patris referendum sit non liquet:

Clutorigi fili Paulini Marinilatio n. 97
Mavoh . . fili Lunarchi Cocci n. 233
Sarini fili Macco Decheti n. 26
Turpilli puueri Triluni Dunocati n. 34

In his *Marini latio* fuerunt qui dividerent in duo vocabula; magis videtur pro genetivi forma barbara habendum esse. *Puueri* videtur filium puerum indicare, non servum. Cum *Macco Decheti* nominibus conponenda *Maccu Decceti* n. 154. Accedunt exempla haec, primum incertae lectionis:

Salvianus Bursocavi filius Cupetian n. 132
Talori Adventi Maqueragi filius n. 83

Deinde:

Meli Medici fili Martini n. 142

in quo etiam de medico cogitari potest. Item filii vocabulo omisso haec exempla extant:

**Biadi Acibogibe . . . Ve . . . .* n. 89
Fanoni Maquirini Sagranui n. 24

In quorum altero *Sagranui* in parte lapidis postica scriptum est, ut num omnino cum anticae nominibus coniungendum sit non liqueat. Nomina duplicia praeterea haec observantur:

Corbalengi Ordous n. 115
Eternali Vedomavi n. 71
Punpeius Carantorius n. 69

Venedotis cives cum dicatur fuisse Cantiorus ille et *Ordous* Corbalengus, de *Venedotes* et *Ordovices* populorum nominibus (vide quae de Venedotia adnotavi ad n. 135) cogitare pronum erat. Sed utrum *Carantorius Cocci Cupetian Decheti Dunocati Maqueragi Marinilatio Medici Sagranui *Ve . . . Vedomavi* item pro gentis populive nominibus habenda sint valde dubitandum est. Rarissime in his titulis defunctorum quales condiciones fuerint dum vita fruuntur indicatum est (v. indicem VI p. 94), si exceperis incertae interpretationis titulum n. 185; itaque nomina illa duplicia omnia certe ad patrias indicandas addita esse vix est probabile.

Nomenclaturae huius Britannicae legem peregrinam omnino esse, non Romanam, adparet. Rara etiam sunt Latinae originis nomina, veluti *Adventus* n. 83 *Avitus* n. 164 *Caelextis* n. 128 *Cupetianus*? n. 132 *Emeretus* n. 102 *Eternalis* n. 71 *Eternus Etternus* n. 110 139 *Figulinus* n. 138 *Iustus* n. 50 *Latinus* n. 17 *Liberalis* n. 209 *Martinus* n. 142 *Martius* n. 58 *Medicus* n. 142 (si modo

nomen est) *Memor* n. 209 *Nobilis* n. 162 *Nonnita m.*? n. 10 *Nuvintius* (*Noventius*?) n. 84 *Paterninus* n. 125 *Paulinus* n. *68 77 82 97 *173 *Salvianus* n. 132 *Saturninus* n. 153 *Secundus* n. 150 *Senicianus* n. 223 *Severinus* n. 87 *Severus* n. 14 87 *Solinus* n. 111 *Suasa m.*? n. 153 *Tribunus*? n. 13 *Veracius* n. 145 *Victor* n. 110 *Victorinus* n. 45 **Urbicus* n. 60 *Vitalianus* n. 102 *Vitalis* n. 9; item quae per orbem christianum latissime propagata sunt ex sacris scripturis desumpta, velut **Gideo* n. 32 **Iacobus* n. 120 *Iohannes* n. 44 46 *Samson* n. 61 62 *Samuel* n. 61 *Thomas* n. 76, aut quae a christianis hominibus inventa aut saepius usurpata videntur Latina et Graecanica, qualia sunt *Bonemimorius* n. 13 *Bonifatius* n. 221 *Exsuperius* n. 216 *Macaritinus*? n. 210 (cf. *Magarii* n. 17) **Nicholaus* n. 210. *Iustiniani* et *Vindiciani* nomina n. 185 hic non curo; *Turpilli* n. 34 cum Turpiliis Romanis vix conponendum.

In recentioribus titulis quaedam extare originis Anglosaxonicae sive ut nunc iam dicere iubemur Anglicae consentaneum est. Sunt autem haec fere (omissis regum reginarumque nominibus aliunde notis) *Adhuse* n. 178 *Arvini* n. 177 *Berchtgyd m.*[1]) n. 194 *Berchtvini* n. 187 **Bosa m.* n. 183 *Brand* n. 180 *Bregusvid m.* n. 196 *Bugga m.* n. 184 *Ceolfridus* n. 198 *Eatbereht* n. 177 *Edilvini* n. 191 193 **Efrard* n. 175 *Frithburga m.* n. 165 **Genered* n. 16 *Grim* n. 175 *Guthlacus* n. 171 *Haward* n. 180 *Heiu* n. 174 *Hereberecht* n. 197 *Hilddigyth m.* n. 190 *Hilditryth m.* n. 189 *Huaetburga* n. 182 *Huscarl* n. 179 *Lothan* n. 181 **Oindus* n. 169 *Oedilburga* n. 182 183 *Sumarleth* n. 199 *Tortsuid m.*? n. 192 193 *Tosti* n. 180 **Trecea* n. 183 *Vermund* n. 192 193 ... *berehti* n. 200 .. *edveri* n. 200 .. *guguid* n. 196. Quibus accedit fortasse *Vetta f. Victi* n. 209.

Reliqua nomina omnia Celticam originem plus minusve apertam demonstrant. Conposui genera eorum secundum derivationis legem. Nominativorum formae, quas hic adscripsi, coniectura partim incerta nituntur; formas in lapidibus servatas cum numeris indicat index VII.

Catacus Dervacus Lovernacus Seimetiacus Senacus Tegernacus Tovisacus
**Pugniacio*
Maqueragus
*Boduocus Conetocus *Conhinocus *Dixtuidocus*
Fannucus Quenataucus
Restece
Bericus Moridicus Torricus
Camelorigus Clutorigus Monedorigus

Ercilincus
Corbalengus Evolengus (*Evoleggus*)

Cnegumus Corumus Cunotamus

Catamanus Nepranus Quenvendanus Rialobranus Sagranus (*Sagranuus*) *Suanus Tecanus *Vendbanus *Urchanus*
Catuoconus Fanonus Vendonus
Adiune? *Barcunus Dobunus Trilunus* (cf. *Tribunus*)
*Cunocenus Cunocennus Dumnocenus *Fortrenus Litogenus Macutrenus*

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[1]) Littera *m.* mulieres indicantur.

*Carotinnus *Cenlisinus Cuuri . . cinus Maquirinus Potenina Sarinus Saumilinus*
**Nemni*
*Brocagnus Cunegnus *Drustagnus Maglagnus Ulcagnus*
Catotigirnus Lovernius

**Artmalus Cunovalus Evalus Icuenalus* (s. *Icuenalis*?)
Turpillus Senilus
Brohomaglus Senomaglus Senemaglus Vendumaglus Vinnemaglus

Enabarrus Magarius? Vendubarus
Anatemorus Cantiorus Carantorius Culidorus Cunomorus Talorus Velvor m. . . oria
**Annicurus Conburrus?*
Catirus

Carausius
Cantusus Trenegussus
**Scitlivissus*

*Dunocatus Marinilatius? *Morhattus Trenacatus Vailathus Viricatus*
Nadottus Venedotis
**Rugniauto*
Deccetus Dechetus
Nonnita m.?

Bursocavus Conbevus
**Dencuus*
V . . . aius
. . . urivi

Barrivendus Cuniovende m.

Cavoseniargius (s. *Seniargius*) *Lunarchus*

**Noromertus*

Derivationis varietatem fere exhibui; in radices inquirere meum non est. Sed addo vetustiora videri nomina haec praeterea supra iam memorata:

*Coccus Maccus Caune *Hilus Maglus Melus* s. *Melius Daarus *Oria Porius Bandus *Biadus*

Recentiora vero haec extra flexionis Latinae leges posita:

*Catgug *Catuc Conmarch Gaic Guoillauc Gurmarc *Isiug Isnioc Madoc Madug*
Athrywin Broeagan Cilroron Dervon Drosten Eiudon Enniaun Genillin Gurdan Gwenlian m. Gwilym
Briamail Brohcmail s. *Brohmail Hiroidil *Mail*
Ebisar Menhir Wleder m.

*Bledrus Forcus Goreus *Gurgles*
Ahest Doniert Gryffyt Guorgoret Gurhiret Hovelt s. *Hoveint Ianert Iltet *Ipevoret Leriut *Pascent *Sinuit*
Margeteud
Brancuf Odelev
Iuthahelo Nertido
Alhortu Artbeu Flou
Ecettey
Grutne
*Guarthi Gurci *Sefroihi*

Observationes hasce si conprehendimus, illud adparet, a vetusta quadam consuetudine, quae illis Britanniae regionibus peculiaris erat nec tamen multum abhorrebat a Romano more Latinaeque linguae legibus, paullatim degeneravisse nominum titulis inscribendorum rationem. Sola autem nominum ratio non sufficit ad temporis discrimina definienda.

Formulae

9. Ex formularum usu diversis temporibus diversisque regionibus vario non in christianis tantum titulis, sed etiam in paganis, disciplinam epigraphicam non raro testimonia originis aetatisque certa derivasse notum est. Tituli Britannici christiani paene ad unum omnes dixeris unam tantum habere formulam sollemnem, quae est *hic iacet*; ut demonstrat index IX (p. 96). Verbum in titulis vetustioribus plerisque ita flectitur rustice *iacit*; uno enim excepto (n. 146) reliqui omnes, quos *iacet* habere index docet, aut incertae lectionis sunt aut recentes. In *hic* pronomine aspiratio omittitur non infrequenter. Raro adduntur *in hoc tumulo* vel similia, aut *sepultus*; interdum *iacit* solum positum est. Quae alibi frequentes sunt in titulis christianis formulae, veluti *requievit* et *requiescit in pace* et similes, eae a vetustioribus Britannicis absunt omnino (uno fortasse n. 7 excepto; cf. n. 151); semel praeterea *in pace* ad *hic in tumulo iacit* accedit (n. 125). Notatu deinde dignum, quod semel praeter tumuli loci sepulcri mentionem *congeries lapidum* nominatur (n. 136). Similiter vitae anni (exceptis eodem n. 7 et n. 125), condiciones defunctorum, ut supra iam monui, adduntur paene nusquam. Quas alibi reperimus hominum christianorum denominationes, veluti *famulus Christi* et similes, eae quoque hic desiderantur, si exceperis titulum unum (n. 121), in quo extant haec *homo christianus fuit*, alterumque Caledonicum, qui *sanctos et praecipuos sacerdotes* memorat (n. 205). Unius *magistratus* memoria superest (n. 135), qui cuinam rei publicae adscriptus fuerit prorsus ignoratur; praeterea *fabri* unius (n. 25) et fortasse *medici* (n. 142), nisi hoc nomen proprium est. Quam raro cognationis gradus (praeter filii) memorentur indicat index VI (p. 94). Tituli non multi, qui sepulcrales non sunt, raro item formulas exhibent alibi consolitas, veluti *dedicatio basilicae* (n. 198), *consecrata est ecclesia* (n. 178); praeterea tam in his quam in sepulcralibus *dandi faciendi ponendi aedificandi erigendi* (vel *surgendi*) vocabula interdum adhibentur. Recentiorum fere titulorum propria est *animae* defuncti mentio, pro qua *orare* vel *rogare* iubentur qui legerint. In eisdem recentioribus titulis *praeparandi* vocabulum sive, ut scribitur barbare, *proparandi*, deinde formularum veluti *in nomine dei* et similium usus observatur. Adclamationes christianae, veluti *pax vobiscum*, *vivas in deo* raro et in supellectilis fere titulis tantum reperiuntur. Sunt autem haec omnia quaeque praeterea proferri possunt paullo insolentiora (ut *signum crucis fixi*, quod dicere voluit is qui scripsit titulum n. 94) tam raro tamque non constanter usurpata, ut titulorum Bri-

tannicorum proprietas in penuria magis formularum similium alibi usitatarum quam in certo quodam earum usu quaerenda videatur. Itaque etiam ea aetate remotam fere a reliquo orbe christiano vitam degisse ultimos Britannos neque mari tantum divisam inde concluseris.

CARMINA

10. Carmen sepulcrale unum tantum servatum est (n. 82), sermone barbarum, sed ad exemplum satis bonum conpositum. Quod semel versiculus aliquis Martialis adscriptus est, maioris momenti esset, si de tituli eius aetate constaret (n. 134). Reliquorum alterum non christianum est, sed poetae alicuius pagani ab homine christiano pavimento domus insertum (n. 31), alterum re et forma recentissimum, i. e. saeculi fortasse non octavi, sed undecimi.

SIGNA ET SYMBOLA

11. Chrismatis quod vocatur signum non eadem semper et ubique forma ab hominibus christianis adhibitum esse constat. Quae, ut index XIII (p. 99) demonstrat, in Britannicis titulis extant eius formae ☧ et ⳩, si unam exceperis in titulo n. 31, qui vetustissimus fortasse omnium est pavimento tessellato inscriptus, easque, quae sub titulo n. 1 conposui, aut ad Caledoniam pertinent Northumbriamque aut ad instrumentum domesticum, quod non necessario originis Britannicae esse putandum est. In Cambricis Dumnonicisque quae inveniuntur cruces aut simplices aut circulo rotave inclusae (*wheel crosses* vel *bakers crosses* ab Anglis dictae) aut supra in fastigio lapidis sive in lateribus eius exculptae aut scripturae antepositae satis recentis originis sunt; exemplum eius fortasse vetustissimum est tituli n. 9. Maior autem earum pars in titulis legitur minusculis litteris scriptis; alias in titulis antiquioribus posteriore demum tempore additas esse diserte traditur (ut in n. 48 89 107 109). Semel crux oblique iacens, simodo crux est, deprehenditur; sed ea quoque recentior videtur esse quam titulus ipse. Idem dicendum est de litteris A et Ω; rara enim earum exempla aut recentia sunt aut Caledoniae propria aut instrumenti domestici.

Reliqua symbola in aliarum regionum titulis christianis obvia, palmae aves pisces similia, in titulis Britannicis prorsus deficiunt.

Itaque illud tantum ex signorum illorum observatione perspicuum est, abesse ea a vetustioribus titulis Britanniae christianis. Unde si aliis indiciis nullis christianos eos esse constaret, incertissimo sane opinio illa niteretur fundamento.

LINGUA TITULORUM

12. Conposui in indice X (p. 97) quaecunque ab optimae aetatis Latinitate abhorrent in titulorum Britannicorum sermone. Quae si universa consideraveris, vix quidquam in eis deprehendes, quod non repertum sit etiam in priorum aerae nostrae saeculorum sermone rustico. Tituli plerique ita conparati sunt, ut praeter nomina et *hic iacit* formulam nihil fere contineant, e quo sermonis observantia possit deduci. Atque *hic* illud frequentius ita recte scribitur; rarius omissa aspiratione ita *ic*. Contra paene constanter *iacit* scriptum est, non *iacet*; ut recte iam observavit I. Rhys (*inscribed stones of Wales* p. 11 et alibi). Eiusdem fere generis reliqua sunt; num re vera cum flexionis Latinae formis confusae sint a Britannis in hisce et similibus Celticae linguae formae, ut statuit vir ille doctissimus, equidem puto dubitari posse. Sunt quaedam sane barbariae peculiaris testimonia, veluti *properare* illud pro *praeparare*; deinde *Critdi* et *santdi* pro *Christi* et *sancti*, *fius* pro *filius* (simodo certum est), *filli Turpilli* (quod nomen supra iam dixi fortasse vix conponendum esse cum Turpiliis vetustis Tusculo oriundis), deinde *ammulantibus dommus* et *sumi surexit iusit pientisimus* et similia, *fingsi singno*, *benedixio oblacio*, *Caelexti*. Sed ea si examinamus adcuratius, primum multa eorum ad recentiora quae saepius

dixi monumenta pertinere videmus, deinde alia redire in titulis paganis tam reliquarum provinciarum quam ipsius Britanniae. Ita ut tantum ex indice grammatico voluminis Britannici (C. I. L. VII p. 344) pauca promam: communis est omni paene linguae Latinae aetati inde a saeculo fere tertio *ae* et *e* sonorum confusio, aspirationis sive scribendae sive omittendae libertas; in titulis Britannicis paganis iam reperiuntur genetivi in *i* a nominativis in *is* deflexi (ut in *Caelexti*), in regionibus a Celtis olim habitatis omnibus nominativi alterius declinationis in *os* (veluti *consobrinos*). Eandem sermonis aequabilitatem demonstrat genetivorum a nominativis in *ius* derivatorum in *i*, non in *ii*, frequentia (veluti in *fili*), quam supra iam memoravi. Ex sola igitur sermonis Latini in his titulis forma, quamvis non pauca habeat memoratu digna, tamen ad singulorum titulorum aetatem adcuratius definiendam non plura proficimus, quam ex nominibus hominum, formulis, signis symbolisque.

Quam rara sint in titulis Britannicis consueta alibi scripturae conpendia index XII docet (p. 98); a vetustioribus enim titulis illa prorsus absunt, in recentioribus non reperiuntur nisi omnium maxime communia. Itaque ea quoque re tituli hi omnino differunt a reliquarum provinciarum christianis.

Sed accedit aliud momentum titulis hisce Britannicis peculiare, quale frustra quaesiveris in reliquarum provinciarum imperii Romani reliquiis christianis. Bilingues enim sunt tituli undeviginti, scilicet inscripti tam Latinis litteris quam Celticis. Litterae Celticae, quas *Ogham* vocant indigenae, ex monumentis Hibernicis potissimum iam notae erant atque inde fere a saeculo proximo medio acri quidem studio sed successu non semper prospero investigatae sunt a viris doctis Hibernicis Anglicisque. Hodie in actis academiae regiae Dublinensis potissimum atque in annalibus societatis archaeologicae olim Kilkennensis nunc Hibernicae quae certo de eis explorata sunt reperiuntur conlecta. Atque debentur ea inprimis Iacobo Graves episcopo Limericensi, Samueli Ferguson, Iohanni Windele, Guilelmo Williams, Ricardo Rolt Brash, G. M. Atkinson, aliis; e Britannis Daniel H. Haigh nuper in eas inquisivit (*journal of the Kilkenny archaeological society* ser. II 2, 1858 p. 170 ss.). Academiam Hibernicam etiam horum titulorum corpus parare nuper audivi (I. K. Ingram *Academy* 1875 p. 219). Monumenta vero illa Hibernica, quorum scriptura etiam e codicibus manu scriptis inlustratur, Hibernice conscripta sunt omnia, non Latine, atque aequalia fere aetate titulis lingua litterisque Hibernicis scriptis, quos supra dixi a Georgio Petrie conlectos esse (cf. quae de eis dixerunt Anonymus Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 1, 1870 p. 101 ss. et I. Rhys ibidem 5, 1874 p. 90 ss.), paucisque eiusdem generis Caledonicis (cf. I. Stuart *sculptured stones of Scotland* I p. 31 tab. LXV et D. Wilson *prehistoric annals of Scotland* p. 506 s.). Unus tantum repertus est titulus in *Killeen Cormac* prope *Dunlavin*, *Kildare*, qui praeter vocabula aliquot Hibernica Celticis litteris scripta etiam Latina haec dicitur habere

iuvere Druvides aut *iuvene Druvidis*

(v. I. F. Shearman *proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 9, 1867 p. 253 ss.; D. H. Haigh *the monasteries of S. Heiu and S. Hild* cet. p. 39). Quae utrum recte lecta sint necne hic non curo (Druidae sane vocabulum, ut videtur, incredulis nobis suspicionem movet); praeterea nomina tantum aliquot originis Celticae, ut expectaveris, tam in Hibernicis titulis reperiuntur quam in Britannicis (cf. quae adnotavi ad n. 14 et 34). Illud vero certum est, litteras titulorum Britannicorum Celticas, quanquam eiusdem certe originis atque Hibernicas, praeter alia etiam eo differre ab Hibernicis, quod cum Latinis litteris in eisdem lapidibus iunctae reperiuntur plerumque.

Scilicet adhuc innotuerunt eius generis tituli tres Dumnonici (n. 17 24 25), Cambrici quindecim (n. 34 48 69 88 89 94 102 106 108 109 110 113 114 116 159), Caledonicus unus (n. 213); quibus accedunt duo inscripti litteris Celticis solis (n. 81 107; unus eiusdem generis incertus est n. 51); denique Caledonici recentiores cum Hibernicis magis conparandi quattuor (n. 21*—24*). Mere Celticos duos omittere nolui, cum inlustrent bilingues atque in vicem ab eis inlustrentur. Quosdam eius generis adhuc latere nondum observatos probabile est (v. adnotata ad n. 117). Extant in titulis illis litterae Celticae, quae lineis tantum constant et punctis certo numero coniunctis secundum eius scripturae legem in angulis lapidum incisae, leguntuque vocabula ita, ut ab imo sursum procedas; quae consuetudo a palis cultro incidendis derivatur probabiliter. Vere autem bilingues esse omnes in universum credendum videtur esse eis, qui litterarum Celticarum interpretationem simplicem sane proposuerunt; singula vero adparet interpretationis esse admodum dubiae. Unde a conparandis nominum formis, quales legantur aut in Latina titulorum parte aut in Celtica, equidem abstinui utriusque linguae in eisdem titulis usum indicare contentus. Constat litteraturae Celticae iuxta Latinae usum durasse fere ad saeculum decimum undecimumve; incertum vero est quando inceperit. Qua in re diiudicanda minime certe sequenda videtur magniloquentia hominum aliquot Hibernicorum Cambricorum Scotorumque, eorundem Ossianicae poesis hypophetarum, qui ad primum aerae nostrae saeculum aut ad remotiora etiam si dis placet tempora eam revocant; sed tamen titulos bilingues plurimos sane inter huius syllogae monumenta vetustissima numeranda esse infra adparebit. Itaque quamvis certa temporis definitio ne ex Celticarum quidem litterarum usu adcrescat titulis Britannicis christianis, tamen et illae in censum vocandae sunt de temporibus eorum quaerenti.

Multo sine dubio recentiores ei sunt tituli, in quibus Celticum sermonem Latinis litteris consignatum videmus (cuius fortasse generis hi sunt n. 6 124 126 208 212 213); id quod scripturae forma demonstrat.

13. Iam igitur eo delapsi sumus ut, cum neque ex temporum notis inscriptis neque ex nominum formularum signorum symbolorumve usu nec denique ex sermonis proprietatibus aetatem titulorum adcuratius definiri conpertum haberemus, formam scripturae, quae sola restat consideranda, cum cura explorandam esse videamus. Scripturae varietas illa cum typis exprimi non posset, sed imaginibus tantum ad ectypa titulorum fideliter delineatis, academia regia Borussica inpensae in eam rem necessariae partem meo rogatu in se suscepit. Delineatae sunt imagines meae, ut inscriptionum christianarum Hispaniae, in Hugonis Bürkner Dresdensis officina celeberrima. Summa id me egisse cura, ut titulorum imagines fierent quam fidissimae, vix est quod moneam; atque adiuvit meam hanc curam non leviter Rhysii oculorum acies iudiciique subtilitas. Tamen in eis potissimum lapidibus, in quibus standum nobis erat in exemplis vetustioribus, fidem hic illic adhuc desiderari non mirabuntur periti, qui quam rari sint probi inscriptionum descriptores non ignorant. Scripturam igitur si consideramus, duo primum genera titulorum deprehendimus distinguenda esse, alterum eorum qui maiusculis litteris scripti sunt, alterum qui minusculis (v. indicem XI p. 98). Atque hos quidem facile intellegitur recentiores esse quam illos, ut supra saepius monui; itaque ab illis incipiendum. Praeterea in recentioribus solito modo scriptura dextrorsum decurrens in facie titulorum ita conlocata est, ut de plano recte legi possit. Diversa vero est scribendi ratio in titulis vetustioribus.

SCRIPTURAE FORMA

Celticas litteras in marginibus lapidum incisas ab imo lapide sursum procedere supra dixi; contraria ratione in titulis antiquioribus longe plurimis a summo lapide scriptura incipiens

ad imum descendit, ita ut aegre a stante legatur. Quam rationem scribendi similemve cum supra monuerim deprehendi in lapide Eporediensi aliisque fortasse eiusdem generis quibusdam monumentis, ibi ea inde videtur explicanda esse, quod quo modo conlocati fuissent lapides illi omnino nullius momenti erat. Britannici vero tituli magna ex parte reperti ibi, ubi antiquitus positi erant, aperte ex indigenarum scribendi consuetudine, quam supra indicavi, conlocationem illam scripturae peculiarem derivarunt. Ita in titulis bilinguibus duplex scriptura contraria ratione disposita est, ut docent exempla, quorum de conlocatione constat (n. 17 24 25 34 69 106 110 114 116 159). Aliquot postea inverse conlocata sunt (n. 48 88 89 102 108 109); unius conlocatio primaria ignota est (n. 113). Similiter etiam in Latinis titulis plerisque scriptura disposita est (n. 2 3 4 5 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 20 21 23 26 27 29 30 42 44 45 46 50 53 54 58 59 64 71 77 78 80 84 85 92 95 99 111 115 117 118 119 124 130 131 135 137 142 154 157 164 209 232); ubi contraria ratione procedit (n. 37 91 101 127 139 140 146 162 230 231 233), posteriori hoc inversioni debetur. Etiam ex titulis qui scripti sunt litteris minusculis unus (n. 116) cruci inscriptus et olim bilinguis eandem servavit scripturae conlocationem. E vetustioribus litteraturae maiusculae pauci tantum communem secuntur consuetudinem (n. 6 7 125 *134 136 144 145 150 151 205 206 211 213). Non paucorum denique titulorum dolendum est ignorari conlocationem primariam; etenim aut locum mutaverunt tempore recentiore aut quemadmodum conlocati fuerint non satis observatum est (n. 1 16 18 28 32 35 36 38 39 49 52 55 56 60 68 82 83 97 98 105 112 120 121 128 132 133 141 147 152 155 158). Ex peculiari illa scripturae conlocatione, quam Britannicam nuncupare possumus, etiam illud explicandum videtur, quod non raro singulae litterae inverse positae sunt; cuius neglegentiae exempla conlecta sunt in indice XI (p. 98).

Singulas litterarum formas si consideramus, aliquot earum peculiares, veluti A Ā C є ç et 3 (pro G) H (pro N), inmixtas videmus simplicibus; hae sine dubio antiquiores sunt, recentiores illae. Praeterea aliquot minuscularum litterarum exempla, velut b d h q ſ τ, inter maiusculas plerasque observantur. Peculiaris deinde est titulis etiam vetustioribus I littera iacens. Quam semel tantum (n. 133) in fine infra duas I I positam interpunctionis vicem obtinere dixeris, simodo ibi omnino pro littera est; praeterea plerumque in fine versus posita ad eandem fortasse originem revocanda atque reliquae litterae inverse conlocatae. Praeterea M litterae forma haec m in titulis Britannicis (n. 12 26 162 164 230 233; 158 enim incertus) fortasse primum reperta est; quod Westwoodius eam olim (Archaeol. Cambr. 1, 1846 p. 303) recta via deductam esse statuerat ex Phoenicia M litterae forma (ꟽ), id ipse hodie vix defendet. Sed potest uncialis quae vocatur m in libris scriptis a saeculo fere sexto ineunte usurpata inde ducere originem, de qua aliunde non videtur constare apud palaeographos. Etiam litterae ligatae in titulis hisce rarissimae sunt (v. indicem XII p. 98); peculiares vetustioribus FI et LI litterarum nexus tantum videntur esse. In recentioribus praeterea E et T ligantur more novicio.

Haec fere sunt, quae in titulorum Britannicorum litteratura peculiaria licet observari. Quae si cuncta considerabuntur, tres fere aetates secundum scripturae formam distingui posse adparebit. Priori sive vetustissimae hi tituli adscribendi sunt n. 13 14 25 48 49 54 68 82 85 87 92 99 102 106 114 115 128 131 133 135 137 139 140 142 157 231 232 scripti more Britannico, ut breviter dicam, omnes. Quibus accedunt more Romano scripti hi n. 7 125 136 144 145 150 153, quos tamen hanc ob causam non putaverim inter vetustiores esse vetustissimos. Alteri aetati aliquanto iam recentiori tribuendi videntur tituli hi n. 1 2 3 4 5 9 10 12 17 20 24 34 52 55 56 69 71 77 80 83 84 88 89 91 95 97 98 101 109 110 111 127 146 147 154

158 159 162. Certa huic ordini scripturae Romano more conlocatae exempla non insunt. Tertiae aetati paullo etiam recentiori, quae tamen praecessisse videatur ei tempori quo litterae minusculae tantum solebant adhiberi, eos titulos attribuo, in quibus minuscularum litterarum usum videmus incipere, scilicet n. 6 11 15 18 21 23 26 27 28 29 30 32 35 45 50 53 58 59 64 94 108 112 118 119 120 121 130 148 149 151 230 233. Romano more ex illis scripti sunt duo tantum (n. 6 151). Tituli Celtice inscripti e priore ordine hi sunt quinque n. 25 48 102 106 114; ex altero hi novem n. 17 24 34 69 88 89 109 110 159; e tertio duo tantum n. 94 108. Sed ne recentiore quidem aetate etiam in Britannia, ut in Hibernia et in Caledonia, Celticarum litterarum usum plane desiisse demonstrant n. 116 et 213.

Qui non ignorant quam lubrica sit aetatum ex litteraturae forma discriptio, non obliviscentur titulorum Britannicorum divisionem hanc non pro certa in singulis me dare, sed probabilitatem tantum in universum me sequi. Alteri vero aetati illi aequales fere sunt secundum scripturae formam inter reliquae Britanniae titulos hi n. 185 205 206 207 209 211, tertiae hi n. 172 175 198 199 reliquique fere Anglosaxonici, quos saeculi circiter septimi esse omnes probabile est. Ex hac etiam conparatione efficitur id quod ipsa titulorum contemplatio docet, scilicet vetustissimos incipere inde ab eo tempore, quo tituli Romanae aetatis desinunt, i. e. saeculo fere quinto medio sextove ineunte; alterius ordinis adscribendos esse saeculis sexto septimoque, tertii septimo fere et octavo. Artiores enim uni cuique aetati terminos statuere non audeo. In hac vero temporum definitione in universum sine dubio certa firmissimum eius opinionis fundamentum situm est, quam nos quoque in operis inscriptione secuti sumus; videlicet christianorum hominum esse huius syllogae titulos omnes, quamvis indiciis fidei christianae alioqui solitis careant plerique. Tamen fatendum est, siquis argumentis aliunde quaesitis (quae cuius generis futura sint sane divinando non adsequimur) adseverare susceperit paganos etiam tum fuisse magna ex parte eos homines, qui titulos vetustiores erexerunt, ei invicta argumenta vix posse opponi. Erunt fortasse qui signorum symbolorumque christianorum penuriam illam referendam esse statuent ad discrimen notum, quod intercessisse traditur inter septimi saeculi ecclesiam Britannicam atque vetustiores fidei christianae in insulis Britannicis adseclas. Quod discrimen num sexto iam saeculo quintoque exstiterit viderint earum rerum me peritiores.

Minusculae denique litteraturae titulos ab octavo fere saeculo medio incipere et usque ad decimum deduci statuitur probabiliter. Conveniunt autem optime cum universa hac temporum discriptione quae supra ex nominum ratione, ex formulis signisque, ex sermonis forma derivavimus ad singula eorum genera distinguenda. Ea vero diligentius hic persequi non videtur necessarium esse; e numeris iam eorum conparatis res manifesta est.

Id igitur ratiocinatione hac in praefatione proposita nobis videmur adsecuti esse, ut adpareat monumenta huius syllogae testimonia exhibere non spernenda vitae sermonisque, quales fuerint in Britanniae regionibus quibusdam per saecula illa obscura quintum ad octavum, de quibus nullius fere scriptoris fide digni servata est relatio. Haec si recte coniunguntur cum eis, quae ex posterioris aetatis memoria ante illam fuisse concludi magis potest quam certo sciri, aliquanto vividior inde et plenior quam adhuc licuit depingere saeculorum illorum imago, nisi fallor, existit.

Non dubito fore ut qui cum cura utentur hac sylloge in ipsis regionibus eis degentes, unde tituli proveniunt, quaedam in ea reperiant emendanda; quo si illud consecutus ero, ut multa ab illis nova huius generis monumenta in lucem protrahantur, operae pretium me fecisse mihi persuadebo.

Appendix titulorum Hispanorum

14. Qui his studiis favent non abs re esse iudicabunt quod occasione data addere volui in fine huius syllogae Britannicae additamenta quaedam syllogae christianae Hispanicae ante hos quinque annos a me editae. Quae unde potissimum provenerint quibusque debeantur amicis dixi infra suo loco; hic monere iuvat eos qui legent ut quid similitudinis intercedat quidve dissimilitudinis inter titulos illos christianos Hispanos Gallicos Germanicos atque Britannicos observent indeque etiam, cum propter certas temporum notas illi eisdem fere saeculis quinto ad octavum tribuendi sint, perspiciant qui Britannicorum aetatem ab illorum non differre statuerint, eos quanquam non certis argumentis nisos, at magna tamen probabilitate ita statuisse. Ceterum dum haec inprimuntur addendorum ad additamenta, ut fere accidit in his rebus tractandis, novam mihi praebet opportunitatem museum Hispanicum archaeologicum, quod Rada sociique edere pergunt. Nova enim in eius volumine IV (1875) p. 113 ss. ab ipso Rada proposita est editio imaginibus optimis ornata thesauri Guarrazarensis (inscr. Hisp. christ. n. 159—163), a nescio quo (textum enim nondum vidi) item nova imago tituli trilinguis Dertosani (inscr. Hisp. christ. n. 186), denique a Iosepho Villa-Amil y Castro nova et diligens enarratio crucis, quae in thesauro S. Iacobi Compostellensis est (inscr. Hisp. christ. n. 252), et ipsa imagine perbona inlustrata. Itaque in futurum quoque pergant viri docti Hispani atque Portugallenses monumenta eius generis patria iam nota investigare diligenter novaque in lucem protrahere.

Scripsi Berolini m. Ianuario a. MDCCCLXXVI.

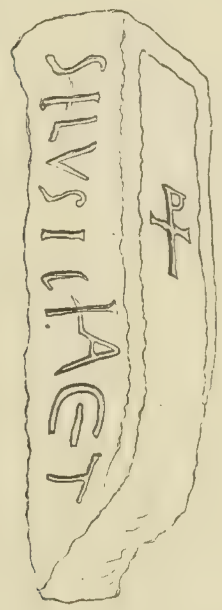
AVCTORES PRAECIPVE ADHIBITI.

Quae hic desiderantur nomina quaere in indice auctorum inserto volumini VII corporis inscriptionum Latinarum (inscriptiones Britanniae Latinae) p. X. Numeri nudi sunt titulorum.

CONSPECTVS.

I. *CORNWALL.*

1 *St. Just in Penwith*, non procul a promontorio *Lands End*, cippus rep. a. 1834 in muro ecclèsiae parochialis et ibidem servatus *in a recess in the chancel*; altus p. 3 dig. 6, latus dig. 14, crassus dig. 9. De positione nil constat. In latere dextro est crucis signum.

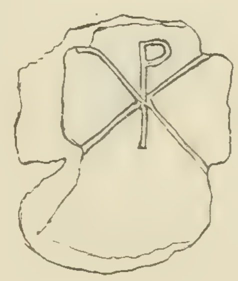


Se[ni]lus ic iacit

W. Haslam *archaeol. journal* 4, 1847 p. 302, cuius imaginem sequor; Edmonds Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 4, 1858 p. 180 in tab. fig. 2, *the Lands End district* p. 62 in tab. fig. 2 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 162); Pedler n. 7; I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. IV 5, 1874 p. 333 qui legendum esse affirmat *Senilus*, non *Silus*; nam NI litteras minores postea adiectas esse supra lineam. Priores nihil earum litterarum dispexerunt.

IACET Haslam.

Haslam adnotat ibidem crucem extare, repertam in coemeterio aediculae *St. Helms* in promontorio *Cornwall,* signo christiano ornatam hanc,



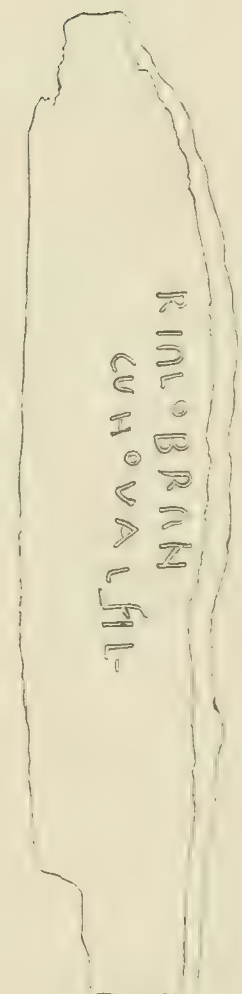
Edmonds crucis signum, sed circulo inclusum hoc



cerni ait in lapide inserto muro ecclèsiae (*outside in the wall of the vestry*) in *Phillack* vico prope *Gwythian* et *Redruth* (Archaeol. Cambr. 4, 1858 p. 181 in tab. fig. 4, *the Lands End district* l. c.).

---

2 A *Lanyon* dioecesis *Madern* (s. *Madron*) circiter 500 p. (Anglicos), cippus altus p. 9 dig. 11, latus p. 1 dig. 8, crassus p. 1 dig. 7, vulgo dictus *mên scryfà* (vel *scriffys*).



Rialobrani Cunovali fili

Moyle *posthumous works* 1 p. 190 ss. 204; Borlase *Cornwall* p. 357 tab. 30 fig. 3 (inde Polwhele 1 p. 144; Hitchins 1 p. 434; Wright *the Celt* p. 456; Edmonds Archaeol. Cambr. 4, 1858 p. 182 in tab. fig. 6, *the Lands End district* p. 64 in tab. fig. 6); Ed. Llwyd in schedis a Guilelmo Jones missis Ricardo Gough; Lysons magna Britannia 3 p. CCXXI in tab. fig. 3; Blight 2 f. 72; Gilbert *surrey* p. 187; Pedler n. 1; I. Rhys nuper vidit.

1 IXI·BRAN — Lysons. 2 CVHO-VAL... II — Lysons.

3 '*In Barlowena bottom, as you pass from the church of Gulval to that of Maderne*' Borl. Cippus pro ponte est, qui *Blewbridge* dicitur. Altus est p. 7 dig. 9, latus p. 1 dig. 8, crassus p. 1.



Quenatauci ic Dinui filius

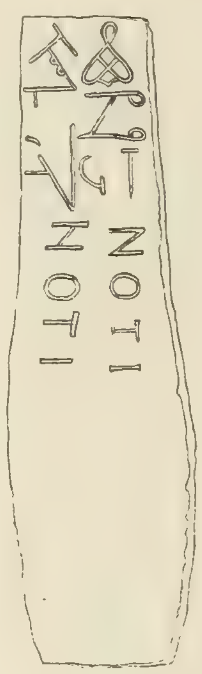
Moyle *posthumous works* 1 p. 238. 243; Borlase *Cornwall* p. 359 tab. 30 fig. 4 (inde Polwhele 1 p. 200; Lysons magna Britannia 3 p. CCXXII; Hitchins 1 p. 436; Edmonds Archaeol. Cambr. 4, 1858 p. 183 in tab. fig. 6, *the Lands End district* p. 65 in tab. fig. 7; Ed. Llwyd in schedis a Guilelmo Jones missis Ricardo Gough et in Goughs Camden 1 p. 17 tab. 1 fig. 3; H. Longueville Jones Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 9, 1863 p. 288 quem sequor); Blight 2 f. 72; S. Dodd *archaeol. journal* 21, 1864 p. 100; Gilbert *survey* p. 188; Pedler n. 6; I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 4, 1873 p. 198.

2 E videtur male efficta esse in lapide pro L; Borlase L habet.

Elementum post primum nomen positum pro interpunctionis signo habuerunt testes oculati omnes, sed vario modo effinxerunt, Moyle ita —, Borlase ≡, Llwyd ˇE; *Belidinui* Dodd solus legit. Est sine dubio I finalis transverse posita ut saepe, sed supra *c* litteram, non pone eam collocata. Rhys antea putabat legendum esse *Quenatauci Icdinui filius*; nunc mecum *ic* positum esse existimat pro *ic iacet*, quamvis loco non suo.

---

4 *St. Hilary*, cippus nunc collocatus iuxta portam coemeterii, a dextra semitae ad portam ecclesiae ducentis, transverse scriptus ita ut videtur positus fuisse antiquitus.

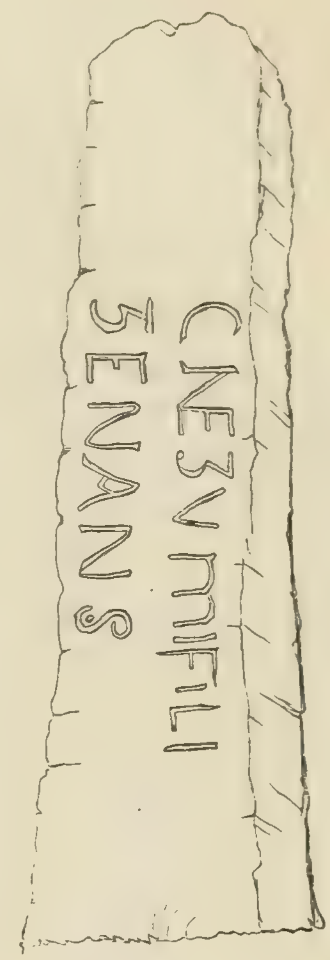


. . . noti . . . noti

Blight 2 f. 73; Edmonds Archaeol. Cambr. 4, 1858 p. 181 in tab. fig. 5, *the Lands End district* p. 63 in tab. fig. 5 quem sequor.

Initio videntur posita esse monogrammata; Blight NG et FL litteras in iis exhibet; Jago utroque versu putat indicari AN3, *ang*. Lectio incerta.

5 In via publica, quae ad *Hellston* ducit, prope ecclesiam parochialem *Mawgen* (sive *Mawgan*) vici; unde vulgo dicitur *Mawgen cross.*



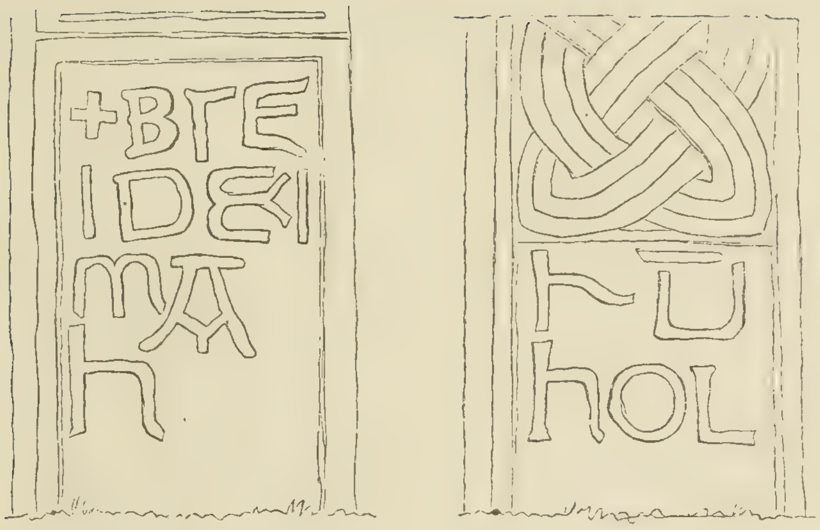
Cnegumi fili Genaius ?

Moyle *posthumous works* 1 p. 249 cui misit Ric. Vivian; Borlase *Cornwall* p. 359 tab. 35 fig. 5 (inde Polwhele 1 p. 200; Lysons 3 p. CCXXI; Hitchins 1 p. 443) quem sequor; Gilbert *survey* p. 187; Gough in schedis Oxoniensibus; Pedler n. 5; I. Rhys nuper exanavit.

V. 1 tertium (vel potius quartum) elementum G esse viderunt omnes. In fine eiusdem versus I omisit Borlase. Idem v. 2 lineolam solam dedit, sed 3, i. e. *g*, esse affirmat Rhys. Idem IV, non N legendum esse docet, ut fuerit *Genaius*, non *Genans*.

---

6 *Lanherne Nunnery, Mawgan*, in cruce, quae extat in horto coemeterii. Lapis eo advectus dicitur ex vico *Roseworthy* prope *Gwinnear*. Litterae in basi ab utroque latere sculptae perspicuae sunt et accurate incisae. Tabula octavam circiter verae magnitudinis partem aequat.



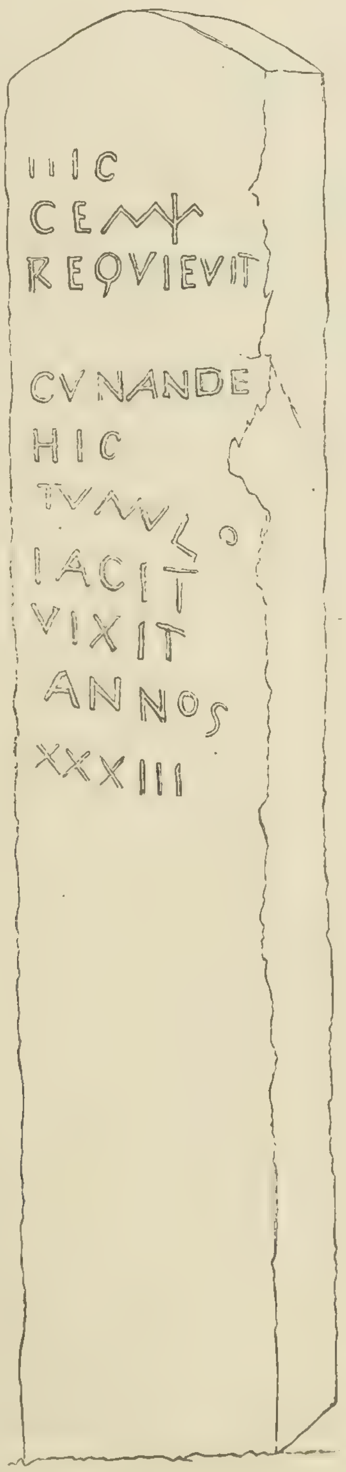
bseidetimah?

runhol?

Lysons 3 p. CCXLV in tab. fig. 4; Blight 2 f. 7; W. Jago *proceedings of the society of antiquaries* II 5, 1870—73 p. 484 quem sequor.

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7 *Hayle*, in dioecesi *St. Erth*, rep. a. 1843 in parietinis castelli littoralis in *Carnsew*. Cippus altus p. 6, latus p. 1, crassus dig. 8. Nunc muro viae publicae insertus est iuxta pontem viae ferreae, quae dicitur *West Cornwall*, prope finem occidentalem viaductus, qui est ad *Hayle*.

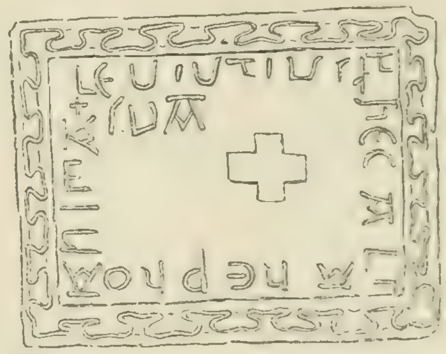


[. . . . . in pa]ce mul[ier]? requievit . . . n . . . . cunaide hic [in] tumulo iacit, vixit annos XXXIII

Edmonds Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 4, 1858 p. 178, *the Lands End district* p. 60 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 163). Imaginem photographicam misit Rhys, sed admodum incertam; idem nuper examinavit accurate.

Lectionem exhibeo ab I. Rhys propositam. Initium satis incertum. V. 4 certe non ita intellegendus est, ut voluit Edmonds: *qu(i) nat(us) Do*, i. e. anno quingentesimo. Sed latet potius nomen defunctae.

8 *Camborne*, in superficie tabulae lapideae, quae mensa altaris erat. Titulus scriptus est in margine tabulae, quam tribuunt saeculo octavo vel nono.



Leviut iusit hec altare pro anima sua

Borlase *Cornwall* p. 401 tab. 36 fig. 6 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 699); I. Rhys vidit.

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9 *St. Clemens* prope *Truro*, ubi nunc pro poste ianuae est in aedibus vicarii. Cippus supra in crucem terminans circulo inclusam, altus p. circiter 10, latus circiter 1¼.



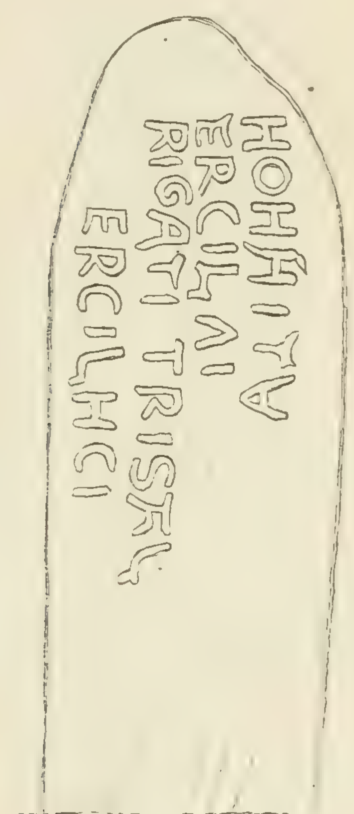
[Isni c] Vitali fili Torrici

Borlase *Cornwall* p. 356 tab. 35 fig. 1 (inde Lysons 3 p. CCXXI; Hitchins 1 p. 432; Wright *the Celt* p. 455); Gilbert *survey* p. 196; A. Way *assoc. journal* 1, 1845 p. 49 et *archaeol. journal* 2, 1846 p. 77; W. Haslam *archaeol. journal* 4, 1847 p. 309; H. Longueville Jones Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 9, 1863 p. 288 quem sequor; Blight 1 f. 125 (ex his Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 163); Pedler n. 4; I. Rhys nuper examinavit.

Editores ultimi observaverunt *Isnioc* vocabulum, quod litteris scriptum est multo et minoribus et recentioribus quam reliqua, postea additum esse. Signum post *Vital* vocabulum positum I esse finalem transverse collocatam adnotat Rhys.

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10 *Tregoney,* in muro ecclesiae parochialis suburbii *Cuby, at the south-west angle.* Cippus altus p. $4\frac{1}{2}$, latus circiter p. 2.

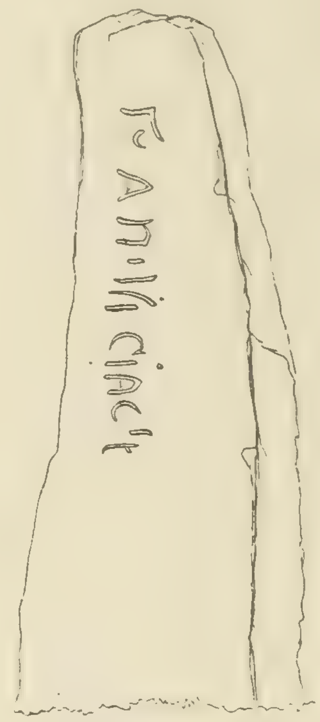


Nonnita, Ercili, Viricati, tris fili Ercilinci

C. Barham *journal of the R. Inst. of Cornwall* V, 1866 p. 3 et Archaeol. Cambr. 12, 1866 p. 417, cuius imaginem sequor; I. Rhys nuper vidit.

V. 4 *Ercil(i) h(i)c i(acent)* Barham.

11 *S. Michael.* '*With this stone J accidentally met about four miles east of Michel*' BORL. Extat prope cauponam *the Indian Queen,* medio itinere inter *Bodmin* et *Truro* RHYS.

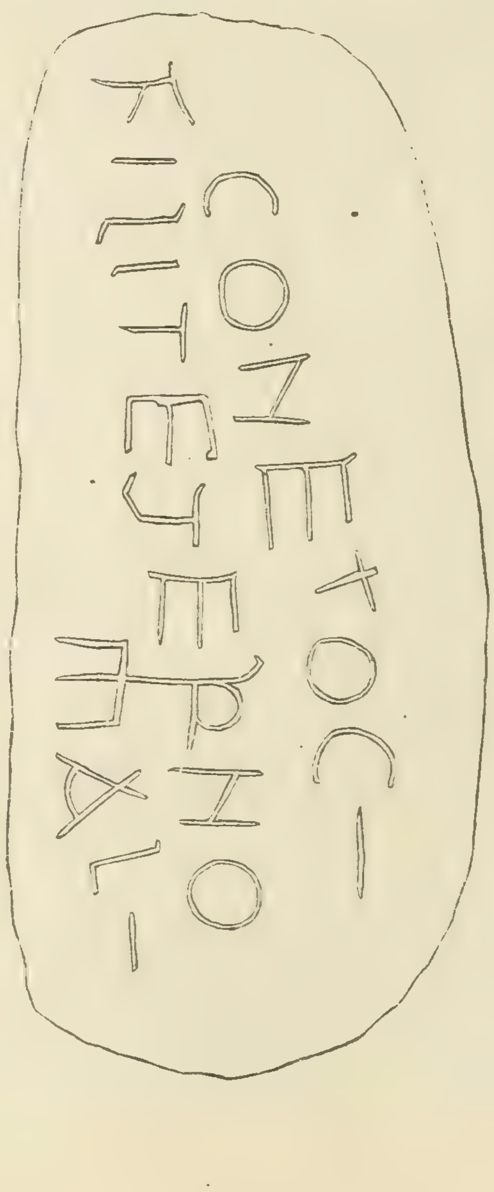


Suani hic iacit(?)

Borlase *Cornwall* p. 364 tab. 36 fig. 5 (inde Polwhele 2 p. 199; Hitchins 1 p. 446; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 699, qui inter annos 700—1000 collocant) quem sequor; Pedler n. 8; I. Rhys, qui nuper vidit, desperatae lectionis esse affirmat; haec. . . . MAGL- HIC . . . . discernere sibi visus est.

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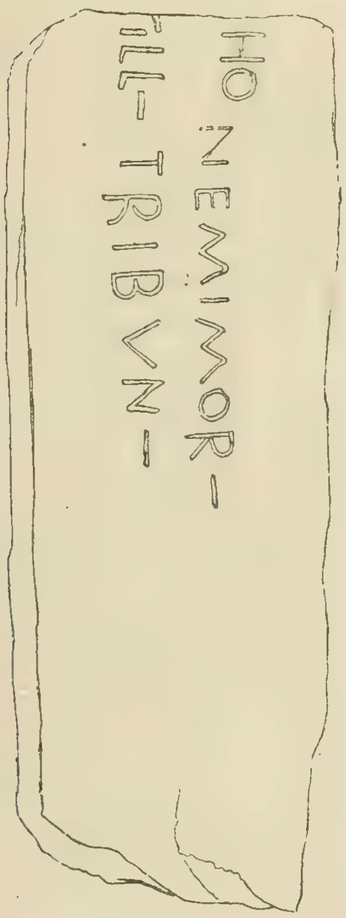
12 *St. Cubert,* in turris ecclesiae parte occidentali.



Conetoci fili Tegernomali

H. Longueville Jones Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 9, 1863 p. 290 ss. quem sequor; C. Barham *journ. of the R. Inst. of Cornwall* V, 1866 p. 9 et Archaeol. Cambr. 12, 1866 p. 426, qui item ligno incisam dat.

13 *St. Columb* minor, *at Rialton house, the house of the Bodmin priors, in the wall of one of the outuildings;* cippus altus p. 5, latus dig. 20.



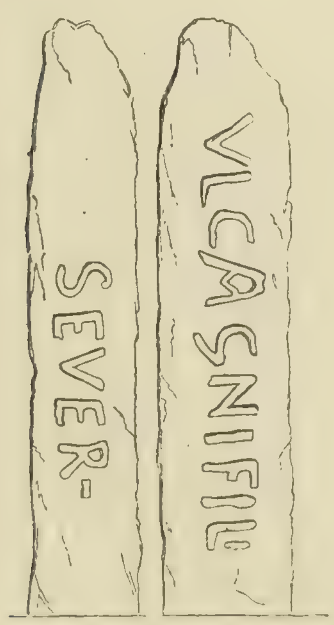
Bonemimori filli Tribuni

Lysons 3 p. CCXXI in tab. fig. 2 (inde Hitchins 1 p. 448) quem sequor; Gilbert *survey* p. 172 in tab.; W. Jago *proceedings of the society of antiquaries* II 5, 1870—73 p. 485; I. Rhys nuper vidit adnotatque primum elementum plane B esse, non H.

Lysons tribunum aliquem agnoscit; Jago ita legit *Bonemimor. ill. tribun.* Crediderim subesse nomen *Bonememorius* barbare scriptum. *Tribuni* pro *Trebonii* fortasse positum esse Rhys observat.

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14 *Wadebridge* prope *Padstow*, cippus pro poste ianuae est in praedio *Nantscow*, 2½ milia passuum (Anglicorum) distante ab oppido, altus circiter p. 6, latus dig. 13 ad 10.



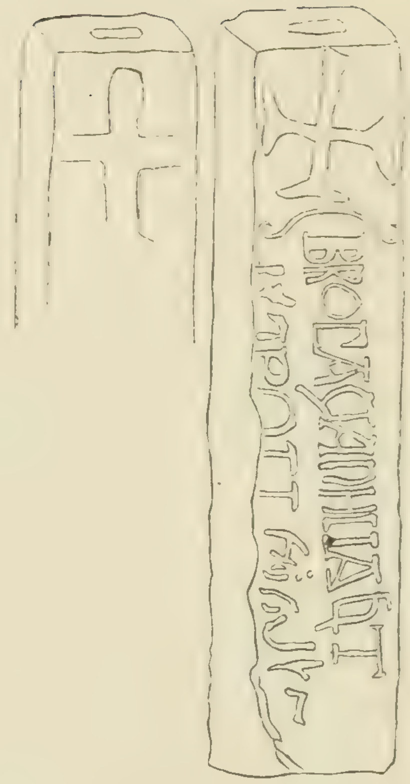
Ulcagni fili
Severi

Th. Kent *assoc. journal* 1, 1845 p. 49 et *archaeol. journal* 2, 1846 p. 77 (inde Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. IV, 2, 1871 p. 259) ligno incisam dat accurate. Eum sequor. I. Rhys nuper vidit.

Ulccagni nomen in inscriptionibus Celticis Hiberniae legi affirmat S. Ferguson Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV, 5, 1874 p. 93.

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15 *Trigg Minor, Cornwall. 'The base, still known as 'Long Cross', lies at its original site, the shaft with the inscribed portion is at Doidon headland in the parish of Trigg Minor'* Maclean. Nunc *on the lawn in front of the Rectory* Rhys.

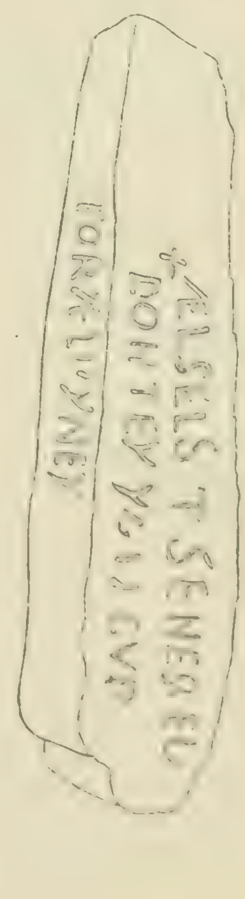


Broeagan hi[*c*] *iacit* [*Nadotti filius*]?

I. Maclean *history of Trigg Minor, Part* V (1872) p. 485 (inde W. Jago *proceedings of the society of antiquaries* II 5, 1870—73 p. 483), quem sequor etiam in v. 2 lectione. I. Rhys non vidit.

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16 *Lanteglos* prope *Camelford*, cippus iuxta parietem veteris horrei (*near some old earth works and at a place called castle Gough or Goff* Gibb.).

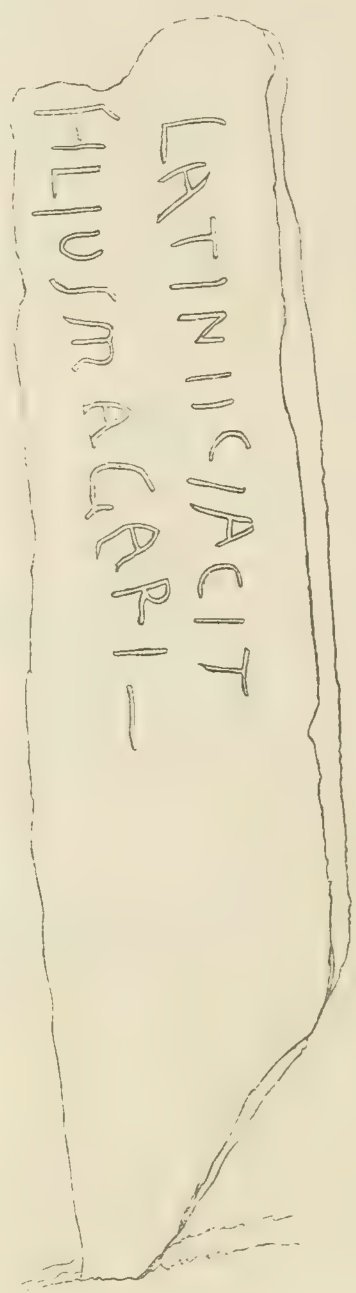


Blight 1 f. 126, 2 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 699 memorant). Habui praeterea exempla duo, quorum alterum Maximiliano Muellero missum est m. Aug. a. 1870 ab Edwardo Theodoro Gibbons (*Werrington Vicarage, Launceston. Cornwall*) atque cum Blightii fere consentit, in fine tantum v. 2 ita exhibentur DOHTEYY<ƆICVP. Alterum exemplum accepi a Westwoodio; hoc exhibeo. Is adnotat litteras, quae sunt in fine vv. 2 et 3, esse incertissimas.

Titulum lingua Anglosaxonica scriptum esse apparet; omnia vero expedire nondum contigit Carolo Muellenhoffio nostro, qui a me rogatus haec fere mihi scripsit. Certa sibi esse affirmat quae v. 3 legantur *for Älwyneys sôul*, pro Älvini anima. *Älpyneys* enim male scriptum videri pro eo quod esse debuerit *Älwinies* sive *Älwines*; sic enim in codicibus saepe *y* pro *i* et in syllabis in thesi positis etiam pro *e* positum esse. *Soul* nihil aliud esse posse quam Anglosaxonicum *sâul*, *sâvul*, anima; vocabulum illud in codicibus vetustis vix unquam ita *soul* scriptum reperiri, unde titulum hunc facile saeculo XI vel XII tribuendum videri. Quod sequatur ʀ signum non magis sibi perspicuum esse quam litteras insequentes cum *l* superposito. In titulo sepulcrali a parentibus aliisve propinquis posito post verba *for Älwines sôul* vocabulum expectari, quod propinquitatis gradum indicet; hoc facile coniunctum esse posse cum *hiora*. i. e. eorum. Quae initio legantur *Älgeld & Genered* nomina fortasse esse virorum; ⁊ pro *and* (et) in titulis codicibusque frequens esse. Sed exempla nominum illorum deesse, nec facile composita *Gene-* in lingua Anglosaxonum statuenda; etiam ð (i. e. d vel þ = *th*) mirum ibi esse, cum *gēld* et *red* in d, non in ð terminentur. Neque amplius profici, si *genered* esse statuatur participium servatus, in vita conservatus; tum enim etiam *älgeld* participium habendum esse, quod cogitari nequeat. Deinde, si duplex esset subiectum, expectari verbi formam pluralem, sequi autem POHT E, quod putandum sit esse aut *þohte* (= *thohte*, Anglice *thought*, Germanice *dachte*) — id autem minime huc quadrare —, aut supplendum in PO(R)HTE (= *worhte*, fecit); hoc autem eo etiam commendari, quod þ (th) initio articuli insequentis (instrumentalis) þẏ aut vocabuli proximi a þ = w diversum sit. Quid sit þYԐNE incertum esse, Ԑ et E formas iuxta usitatas esse in scriptura Anglosaxonica; utra vetustior sit non satis constare. Ḟ ligaturam esse fortasse E et F litterarum; tum vocabulum versus 2 ultimum *feubotel* esse posse aliunde non notum; sed *botl* (domus, domicilium) et *feo*, *feoh* (*feu*), pecu et pecunia, opes, Anglice *fee*, Germanice *vieh*, vocabula esse. Si titulus in fine mutilus sit atque L pertineat ad vocabulum aliquod insequens deperditum, tum *feubôte* casum obliquum esse posse a *feobôt* compensatio, multa (*Geldbusse*); itaque monumentum, hoc si verum sit, non sepulcrale esse, sed votivum. Ceterum cf. Addenda.

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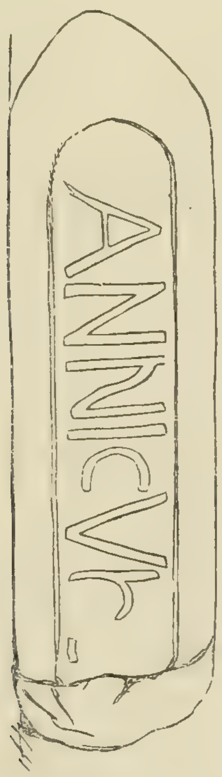
17 In *Worthyvale* praedio (*Lord Falmouth's*) prope *Camelford* (1½ *mile*), cippus altus p. 9 dig. 9, latus p. 3 dig. 3, quem olim in pontis usum verterunt (unde dictus est *the Slaughter bridge*). Nunc ibi est *in a wild spot by the brook under the ledge of a rock above the mill* RHYS.



Latini ic iacit filius Magari

Anonymus in *Gent. mag.* 15, 1745 p. 304; Borlase *Cornwall* p. 360 tab. 35 fig. 6 (inde Lysons 3 p. CCXXI; Th. Wright *the Celt* p. 456) quem sequor; Gilbert *survey* p. 203; Pedler n. 3; Maclean *history of Trigg Minor* I p. 583 (inde W. Jago *proceedings of the society of antiq.* II 5, 1870—73 p. 483). I. Rhys, qui nuper vidit, v. 2 G litteram incertam esse adnotat (nam etiam *Magiari*, *Maguari* aut *Mafiari* legi posse) et lineam in fine positam longiorem, quam in imagine mea. Ceterum idem litterarum Celticarum vestigia superesse primus observavit in angulis, praesertim in dextro latere superiore, quae ei visa sunt efficere haec: . . . *ri* . . . .

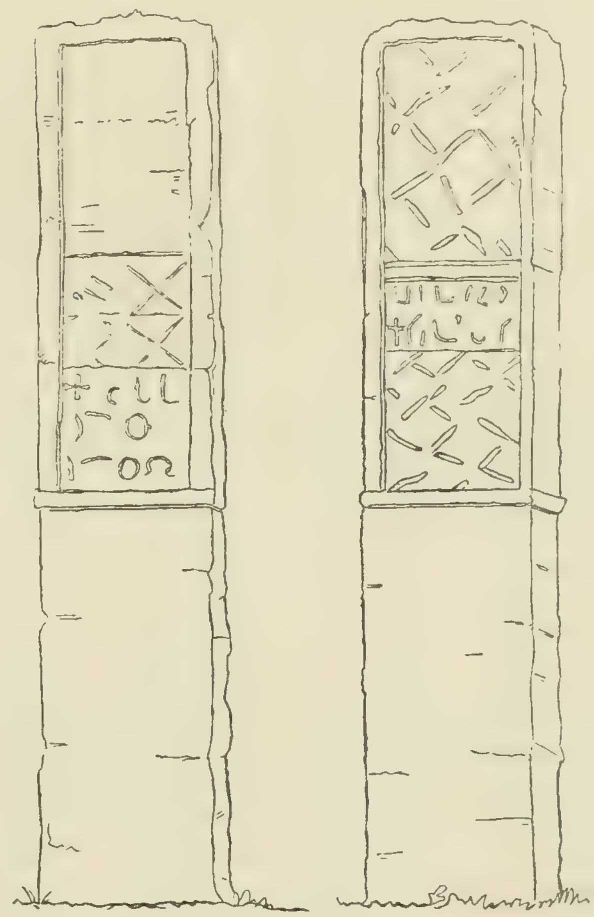
18 In vico *Lanivet* prope *Bodmin*, in muro aedificii vetusti nunc transverse positus, litteris bonis; initio nihil deest.



Annicuri . . . . .?

W. Jago *proceedings of the society of antiquaries* II 5, 1870—73 p. 486 qui delineavit; idem putat *s* finalem esse *of the boat-hook shape in the so called Saxon style.* I. Rhys non vidit.

19 *St. Blazey* (m. p. Anglicorum ab *Par station*), cippus altus p. 7 dig. 6 latus p. 1 dig. 6, crassus dig. 8; scriptus ab utraque parte.



in fronte: † cilroron?

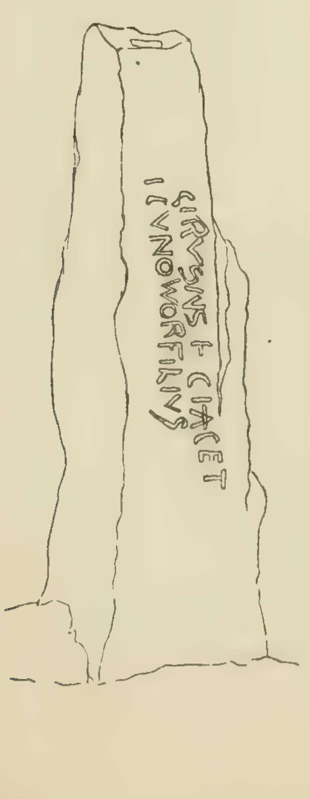
a tergo: vilici † filius?

Borlase p. 399 tab. 36 fig. 3. 4 (inde Lysons 3 p. CCXXIII; Hitchins 1 p. 44; Gilbert *survey* p. 203; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 699) quem sequor; I. Rhys vidit.

Borlase adnotat lectionem esse incertam; nam etiam legi posse *Alroron* vel *Cilsoson Ullici filius.* Inter annos p. C. 700—1000 collocat Haddan, qui legit *Arboron Villici filius.* Omnia incerta esse adnotat Rhys.

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20 '*A mile of* [*from Casteldour*] *is a broken crosse thus inscribed*' LELAND. Extat ibidem ad laevam viae publicae ad *Fowey* ducentis, circa m. p. (Anglicos) ab hac urbe prope vicum *Polkerys.* Cippus vulgo dicitur *the long stone*; altus est p. 8, latus et crassus circiter unum. In parte postica crux insculpta est huius formae T.

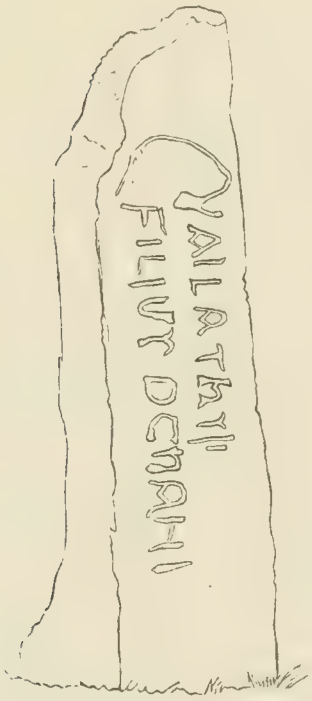


Drustagni? hic iacit Cunomor(i) filius

Lelandi itinerar. ed. Hearne 3 p. 18 (inde male Hitchins 1 p. 435); Carew *survey of Cornwall* (1602) p. 136; Moyle *posthumous works* 1 p. 178 ss. 189 in epistula ad Musgravium, acceptam a Ric. Vivian); Borlase *Cornwall* p. 356 tab. 30 fig. 2; Ed. Llwyd in Gough's Camden 1 p. 21 tab. 1 fig. 8; Lysons 3 p. CCXXI in tab. fig. 1; Gilbert *survey* p. 188; W. Haslam *archaeol. journal* 2, 1846 p. 388 s. et lapide iterum inspecto 4, 1847 p. 307 (inde Wright *the Celt* p. 456) cuius imaginem sequor; Blight 1 f. 127 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 163); Pedler n. 2; I. Rhys vidit.

1 Duo vocabula priora Lysons et Blight non viderunt. '*Cunomor et filius cum domina Clusilla*' Leland ex memoria aut ex amicorum relatione falsa puto; CERVSIVS Moyle; *Cirusius* reliqui praeter I. Rhys, qui quae dedi supra probabilia esse affirmat, non certa. Scilicet D initio inverse posita ɑ, ut v. 2 W pro M. IACIT reliqui praeter Lysons et Haslam a. 1846. 2 CVNOMORI Haslam in textu, qui addit initio versus utriusque signum aliquod apparere, quod nisi fortuitum omnino pro cruce habendum sit; Blight crucem addit initio v. 2.

21 *Welltown* iuxta *Cardynham*; cippus pro poste ianuae adhibitus. Nunc *by the wall of an outhouse* RHYS.

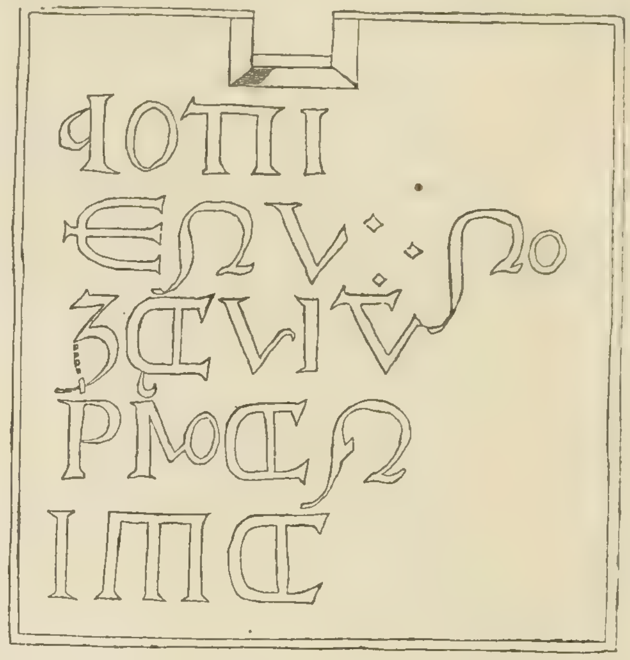


Vailathi fili Vrchani?

Blight 1 f. 126, 1 cuius imaginem sequor; Pedler n. 9; I. Rhys nuper vidit.

Lectio non satis certa; *Ailathi filiu Rocni* Pedlerus; Rhys v. 2 ante O, non S, certum, elementum autem paenultimum etiam E esse posse adnotat.

22 *St. Neots* prope *Liskeard, Cornwall,* in parochia S. Clarae (*St. Cleer*) CAMDEN. Videtur periisse.



Doniert rogavit pro anima

Camden ed. VI (1607) p. 139 (inde Borlase p. 396; Blight p. 128; Gilbert *survey* p. 203; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 699); I. Rhys non vidit.

Camdenus haec adnotat: 'iuxta [*Leskerdam*, ad ecclesiam *S. Gueric*, postea *Neotestow*, nunc *St. Neoth's*], ut accepi, in parochia S. Clarae cernuntur in loco dicto *Pennant*, i. e. caput vallis, duo cippi, quorum alter parte superiore in cathedrae formam excavatur, alter qui *Other halfe stone* vocatur, barbaris characteribus iam fugientibus sic inscribitur ..... Quae ego sic legenda censeo *Doniert: rogavit pro anima*; nisi suspicari lubeat illa punctula : post *Doniert* reliquias esse litterae E et sic legere *Doniert erogavit*, quasi ille terram illam religiosis pro anima erogaverit. *Doniert* autem non possum non existimare illum Cornwalliae regulum fuisse, quem *Dungerth* Annales vocant, et submersum anno salutis 872 [875 *Haddan*] produnt'.

Litterarum formas non bene imitatum esse Camdeni typographum apparet. Sunt enim Hibernosaxonicae quae dicuntur simplices.

II. *DEVON.*

23 *Yealmpton*, prope *Plimstock* et *Brixton*, *Devon*, in coemeterio, cippus altus p. 8 dig. 4, latus p. 2 dig. 3, transverse scriptus. Crucis iacentis signum infra additum fortasse recentius est. Exemplum tituli chartaceum propositum est in conventu instituti archaeologici Britannici a. 1851 in *Bristol* habito, *archaeol. journal* 8, 1851 p. 424.



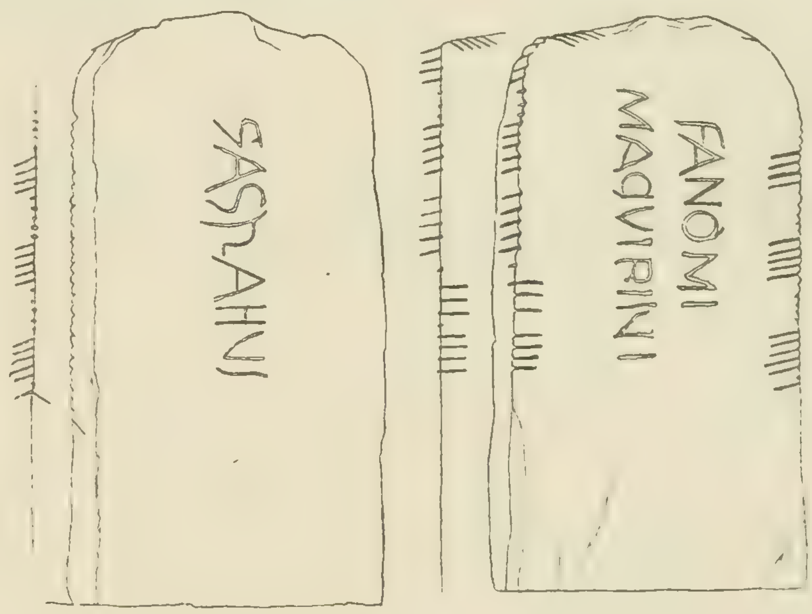
Goreus

Goughs Camden 1 p. 47 ligno incisum dat a Jones missum, quod exemplum exhibeo; Lysons magna Britannia 6 p. CCCVIII citat tantum; Storer et Greig *antiquarian and topographical cabinet* 4, 1808; I. Rhys non vidit.

Lectio non usquequaque certa.

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24 In *Fardel manor house* prope *Evybridge, South Devon,* cippus extabat olim; nunc est Londinii in museo Britannico. In lateribus praeterea scriptura Celtica addita est. Cippus altus est p. 6 dig. 3, latus p. 2 dig. 10, crassus dig. 7.



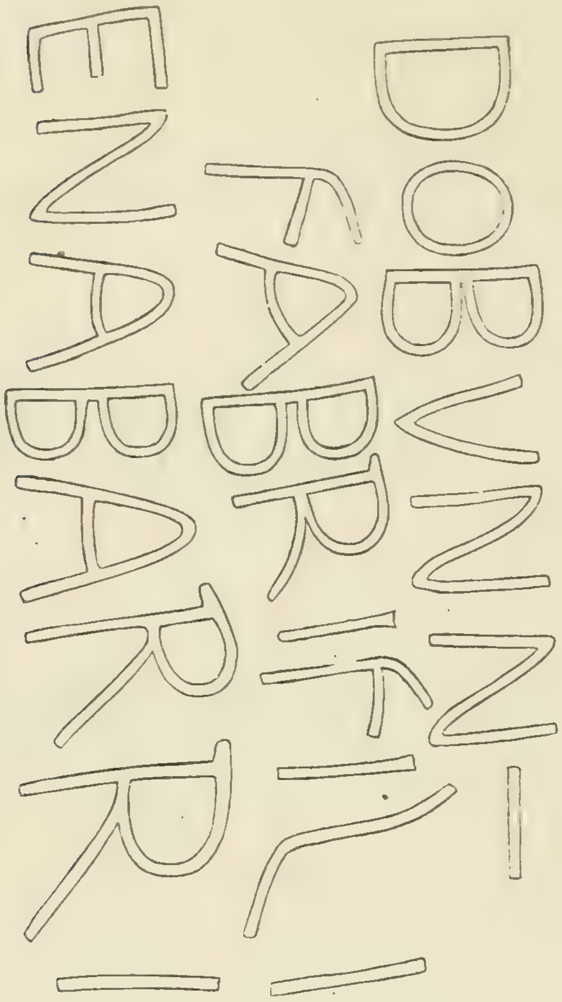
Fanoni Maquirini — Sagranui

Descripsi. E. Smirke *archaeol. journal* 18, 1861 p. 175 ss.; Pettigrew *assoc. journal* 17, 1861 p. 293 ss.; H. Longueville Jones Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 8, 1862 p. 134 ss. quem sequor; R. B. Brash Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 15, 1869 p. 164 (cum eadem imagine atque Smirke); I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 4, 1873 p. 75.

Fanomi reliqui et imago mea eos secuta; sed quod I. Rhys me monuit, scilicet *Fanoni* clare legi, confirmaverunt a me rogati amici musei Britannici A. W. Franks et A. S. Murray.

Litteras Celticas Rhys nunc ita legit: *Scaqquci* | *maqi Qici* putatque nomen *Sraqquci* componendum esse cum *chwap*, *quick* hodierno.

25 Fuit in *Buckland* Monachorum, *Devon*; nunc servatur in *Tavistock*. In angulo litterae Celticae scriptae sunt, quarum imaginem nancisci non potui. Formam lapidis depictam non habui mensuramque eius ignoro.



Dobunni fabri fili Enabarri

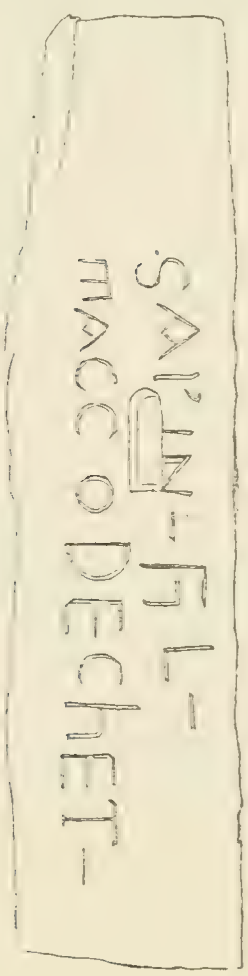
S. Ferguson Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 92 et I. Rhys ibid. p. 173 cf. p. 334 adn. Is mihi ectypum misit litterarum, quod hic repetendum curavi. Litterarum Celticarum has tantum

..nabarr...

Rhys legit, diverse a reliquis; ut mihi significavit per litteras. Idem lapide denuo inspecto *filli* potius quam *fili* legendum putat.

---

26 Fuit in *Buckland* Monachorum, *Devon, at the corner of a blacksmiths shop.* Nunc in *Tavistock* Rhys. Cippus altus p. 7 dig. 2, latus dig. 14 ad p. 1 dig. 6.

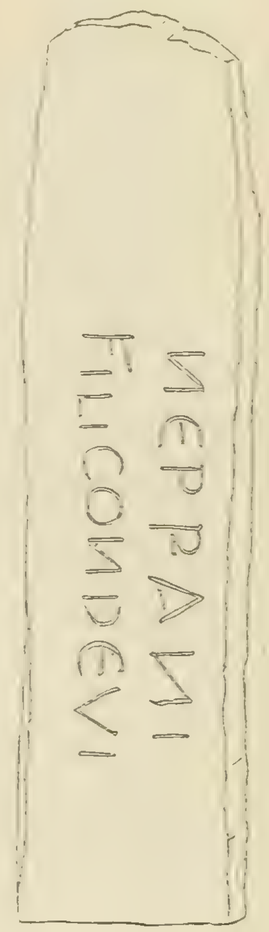


Sarini fili Macco Decheti

Lysons magna Britannia 6 p. CCCIX in tab. quem sequor; S. Ferguson *proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* a. 1871, 3 p. 31; Kilkenny *archaeol. journal* ser. II 2, 1858 p. 184. Habui praeterea imaginem photographicam ab I. Rhys missam, quam item adhibui.

De nomine cf. S. Ferguson Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 92. *Sarin* legebatur, potest autem etiam *Sabin* esse, non *Sagin*, ut recte observavit Rhys.

27 *Tavistock, Devon, on the site of the abbey* (Lys.), cippus altus p. 7, latus dig. 21, crassus 11. Litteris Hibernosaxonicis satis vetustis Rhys.

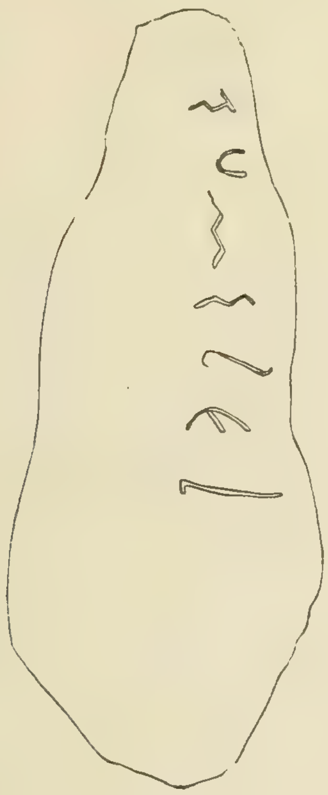


Neprani fili Conbevi

Lysons magna Britannia 6 p. CCCIX in tab. quem sequor; Storer et Greig *antiquarian and topographical Cabinet* 2, 1807; Wright *the Celt* p. 455; I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 333 q. v. putabatque tum ineditam esse.

NEPOSRANI Storer, ex interpretatione falsa, ut apparet. *Condevi* reliqui, *Conbevi* Rhys, qui putat nomen idem esse atque *Cynfyw* recentius.

28 *Stowford, Devon,* cippus rudis, litteris fugientibus. Longus est p. c. 5, mensurae reliquae non indicantur.



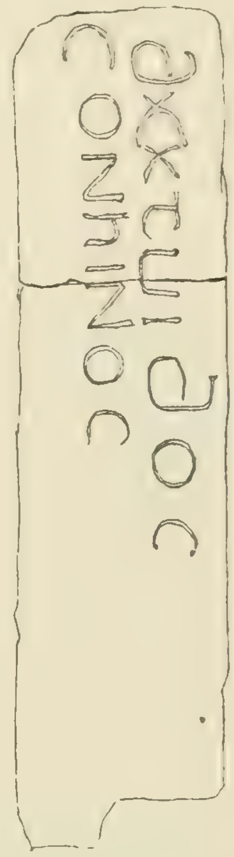
Gurgles ?

Bristol Meeting of the archaeological Institute 1851 p. LXIX (= *archaeol. journal* 8, 1851 p. 424) ex pictura a duce Northumbriae oblata; quam sequor. I. Rhys, qui nuper vidit, imaginem hanc non esse bonam observat, sed ita potius litteras sibi visas esse

3 u u- 3 I c- ſ

Tertium vero et ultimum elementum incerta fortasse *r* et *s* indicare.

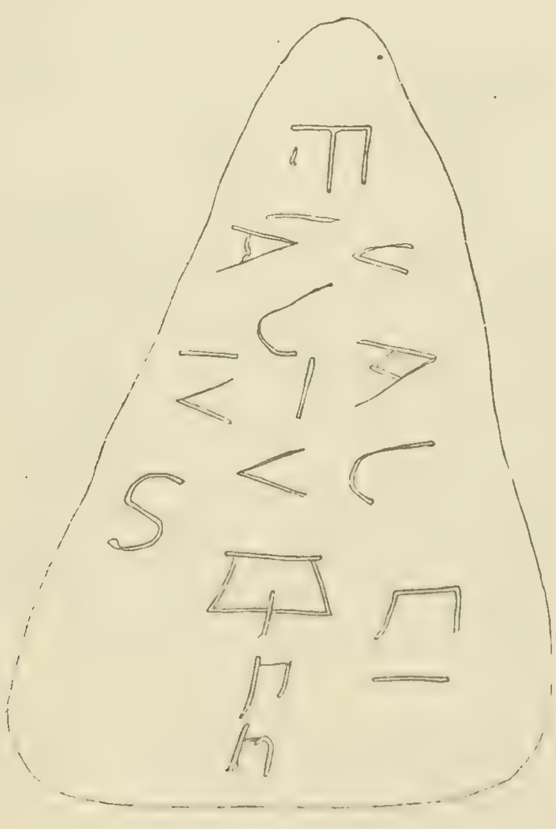
29 *Lustleigh church, Devon, forming a sill under the door*; cippus longus p. 4, latus dig. 14.



Dixtuidoci Conhinoc(i) ?

Lysons magna Britannia 6 p. CCCIX in tab. quem sequor. I. Rhys non vidit. Lectio incerta.

30 *Bowden* (a *Totnes* ad meridiem, intra *Berry Pomerey, Harberton* et *Ashprington*), *Devon,* cippus supra in fastigii modum acutus, altus circiter p. 3, latus infra 2.



Valci fili V. . . aius ?

Goughs Camden 1 p. 51 s. ex epistula scripta a. 1744 a B. Trist ad Swintonem. Hunc sequor, nam I. Rhys non vidit.

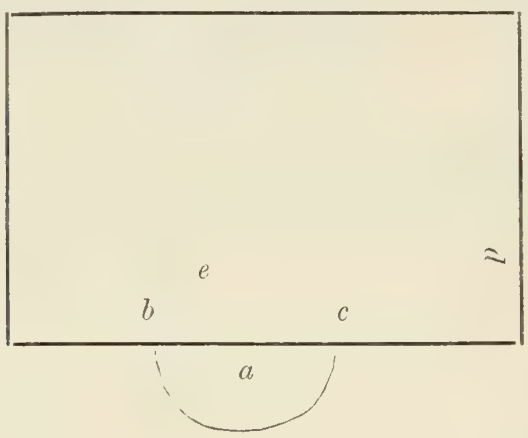
III. *DORSET.*

31 Prope *Frampton*, m. p. V a *Dorchester*, in dioecesi *Maiden Newton*, iuxta viae Romanae ad *Eggardon camp* ducentis vestigia a. 1794 et 1795 parietinae villae rusticae Romanae magnae et splendidae detectae sunt. Cubicula eius principalia tria pavimentis tessellatis ornata erant, quorum duo imagines tantum exhibuerunt, velut capita deorum, animalia venationis cet.; alterum, quod in exedra semicirculari est, signum Christianum exhibet (loco in forma infra posita *a* littera designato) intra circulum hoc

a.



Tertium Neptuni caput habet loco *e* et a dextra eius pedes pueri supra mutili, fortasse Cupidinis; accedunt locis *b* et *c* dispositae particulae inscriptionis infra scriptae. Forma autem pavimenti haec est

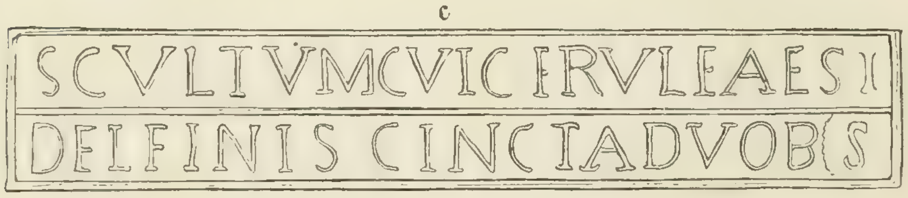


In lateribus pavimenti oblongi, quae in forma litteris nullis signata sunt, nihil unquam scriptum erat; patet igitur iuxta *d* tantum periisse versiculos duos. Tituli vero ita dispositi sunt, ut litterae in forma positae.

b



c



d.

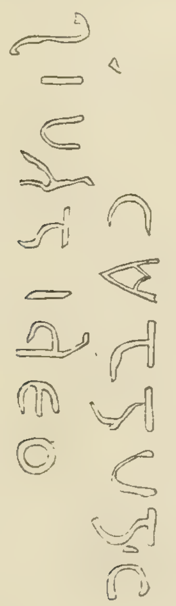


Samuel Lysons reliquiae Britannico-Romanae I (3, 1801) tab. V p. 1 ss. (inde antequam publici iuris factum est Goughs Camden 1 p. 67; deinde Th. Wright *the Celt* cet. p. 204. 299; B. Poste Britannia antiqua p. 299; Bingham *archaeol. journ.* 16, 1859 p. 186; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 40; ego C. I. L. VII 2).

Tractavit nuper Studemundius in Hermae vol. IX (1874) p. 503 versiculosque iambicos ita disponendos et sic fere supplendos esse exposuit:

Neptúni vertex, régmen
sortiti mobile ventis,
scultum cui cerulea es[*t frons*]
delfinis cincta duobu[*s*].
5 [*nec mu*]*nus perficis ullum*
[*armorum*] *gnare Cupido*
. . . .

32 In *Wareham, Dorsetshire,* cippus rep. a. 1841. Mensura non indicatur.



Catgug ic fius Gideo(nis) ?

Aneurin Owen Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 3, 1872 p. 65, qui imaginem exhibitam esse ait in ephemeride *the Dorset County chronicle*, m. Oct. a. 1841. Hanc ab amicis indagatam supra exhibui.

Videtur *fius* barbare scriptum esse pro *filius*.

WALES

(Capp. IV—XIV).

IV. *BRECKNOCKSHIRE.*

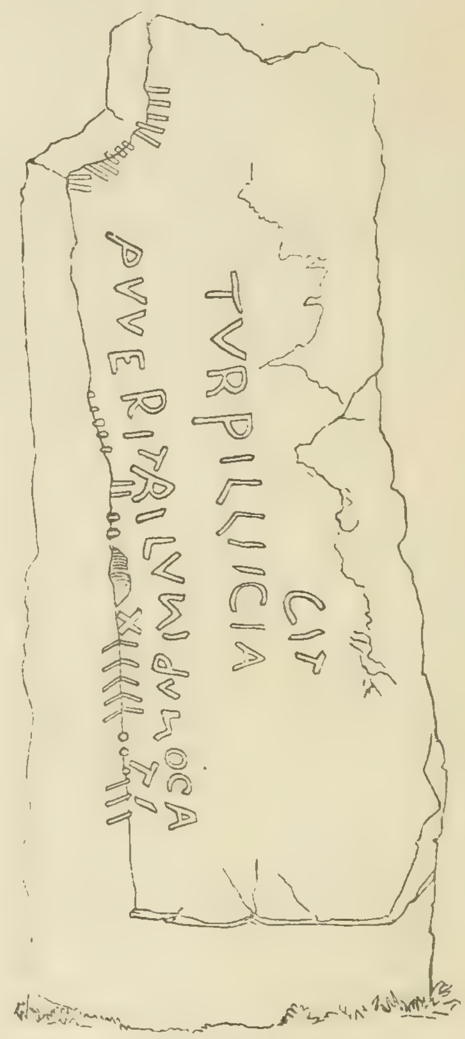
33 *Patristow* (s. *Partricio*), *north east of Crickhowel, Brecknockshire,* in puteali. Circulus exterior est dig. 34.



Menhir me fecit in tempore Genillin

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 2, 1856 p. 286 (cf. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 334, 26).

34 *Crickhovel, Brecknockshire,* olim *in the farm called Wern y Butler, off the road between Crickhowel and Llanbedr,* nunc *in Glan Usk Park, the residence of Sir Joseph Bailey, about 2 miles from Crickhowel.* Cippus altus est p. 6, latus infra p. 1 dig. 7 et dig. 11, supra p. 1 dig 4 et dig. 4; in margine sinistro litterae Celticae sunt.



Turpilli ic iacit puueri Triluni Dunocati

I. Strange Archaeologia 4, 1776 p. 18 tab. 2 fig. 2 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 103 tab. 4 fig. 6); *Gent. mag.* 56, 1786 p. 473 adn. 173 tab. 1 fig. 7 et p. 581; Jones *Brecknockshire* 2 p. 433 tab. 4 fig. 4; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. 2, 1847 p. 25 cf. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 324. 332, 8; R. B. Brash Archaeol.

Cambr. ser. III 15, 1869 p. 153 et ser. IV 2, 1871 p. 158. Horum lectionem sequor; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 9 et 11 s. et Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 19, qui litteras Celticas significare affirmat

Turpil[*li*] et loco paullo altiore [*Tri*]*llun*

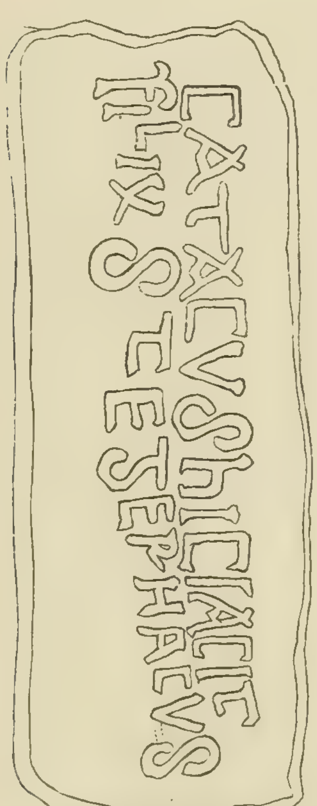
Cum *Dunocati* nomine Brash comparat titulum litteris Celticis scriptum ex Hibernia, *from Whitefield, co. of Kerry,* nunc servatum in museo academiae regiae Hibernicae, in quo legatur

Nocati maqi Maqi Ret

Ad *puueri* formam Rhys comparat *Giovanni* Italorum ex *Iohannes* ortum; sed *uu* illud videtur ortum esse ex prava scriptura vix conferenda illa cum *pouero* forma ex tegula C. I. L. III p. 962 n. 2 nota, quam O. Iahnius protulerat (in actis soc. Saxon. minoribus a. 1858 p. 197; inde habuit Corssen *Ausspr. des Lat.* I² p. 362), aliisque vetustis eius generis, quas Ritschelius composuit monum. epigr. tria p. 29 et 34 ss.

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35 Prope *Pen y Gaer* sive *Pentre Gaer* olim, anno 1830 insertus parieti meridionali ecclesiae *of Llanfihangel* sive *St. Michaels Cwmdû, Brecknockshire, near Crickhowel; it was removed from a field called Tir Gwenlli, about a mile S. S. W. of the church of St. Michael, and placed in this buttress for preservation by the Rev. T. Price, vicar, a. d. 1830, having been presented to him for that purpose by the owner, the Rev. T. Lewis; its original site is not known. The inscription measures about forty inches by ten.*



Catacus hic iacit filius Tegernacus

Daines Barrington proposuit societati antiquariorum Londiniensi a. 1773 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 103); Jones *Brecknockshire* 2 p. 499 tab. 12 fig. 1; H. Th. Payne Archaeol. Scotica 3, 1831 p. 98; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 311 et 333, 12, *Gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39, Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 2, 1871 p. 261 (ubi citatur *the Cambrian Quarterly magazine* vol. 5 p. 519; inde etiam Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 167) ex ectypo servato apud Price, quod sequor; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 9.

De lectione non videtur dubitari posse.

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36 *Cwmdû, Brecknockshire,* in ecclesia vetere, ad quam aedificandam lapis adhibitus est. Ab altera parte crucem inscriptam exhibet, ab altera supersunt litterae

IC IACeT

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 333, 18 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 167).

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37 *At Lanavan vawr* (s. *Llan-afan-fawr*), *Brecknockshire, on the tombstone of St. Awan*; litteris angulatis sive Langobardicis, quae tribuuntur saeculo fere XIII Westwood.

hIC IACET SANCTVS

AVANVS EPISCOPVS

hic iacet sanctus Avanus episcopus

Anonymus in cod. mus. Brit. 14, 934 f. 206, qui accepit a *M. Evan Evans*; Jones *Brecknockshire* 2 p. 239; Westwood mihi dedit descriptam; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 166.

Litteras hasce a rectore quondam ecclesiae vici illius, *one Mr. Griffith,* refectas esse rettulerunt anonymo vel amico eius, qui nomen suum his litteris subscripsit '*L. M.*'

---

38 Prope aediculam nuper (ante a. 1853) erectam a Iosepho Bailey in memoriam filii defuncti, quae est prope *Brecon*, inter *Llwynfedwen* et *Crickhovel,* cippus transverse scriptus litteris paene evanidis.

7l1A/ 18A

Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 323 (cf. ibid. p. 331, 4 ubi propter elementum primum lapidem centurialem esse Westwood iudicat, iniuria puto, propter cippi formam).

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39 *Llandyvaelog, on a stone formerly forming the treshold of the church.* Dicitur periisse.

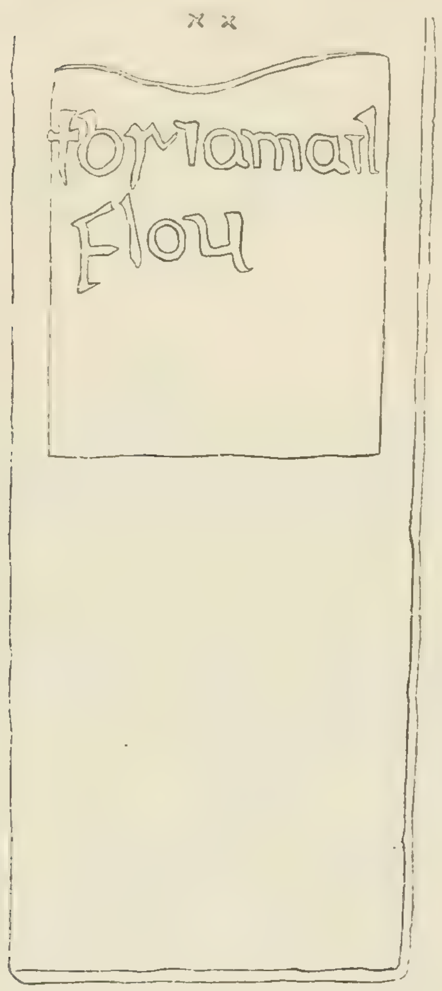
CATVC

I. Strange Archaeologia 1², 1779 p. 307; Jones *Brecknockshire* 2 p. 174 (inde Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 333, 13 et ser. IV 3, 1873 p. 384; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 167).

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40 *Llandyvaelog* (s. *Llanderaelog*), *Brecknockshire* Westwood. Male habitam esse narratur Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 3, 1872 p. 67. *Llandefaelog Fach, now fixed against the west wal of a mausoleum of the former owners of*

Pennoyre Vault RHYS. Cippus anaglyphis variis ornatus altus est p. 7, latus 1.



† Briamail Flou

Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden 2 p. 834 fig. 6; I. Strange Archaeologia 1², 1779 p. 296 in tab. fig. 3 (inde Goughs Camden 2 p. 104 tab. 5 fig. 1); Jones *Brecknockshire* 2 p. 104 fig. 1 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 630); Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 4, 1858 p. 306 (et iterum ser. IV 3, 1873 p. 383), qui tribuit saeculo undecimo; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 9.

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41 *Llangors, Talgarth, Brecknockshire,* rep. *when the old chancel-arch of the church was pulled down.* Lapis longus p. 2, latus dig. 10, crassus dig. 2½. Tituli duo extant in angulo lapidis dextro.

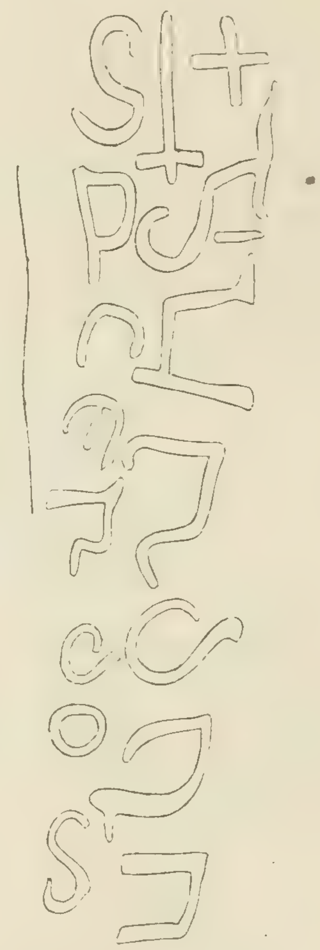
\+ gurci
bledrus

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 232 cui ectypum miserat D. Lewis of Llangors, cuius tamen non adiecit imaginem; R. B. Brash ibid. p. 335.

Nomina duo distincta esse adnotat Westwood, litteris diversis sculpta, ita ut prius vocabulum totam lapidis latitudinem occupet, alterum litteris constet altis tres quartas digiti partes, mixtis iisdem ex vario genere, nam *r* esse Anglosaxonicum, *v* unciale Romanum.

---

42 *Llanthetty, Brecknockshire, a stone built into the wall of the church.* Mensura non indicatur.



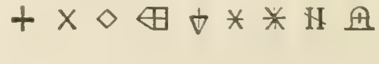
Gurdan sacerdos

I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10 qui tum non viderat; postea idem ectypum misit, secundum quod imago mea delineata est.

Fuitne *Giurdan?*

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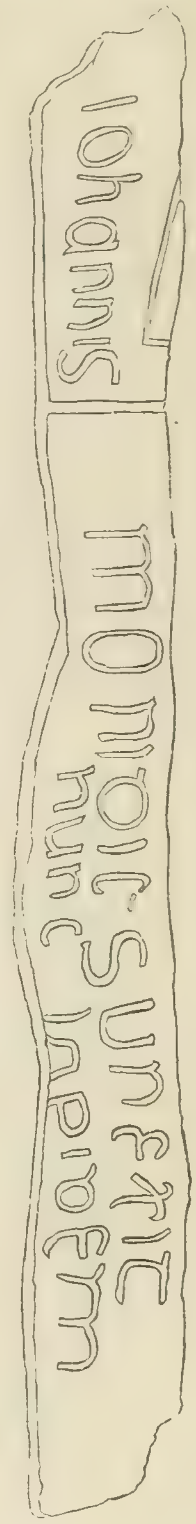
43 *Llanamlwch* (s. *Hamlach*) prope *Crickhowel, Brecknockshire, a square hut, commonly called Ty Iltud or St. Iltuds hermitage; on the two side stones* legitur



Edw. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 593 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 103); (S. Lysons) *Beauties of England and Wales* p. 92, 4; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 334, 20.

Signa tantum esse, non litteras putat Westwood. Tamen omittere nolui.

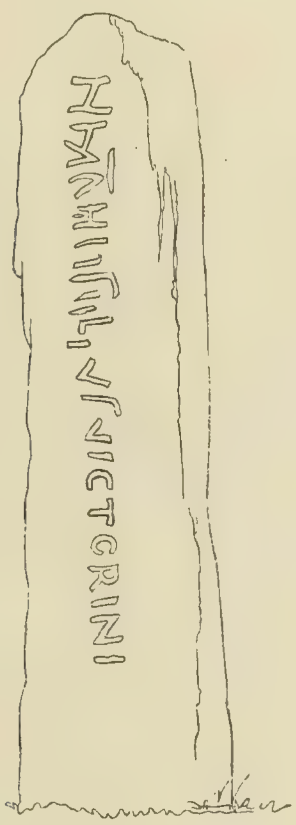
44 *Llanamlwch* (sive *Llanhamllech*), inter *Crickhowel* et *Brecon, about 3 miles from Brecon,* reperta in parietinis *of the old parsonage house.* Litteris Hibernosaxonicis. Supra viri et feminae imagines stantium sub palo crucis aut sub arbore; fortasse Adam et Eva, ut observat RHYS. Mensura non indicatur.



Iohannis Moridici surexit hunc lapidem

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 3, 1852 p. 274 (cf. ibid. 4, 1854 p. 334, 25; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 630), qui tribuit saeculo decimo undecimove; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 9 non vidit; sed postea Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 332 examinavit.

45 *At a place called y Gaer near Brecknock, in the highway* Llwyd. *Formerly near Scethrog, halfway between Llansaintfread and Llanamlwch, about 4½ miles from the latter place; now in the hedge, on the westside of the road, 4 miles and 7 furlongs distance south from Brecon* Westwood. Ibidem vidit Rhys. Cippus altus est circiter p. 3 dig. 6.



Nemni? filius Victorini

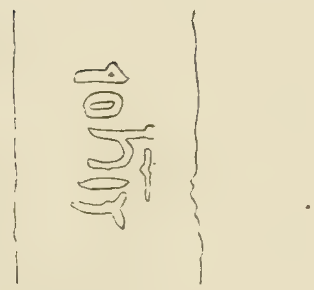
Edw. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 593; I. Strange Archaeologia 4, 1776 p. 15 tab. 2 fig. 1 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 103); Jones *Brecknockshire* 2 tab. 6 fig. 3 (in textu omissa); Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. 2, 1847 p. 29, ser. nova 2, 1851 p. 226 (cf. 4, 1853 p. 332, 9) ligno incisam dat accurate; tamen reliqui fere non variant.

Nomen defuncti incertum est; quod dedi, proposuit Rhys.

Circa hanc regionem extat lapis alter Romanus, *Maen y Morynnion* dictus, anaglypho viri et feminae ornatus: C. I. L. VII, 152. Cf. Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 331, 1.

---

46 *Llanfrynach, Brecknockshire,* in lapide ornato cruce incisa, figura hominis arantis, nodis variis, reperto in fundamento ecclesiae parochialis, dum illa diruitur.



Iohis

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 2, 1856 p. 51. 140 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 630).

47 *Llanfrynach, Brecknockshire,* rep. cum ecclesia vetus destruebatur una cum aliis titulis duobus inscriptis, quorum alter mox periit, alter utpote recentior hic non proponitur.

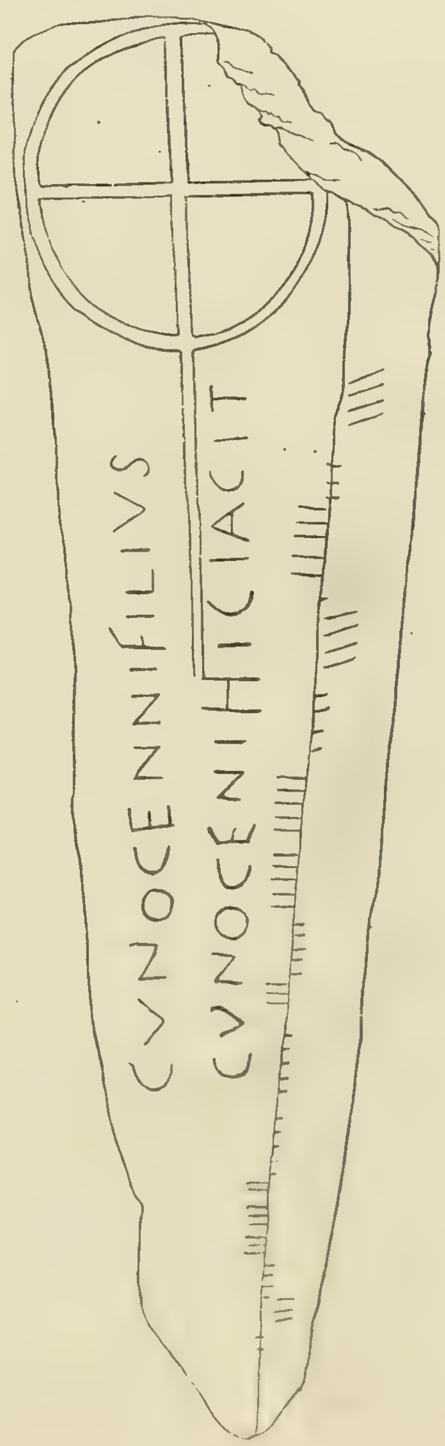


Co . . .

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 2, 1856 p. 51. 140.

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48 *Trallong* (s. *Trallwm*), *Brecknockshire, about a mile from the station of Aber Brân,* cippus transverse scriptus, repertus dum ecclesia restauratur; ibi servatur. Altus est p. 6, latus supra p. 1 dig. 6. In margine sinistro litterae Celticae extant.



Cunocenni filius Cunoceni hic iacit

Westwood *gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; H. L. Jones Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 8, 1862 p. 52 (cf. ser. IV 3, 1872 p. 389; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 167) ubi Graves litteras Celticas idem fere significare demonstrat; R. R. Brash Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 15, 1869 p. 161; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 9. qui litteras Celticas ita legit

Cunacenniri Ilvreto

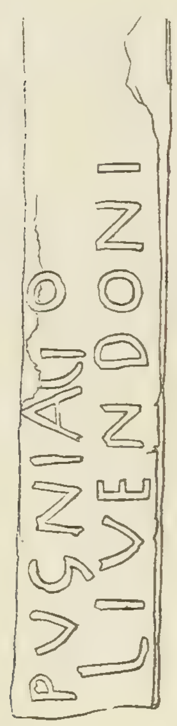
additque vocabulum secundum nondum esse explicatum. Crucem idem (Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 284) affirmat postea esse additam, postquam pars lapidis inferior ex humo evulsa in altum erecta est.

48 *a From Trallong, Brecknockshire, J walked many miles to the top of a mountain to see a stone called Maen Richard, which the natives mentioned to me, and which J thought might possibly have an inscription on it. Such J found, however, not to be the case.*

I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10.

---

49 In *Devynock*, in via quae a *Brecon* ducit, post *Llanspyddyd*, in turris ecclesiae angulo meridionali et occidentali. Cippus supra cruce variisque anaglyphis ornatus est. Mensura non indicatur.



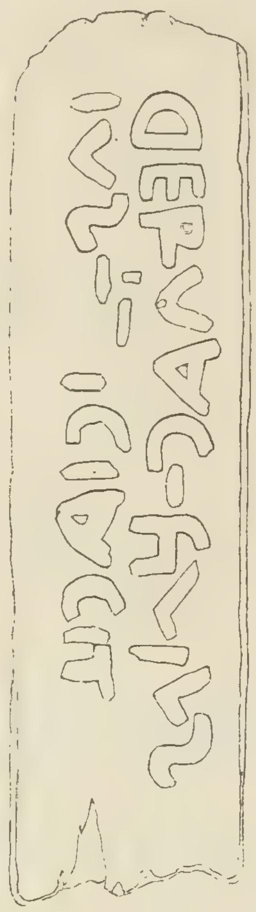
. . . *pugniacio?* [*fi*]*li Vendoni*

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 4, 1858 p. 164 (cf. ibid. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 333, 16; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 168) et *gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39 (inde Rhys p. 10 qui non vidit); I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10 nondum viderat, postea Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 33 postquam examinavit nomen primi versus ita legit

Rugniauto

Quis autem, si initio v. 2 *f i* litterae desunt, primi versus nomen integrum esse affirmaverit?

50 *Ystraedvelty* (s. *Ystrad Fellte*), *Brecknockshire, about a mile off, in the cross-road leading from Brecknock*; lapis vulgo dictus *Maen Madoc*, altus est p. 11, latus $2\frac{1}{2}$, crassus $1\frac{1}{4}$.



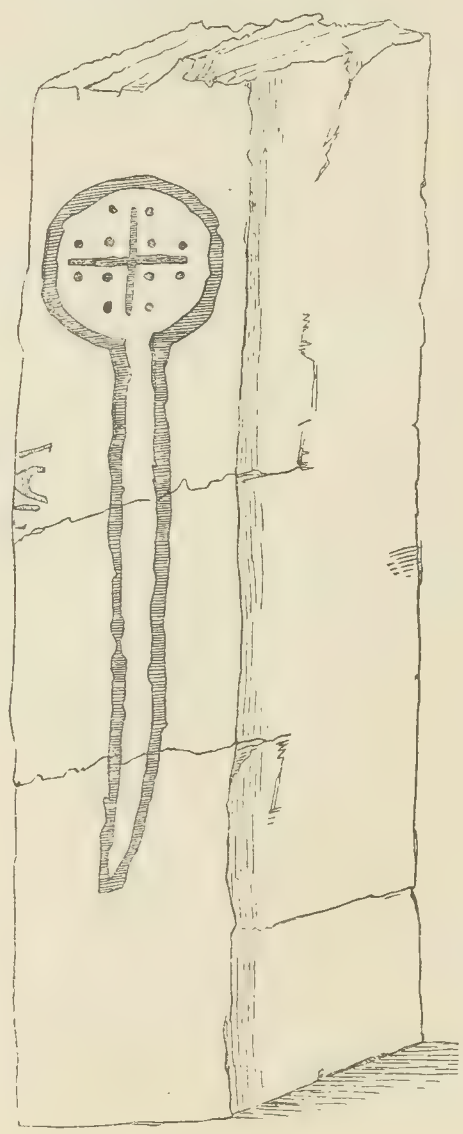
Dervaci filius Iusti ic iacit

I. Strange Archaeologia 4, 1776 p. 7 tab. 1 fig. 3 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 100 tab. 4 fig. 3); Jones *Brecknockshire* 2 tab. 12 fig. 2 (in textu non memoratur); Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 4, 1858 p. 407 (cf. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 333, 10) et *gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 332 qui vidit.

2 *Iulii* Westwood, sed ipsius imago et lapis, ut Rhys observat, *Iusti* exhibent.

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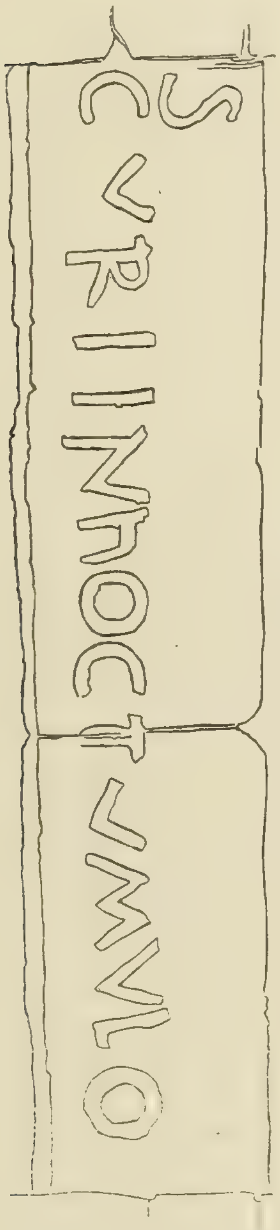
51 At *Pen y Mynnid* prope *Ystraedvelty, Brecknockshire.*



Iul . . . ?

Goughs Camden 3 p. 100, qui crucem illam simpuvium Romanum esse credidit; perperam. Ceterum litterae illae in margine positae utrum Latinae sint an Celticae non definio.

52 *Abercar* prope *Merthyr Tydfil, Brecknockshire,* limen bubilis in viae a *Brecon* ad *Merthyr* ducentis parte occidentali WESTWOOD. Ibidem vidit RHYS. Mensura non indicatur.



. . . . . *s* [*filius* . . . .]*curi in hoc tumulo* [*iacit*]

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 4, 1858 p. 162 (cf. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 332, 5); I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 9.

53 *In Vaenor parish (Crickhowel), Brecknockshire, upon a cross in the highway, 11 miles from Brecon.* Videtur periisse.

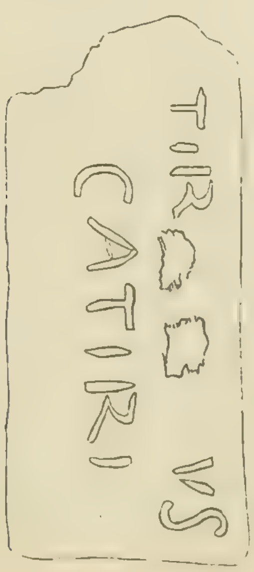


in nomine d(e)i sumi Hilus

Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 593 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 103); Jones *Brecknockshire* 2 p. 623 frustra quaesivit (cf. Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 333, 11; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 167).

Etiam *Filus* et *Tilus* legi potest.

54 *On the road from Brecon to Merthyr, Brecknockshire* JONES. Olim fuisse in *Vaenor,* sed destructum esse in *Merthyr Tydfil,* cum inde per *Richards* quendam asportabatur ad museum in *Swansea* conditum a Taliesin *Williams* cognoverat WESTWOOD. Cippus erat transverse scriptus; mensuram non habui indicatam.



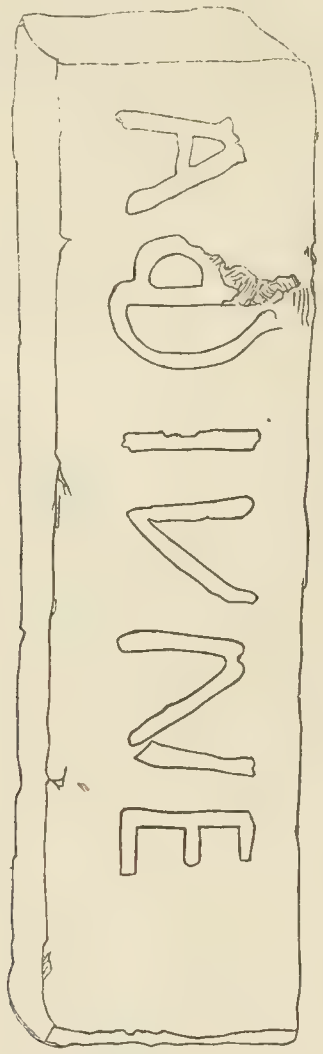
Tir . . . [*fili*]*us Catiri*

Jones *Brecknockshire* 2 p. 624 tab. 6 fig. 5; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 332, 7 qui adnotat '*Mr. Price, of Cwmdû, had a rubbing of it*' (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 168; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 9 qui frustra quaesivit).

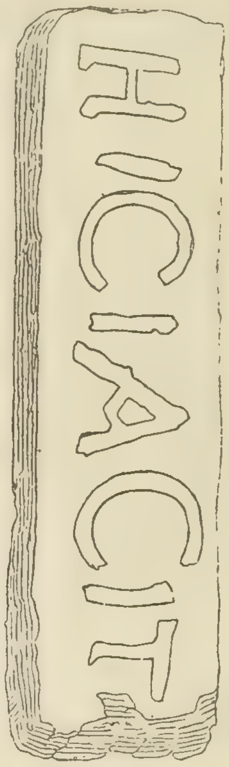
V. 1 *Ti*[*beri*]*us* legit Taliesin Williams.

Rhys addit: *We learnt also that another inscribed stone has been lost in this locality.*

55. 56 *Ystradgynlais, Brecknockshire,* in valle *Tave* fluvii, *a* est unus ex gradibus, qui extra ecclesiam in parte meridionali visuntur; *b* in ecclesiae muro orientali. Cippus *a* altus est p. 4, latus dig. 8; in *b* litterae altae sunt dig. 2¼.



Adiune

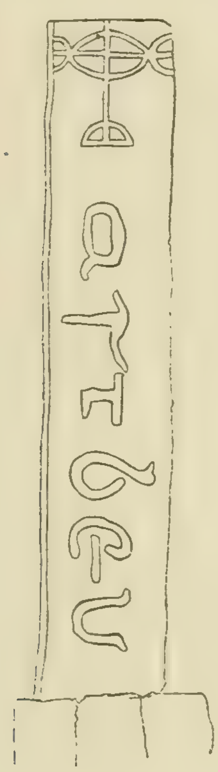


hic iacit

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 1, 1855 p. 6 et 8 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 630) qui non dicit fragmenta esse eiusdem lapidis.

V. *GLAMORGANSHIRE.*

57 *Merthyr Tydfil*, in ecclesia St. Tydfil, *Glamorganshire*; litteris saeculi VII ad IX Westwood. *It is built into the wall of Merthyr parish church far too high . . to take a rubbing of it* Rhys. Mensura non indicatur.

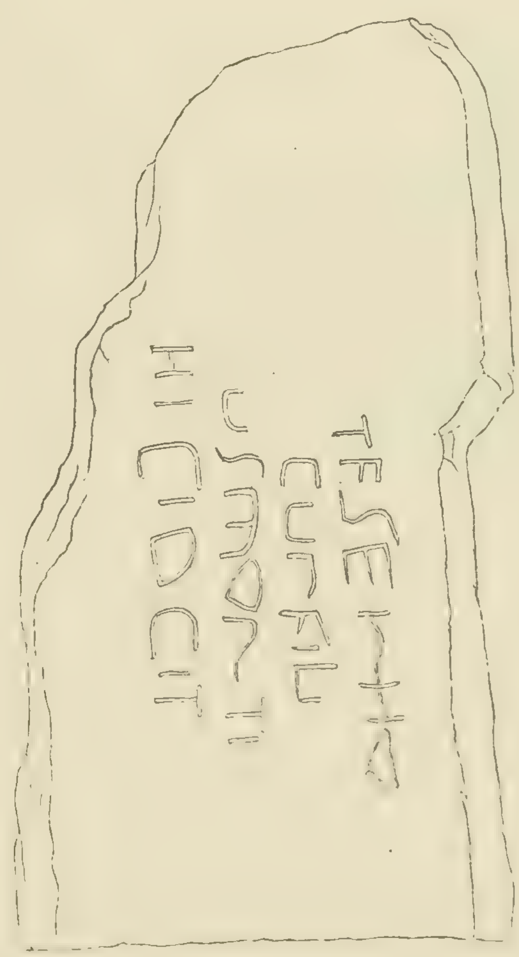


✝ *Artbeu*

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 4, 1858 p. 163 (cf. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 333, 15; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 631) et *gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 9.

Arthgen filius Sulieni episcopi S. Davidis mortuus esse creditur a. 1100. Ab illo hic homo mihi videtur plane diversus esse tam nomine quam tempore. Adscribitur autem titulus a plerisque saeculo octavo nonove.

58 *Capel Brithdir* prope *Gelligaer*, *Glamorganshire,* cippus rudis altus p. 6, latus p. 3 dig. 3. *In a field near the chapel,* litteris rudibus Rhys.

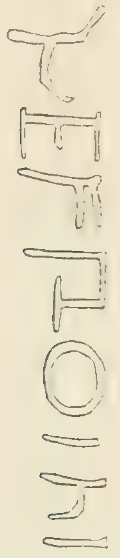


Tegernacus filius Marti hic iacit

T. S. Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 8, 1862 p. 130 et melius H. L. Jones ibid. p. 220; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 9.

3 MARII T. S.

59 In monte dicto *Kevn Gelhi Gaer,* prope *Caerphili* in via ad *Marchnad y wayn, Glamorganshire,* lapis dictus *y maen hir*; cippus quadratus altus p. 8 dig. 6, latus p. 1 dig. 6, transverse scriptus, litteris evanidis.



Sefroihi ?

Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 616 (Gougbs Camden 3 p. 127) et in epistula scripta a. 1693 Archaeol. Cambr. 3, 1848 p. 310 (cf. Westwood ibid. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 333, 17); I. W. Lukis Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 6, 1875 p. 183 ubi datur *Defroihi*; I. Rhys ibidem p. 370.

Quae supersunt vestigia Iohanni Rhys visa sunt talia efficere: *tesroihi.*

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60 *Llandough* prope *Cardiff, Glamorganshire, on the base of the ornamented cross in the church yard.*



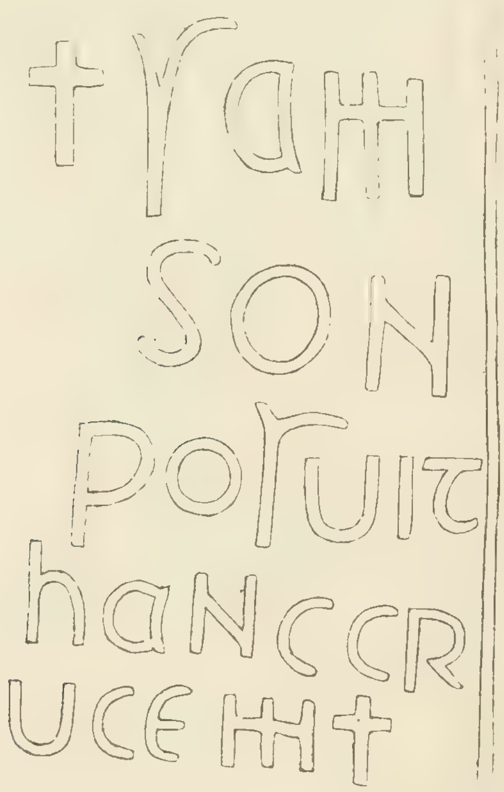
Urbici ?

Westwood misit; Iohanni Rhys ignotus. Lectio incerta.

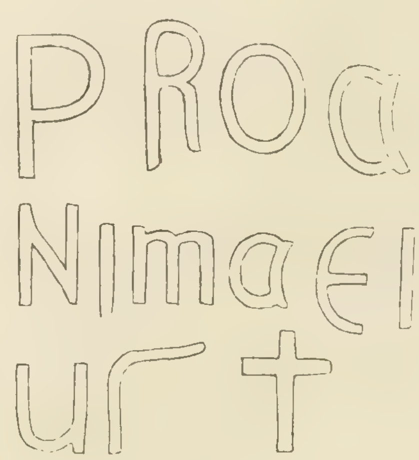
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61 *Llan Iltud vawr,* s. *Llantwit, Glamorganshire* Llwyd. *At Llantwit-Major, Glamorganshire, on a stone which has on it various inscriptions separated into small compartments* Rhys. Cippus altus est p. 7, latus infra p. 5, supra $3\frac{1}{2}$. Creditur esse saeculi noni.

a

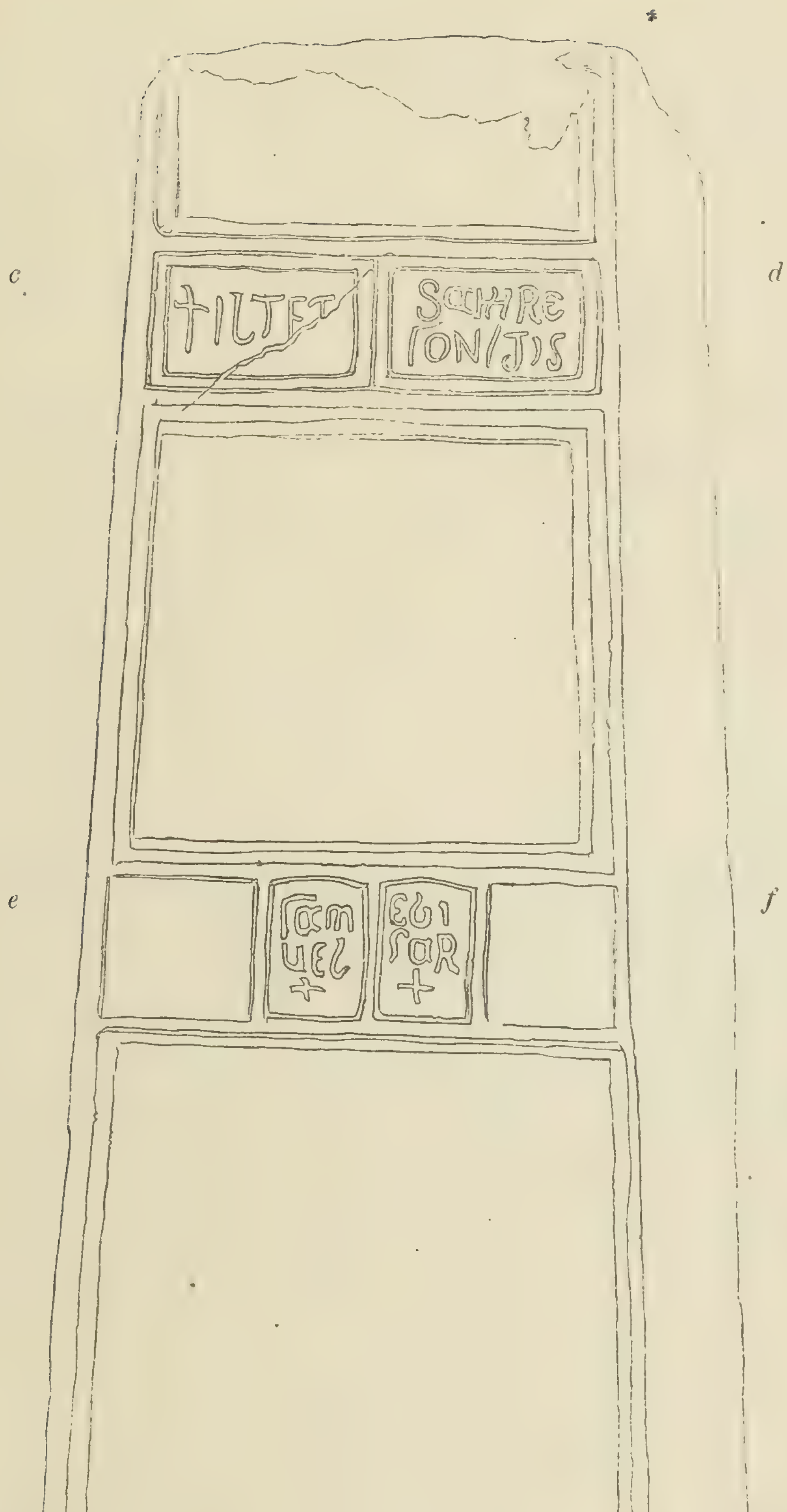


b



a † *Samson posuit hanc crucem* †

b *pro anima eius* †



c † *Ilte*[*t*]

d *Samson regis*

e *Samuel* †

f *Ebisar* †

Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 618; Archaeologia 6, 1782 p. 22 tab. 2 fig. 1—3 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 130 tab. 7 fig. 2; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 628); W. I. Rees *lives of the Cambro-British Saints* (Londinii 1853, 8.) in tab. ante titulum libri *c d e f* tantum exhibet, qualia hic exhibentur; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 9, qui ectypa titulorum *a b* misit supra repraesentata.

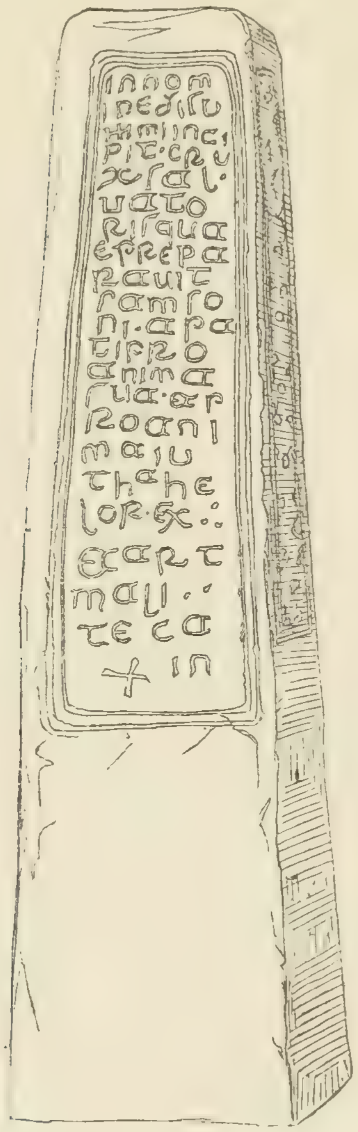
c *Iltut* legebatur.

d *Samson retis* Haddan, qui aut regis intellegendum esse censet aut patris nomen indicari (*the son of Rhys*).

f *egisor* pro *excisor* (*the engraver*) putat positum esse Haddan sine probabilitate.

Aliquot lapides ibi perierunt, cf. Archaeol. Cambr. 4, 1849 p. 326.

62 *Lantwit,* circa a. 1758 lapis erectus stabat iuxta ecclesiam veterem ad latus orientale ianuae; casu quodam, cum sepulcrum ibi effodiebatur, corruit denuoque effossus est a. 1789 et erectus a. 1793. Altus est p. 9, latus infra dig. 28, supra dig. 19, crassus dig. 14½. Ibi extat.



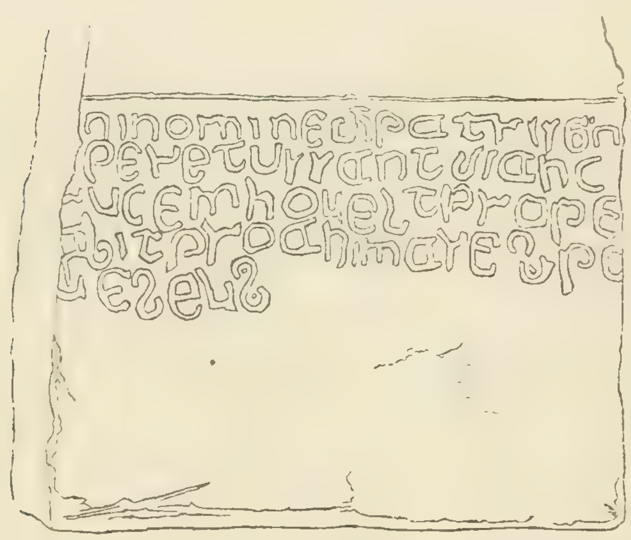
In nomine di summi incipit crux salvatoris quae preparavit Samsoni apati pro anima sua et pro anima iuthahelo rex ∴ et artmali ∴ tecan[i] ✝

Taliesin Williams *Iolo Manuscripts* (Lond. 1848) p. 364 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 627) ex schedis patris Eduardi, quas sequor; Sharon Turner *history of the Anglo-Saxons* ed. VII (1852) 3 p. 516 non satis accurate; Th. Wakeman Archaeol. Cambr. 4, 1849 p. 20; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 9.

Juthael rex *of Gwent* mortuus esse traditur a. p. C. 848.

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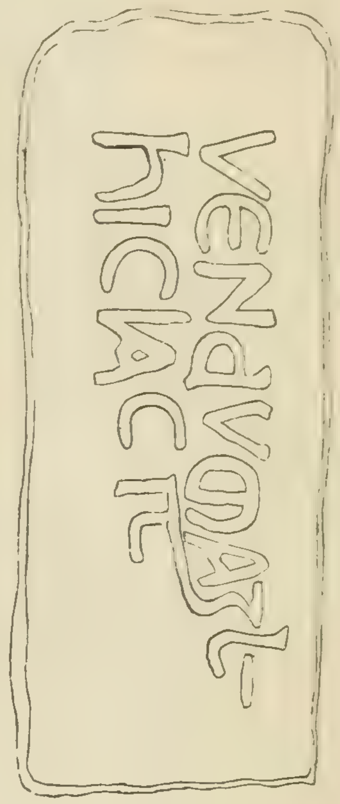
63 *Llantwit, Glamorganshire,* crux reperta circa a. 1730 a Thoma Morgan ludi magistro Lantwitensi in loco quodam parietinarum, quae veteris ecclesiae fuisse putabantur Williams. Ibidem, in cruce magna circulari Wakeman. *Llantwit-Major* prope *Marcross* Rhys. Creditur esse saeculi noni; mensura non indicatur.



In nomine di patris et speretus santdi anc [cr]ucem Hovelt (Hoveint?) properabit pro anima Res p[atr]es eius

Donavan *tour in South Wales* 1 p. 343; Taliesin Williams *Iolo manuscripts* p. 367 ex schedis patris Eduardi, quas sequor; Wakeman Archaeol. Cambr. 4, 1849 p. 18 adn. et *gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 9.

64 *Llaniltern (Llanillteyrn; which the natives call Capel'an'shtern* Rhys) prope *Llandaff, Glamorganshire, on a stone built in the east wall of the church.* Cippus altus p. 2, latus 1.



Vendumagli hic iacit

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 2, 1871 p. 260; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 9.

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65 *Coychurch, Glamorganshire, in the church yard, on the base of an ornamented cross* Westwood. *At Llangrallo or Coychurch* Haddan.

Ebisar . . . . . .

Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 168 quibus indicavit Westwood. Idem mihi misit atque reliqua evanida esse adnotat idemque nomen inscriptum esse in basi crucis magnae, quae in eodem coemeterio extat. Ioh. Rhys sciscitanti mihi rescripsit nihil sibi compertum esse de hoc lapide; ita ut fere non diversus putandus sit a n. 61*f*.

66 *Merthyr Mawr, Glamorganshire, about two miles from Bridgend station, near the house of Mr. Nicholl.* Mensura non indicatur.

ınomınedıpaꞇ
rıſeFılıſperı
ꞇuſ
. . . .
5 . . . .
ı · poſꞇ
caıſꞇo · ıſıuspp
cıum · ınpro
prıum ·
10 ındıem · ıudıcı

I[*n*]*nomine d*(*e*)*i patris et fili speritus* .... *i. post* .... *caisto. isiug p* ... *cium. in proprium* .... *in diem iudici*

I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 8 qui addit lectionem esse incertam omnino. Exemplum eius mihi missum supra exhibeo quatenus potuit typis repraesentari.

67 *At Merthyr Mawr, a small village on the bank of the river Ogwr, Glamorganshire, on a stone cross* Llwyd. *Now placed in the garden of the manor of Merthyr Mawr* Westwood. *Near the house of Mr. Nicholl* Rhys. Mensura non indicatur.

. . nbellını
poſſuıꞇhanc
crucempro
anımaeıus
5 scıꞇlıuıſſı

nerꞇıdo e
fraꞇrıſeıu
s e p a ꞇ e r
e ı u s a m a
10 p r e p a r a
ꞇus ·:· scıo ///

[*Co*]*nbellini possuit hanc crucem pro anima eius Scitliuissi*
Nertido et fratris eius et pater eius a m[*e*] *preparatus* .. *scio* (?)

Ed. Llwyd in litteris Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 5, 1859 p. 248 et 7, 1861 p. 231; Westwood misit a se descriptam. Idem adnotat haec: *part of the beginning of the first word is broken of, the first line hardly appears to have been* 'Conbelini'; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 8 cuius exemplum mecum communicatum sequor, quamquam quae legisse sibi visus est, proposuit dubitanter.

68 *Merthyr Mawr, Glamorganshire,* reperta dum fundamenta ecclesiae novae effodiuntur; lapis longus dig. 12, altus 8 Westwood. *On the ground, at the east end* [*of the church*] *lies a fragment, with well cut capitals* Rhys.

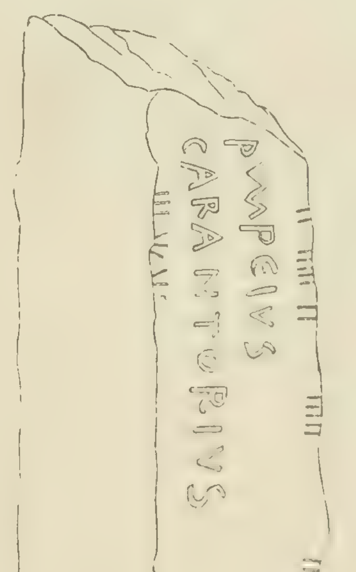


Pauli ... *fili Ma* ....

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 2, 1856 p. 319 (cf. p. 251); I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 9 qui legit v. 2 fili ma....; ultimam enim lineam inclinatam partem esse a litterae.

Westwood addit nomen fortasse fuisse Paulini, cum maior lapidis pars a dextra parte perierit.

69 *Since my last lettere, havyng travayled through Glamorgan shyre, I mett with a monument of right venerable antiquity, which I can not but impart unto you. It is a hard stone of some 4 foote long (as I remember) about half a foote thick and happily one foote high. Upon the upmost edge of it are written these characters.* Iul. 14, 1603 Fr. Landavensis. *Betwixt Margan and Kynfyg* Llwyd. Ibi adhuc dicitur extare; est cippus altus p. 4; a dextra et a laeva sunt litterae Celticae.



Pumpeius Carantorius

Francisc. Godwin episc. Landav. in cod. mus. Brit. Cotton Iulius F. VI f. 282 in epistula ad Camdenum (inde Camden ed. VI [1607] p. 499); Edw. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 620; Goughs Camden 3 p. 132 (Gough descr. a. 1761); I. Strange Archaeologia 6, 1782 p. 17; *Gent. mag.* 55, 1785 p. 502 in tab. fig. 2; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. 1, 1846 p. 182 et ser. III 15, 1869 p. 414; R. R. Brash Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 15, 1869 p. 151 titulum Celticum solum exhibet; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 8 qui litteras Celticas maxime evanidas ita legit, sed admodum dubitanter

pompei [*carant*]*eral* .... *smeq* .... *ll* ... *n*

addens *-il* terminationem hodiernae *-ol* sive *-ael* videri aequam esse, ut *Caranteral* idem fuerit atque *Caranterius*.

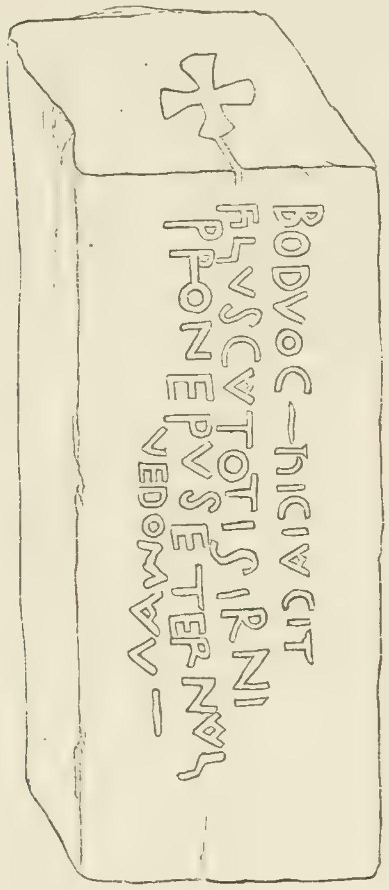
70 *At a house called Eglwys Nynyd, on the way from Margam to the Kenfig stone* (n. 69), *an inscribed stone with an inscription, which has got almost altogether illegible; on the top is a wheel cross.* Mensura non indicatur.

hanc . . . . .

I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 8 qui putat repetita inquisitione reliqua legi posse.

---

71 Ex saxo durissimo cippus altus p. 4 unc. 9, latus p. 1, crassus unc. 8, prope *Morgã* in cacumine montis dicti *Mynydd Margã* ANON. *These verses are in a stone in Mergan, the land of Sr. Tho. Ma..., neere Rydglan y comb; the stone is square, five foote longe and* [*a*] *foote and half broade. Many living can remember the stone standing slope, the letters set on the upper side, now it* [*has*] *fallen down, bi reson that cattle rubbed on it* GODWIN. *North of Margam Abbey, Glamorganshire, now over thrown,* lapis dictus *the Maen Lythyrog, near the* tumulus *called Crug Diwlith or the Dewless* WESTWOOD. *The stone called Carreg Lythyrenog .. stands erect on Margam mountain not far from a little pool called Llyn-dwr-mawr* RHYS.



Boduoci hic iacit filius Catotigirni, pronepus Eternali Vedomavi

Anonymus in cod. mus. Brit. Cotton Iulius F. VI f. 284 v.; Franc. Godwin in cod. mus. Brit. Cotton Iulius F. VI f. 288; Camden ed. VI (1607) p. 499; Edw. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 613 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 131); Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 5, 1859 p. 287 (cf. 2, 1847 p. 203 et ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 78; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 168) et *Gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 8.

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72 *Margam, Glamorganshire, on the great wheel cross.*

Conbelin . . . . suit . . anc | . . r . . . .

Westwood misit. I. Rhys talem crucem in Margam sibi non visam esse mihi scripsit; putat igitur significari titulum n. 67.

Tamen omittere nolui.

73 *Margam, Glamorganshire, on a stone cross.* Mensura non indicatur.

CPUX · XPI ·
tenniaun ·
+ p anima ·
3UOP3ORG
5 FECIT ·

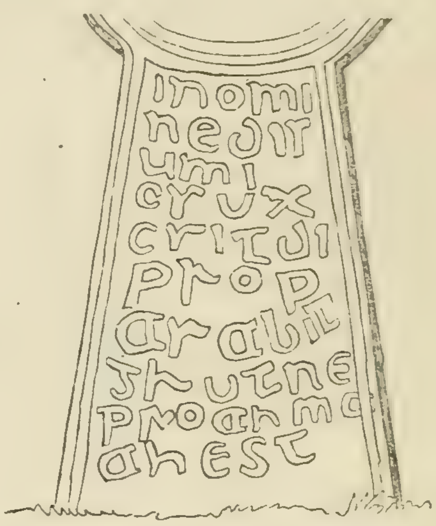
Crux Christi. Enniaun pro anima Guorgoret fecit

Westwood misit; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 8 cuius exemplum mihi missum exhibeo.

Euniaun et *Guergoret* Westwood. *Enniaun* nomen postea fuisse *Einion*, *Guorgoret* autem *Gwrwaret* Rhys adnotat.

---

74 *Margam, Glamorganshire, at the east end of the churchyard,* lapis altus dig. 38, latus 18 WESTWOOD. *On a cross standing in the chapter-house* RHYS. Saeculi creditur esse octavi nonive.



I[*n*] *nomine d*(*e*)*i sumi. Crux Critdi proparabit Grutne pro anma Ahest*

Edw. Llwyd in epistula scripta d. 20 m. Dec. a. 1697 in Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 4, 1858 p. 345; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 2, 1851 p. 147 (Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 631) et *Gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 8.

Critdi est *Christi*; *Ahest* (*which it has been tried to distort in* eius RHYS) nomen est, cuius formam recentiorem *Achess* fuisse Rhys coniecit.

I. Rhys addit: *J tried also several other crosses at Margam, but I found them too far gone to make out more than a word here and there.* Ceterum in fine v. 3 punctum, v. 10 puncta tria extare idem adnotat.

75 *Margam, Glamorganshire, on a great flat stone marked with a cross in a circle.* Mensura non indicatur.

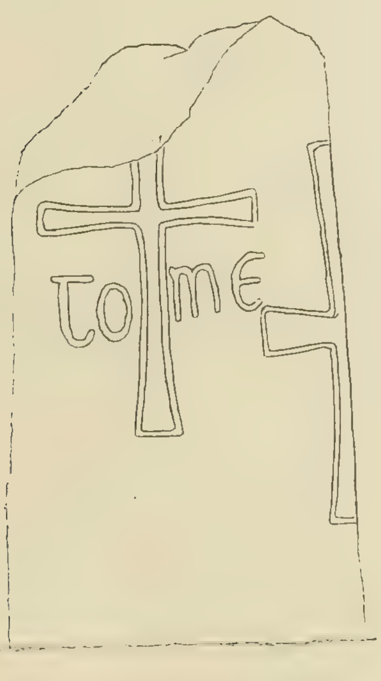
⁚ . . ILCI · FECIT
. . . . . . CRUCE
m · I . . . ſ · IIR
E . . . ſ . . nimc

. . . *lci fecit* [*hanc*] *crucem* . . . *pro anima?*

Westwood misit; I. Rhys quae legere sibi visus est mecum communicavit. Eius exemplum proposui quoad potui imitari.

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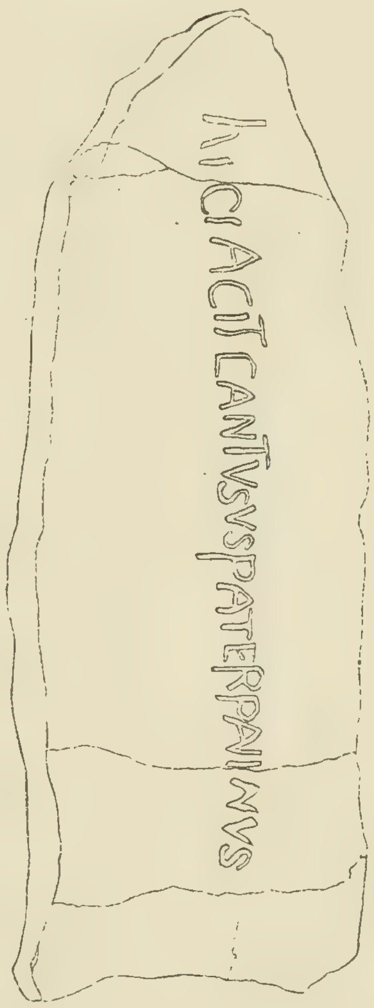
76 *Court Isaf, on the road from Margam to Neath; now close to the Port Talbot Station on the South Wales Railway.* Cippus ornatus tribus crucibus altus est p. 5; superior eius tantum pars hic repraesentatur.



Toime

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 3, 1857 p. 58; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 8 q. v.

77 *Port Talbot,* prope *Neath, Glamorganshire,* in parte postica miliarii imperatoris Maximini (C. I. L. VII 1158); titulus transverse scriptus est. Saeculi creditur esse octavi. Mensura non indicatur.



hic iacit Cantusus pater Pau[*l*]*inus*

Gent. mag. 14, 1840 p. 296; G. Grant Francis *original charters* cet. *of Neath,* Swansea 1845, 8. (inde *archaeol. journ.* 3, 1846 p. 274; *assoc. journ.* 2, 1847 p. 287); Wright *the Celt* p. 456; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 2, 1856 p. 251. 320 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 630) et *Gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10 lapidem vidit, litteras pone latentes non vidit.

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78 *Baglan Church,* prope *Neath, Glamorganshire, about three miles from Briton Ferry station.* Creditur esse saeculi noni. Longus est dig. circiter 30, latus 16.

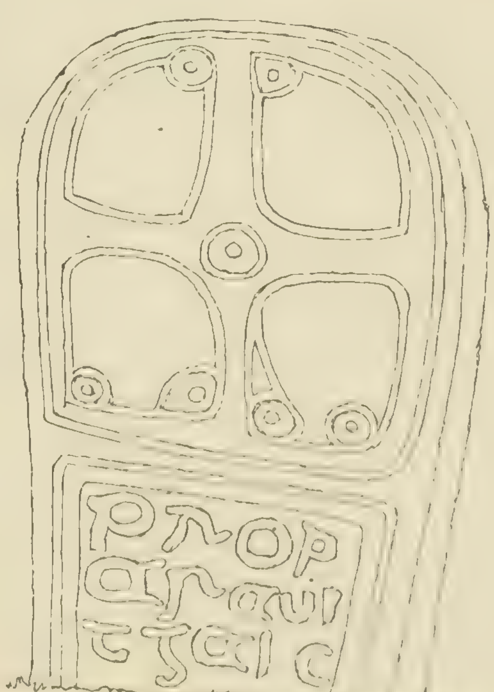


† brancuf

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 2, 1851 p. 145 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 631) et *Gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 8 frustra quaesivit.

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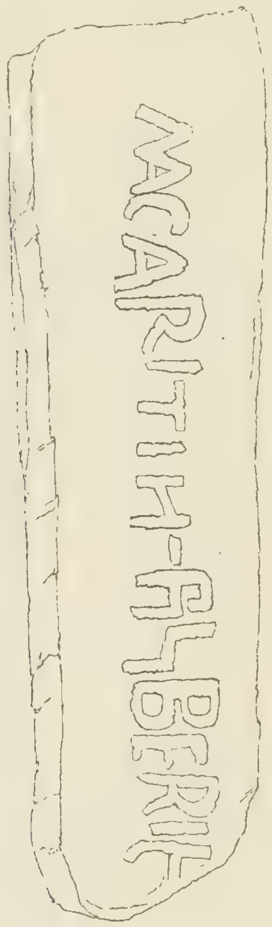
79 *Bryn Keffnerthan, about three miles to the east of Neath, Glamorganshire,* a. 1846 *in the yard of the house of the resident manager of the colliery on the tramway,* in cruce magna WESTWOOD. *Now at Neath in Miss Parson's garden* RHYS. Saeculo octavo nonove adscribitur. Altus circiter *a yard,* latus dig. 20.



proparavit Gaic . . . . .

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 11, 1864 p. 65 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 630); I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 8 qui addit superesse partem superiorem litterae, qua alius versus incipiebat, aut H aut R. Cum *Gaic* nomen extitisse negaret, legendum proposuit *proparavit Gai cr*[*ucem hanc*] aut c[(*rucem*) *hanc*].

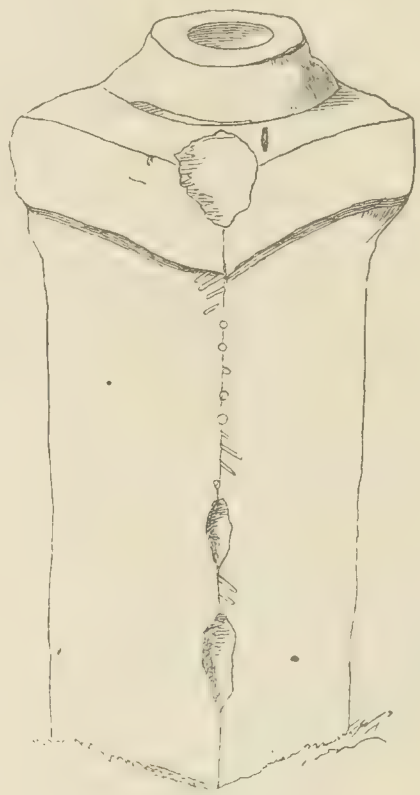
80 *Panwen Byrdhin, parish of Cadockston or Llan Gadoc, 6 miles above Neath, Glamorganshire,* cippus altus 1 *yard,* latus dig. 8, a volgo dictus *Maen dau Lygad yr ych* LLWYD. *At the Gnoll,* prope *Neath, embedded into the upright bank of a recess, or grotto, in a terrace about one hundred yards to the south of the house, overlooking Neath, nearly immersed in leaves and decayed vegetable rubbish* WESTWOOD.



Macaritini fili Berici

Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 620 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 132); Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 11, 1864 p. 59 (ibid. p. 63 describitur anaglyphum viri armati ibidem extans); I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 8 frustra quaesiverat, postea Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 332 vidit atque etiam anaglyphum denuo effodi iussit.
Litterae vel elementa duo ultima hodie perierunt.

81 *Loughor, Glamorganshire, a Roman altar standing on the lawn in front of the rectory* JONES. *About* 4′ 6″ *high, and the width of its flat sides about* 1′ 7″. *A stone supposed to have been a Roman or British altar; after it had been cut for an altar, an inscription in Celtic was made on it, which is now very hard to read* RHYS.

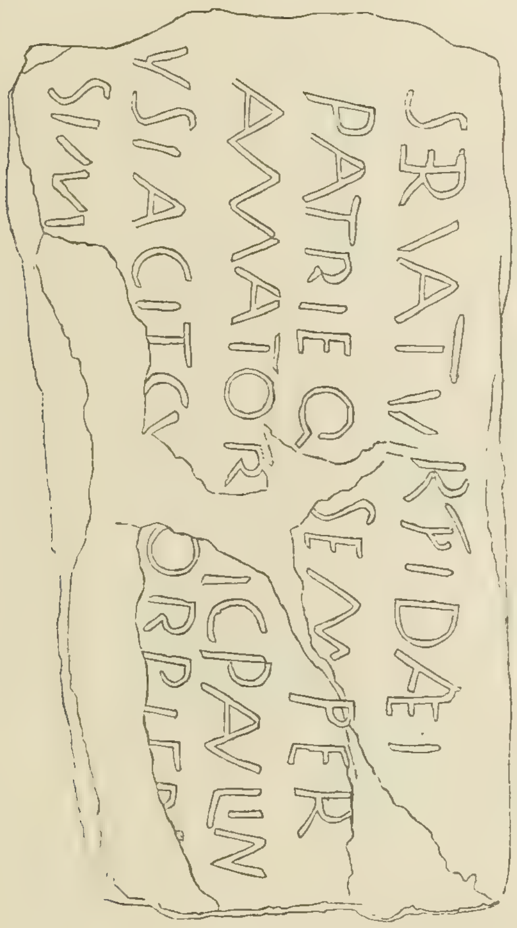


Lehoric?
aut
Vehomagic?

H. L. Jones Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 15, 1869 p. 258. 344; I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 4, 1873 p. 198, *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 7 qui quae de interpretatione addidit incertissima esse ipse non ignorabat.

VI. *CAERMARTHENSHIRE.*

82 Olim erat in loco dicto *Pant y Polion,* nunc servatur in *Dolau Cothy House, Caermarthenshire.* Litterae altae sunt dig. circiter 3.



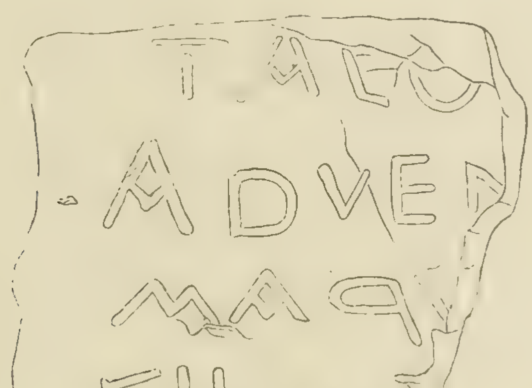
Servatur fidaei patrieq(ue) semper amator
Ic Paulinus iacit, c[ult]or pi[enti]sim[us aequi]

Ed. Llwyd et Saunders in Gibsons Camden ed. II (1722) 2 p. 746 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 139) qui vidit integram; Pennant *tour in Wales* p. 374; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 2, 1856 p. 249 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 164) et *Gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39 qui vv. 4 et 5 litteras ultimas nunc periisse adnotat; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 7 qui non vidit, sed ex lectione amici, *Mr. Jones,* exhibet.

Distichon agnovit Llwyd; Paulinum illum aliquanto ante a. 569 synodo alicui in Llanddewi-Brefi habitae interfuisse ex eius aevi annalibus probant docti (cf. Rees *lives of the Welsh saints* p. 188).

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83 Olim in *Pant y Polion,* nunc in *Dolau Cothy House, Caermarthenshire.* Mensura non indicatur.

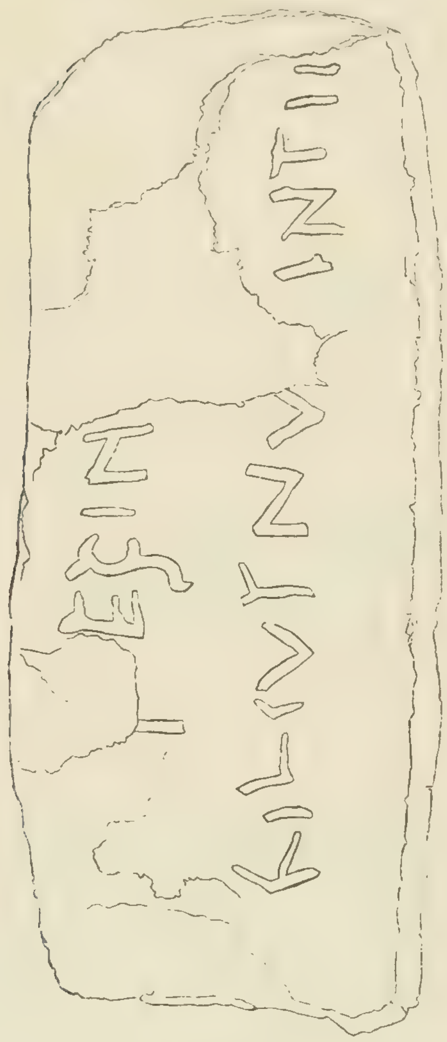


Talo[ri] Adren[ti] Maqu[eragi] filiu[s]

Ed. Llwyd et Saunders in Gibsons Camden ed. II (1722) 2 p. 746 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 139). qui vidit integram; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 2, 1856 p. 252 qui quae litteris inclinatis dedi hodie affirmat periisse; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 7.

Westwood et Rhys quae uncis inclusi non viderunt.

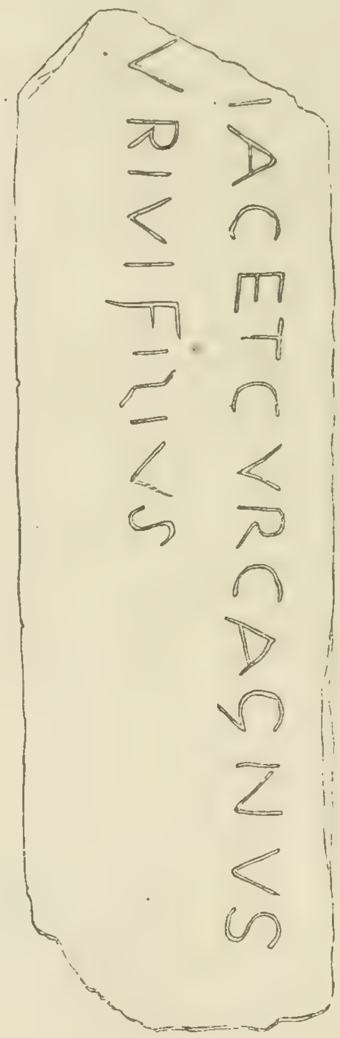
48 *Cynfil Cayo* (*Cynwil Gayo* Rhys), *a village about a mile from Dolaucothy, Caermarthenshire,* in turri ecclesiae iuxta ostium portae occidentalis. Mensura non indicatur.



Regin .... filius Nu[*v*]*intii*

Westwood Arcbaeol. Cambr. ser. III 2, 1856 p. 321; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 7 quem sequor. Hasta ultima videtur incerta esse.

85 *At Llandeilo vawr, Caermarthenshire, by the churchyard in this town.*

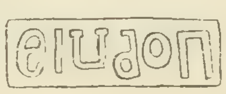


[*hic*] *iacet Curcagnus* [. .]*urivi filius*

Edw. Llwyd in litteris scriptis die Dec. 20 a. 1697 in Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 4, 1858 p. 345.

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86 *In a field on the farm of Glansanan, parish of Llanvynydd, near Llan deilo vawr, Caermarthenshire, on a highly ornamented stone, called by the common people 'Llech Eidon'* Westwood. *The stone has been set up by the Earl of Cawdor in the lower or American garden at Golden Grove, and a brass plate has been affixed to it, stating where it was found* etc. Rhys. Cippus altus p. circiter 6, latus p. 1 dig. 9.

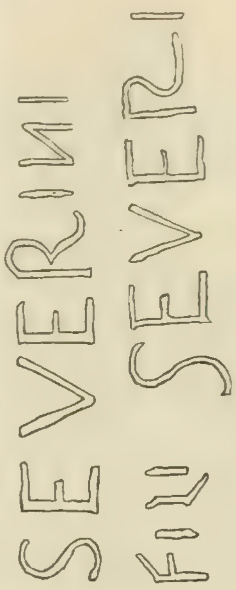


Eiudon

Goughs Camden 3 p. 141; I. Jones (Tegid) Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 5, 1854 p. 303; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 1, 1855 p. 64. 303 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 631) et melius ibid. ser. IV 2, 1871 p. 339; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 7.

A. H. quidam Archaeol Cambr. ser. IV 3, 1872 p. 163 legendum proposuit *eiu*[*s*] *don*[*avit*], prorsus ineptissime.

87 In *Llan Newydh,* prope *Caermarthen,* cippus transverse scriptus (puto), altus p. 5 ad 6, latus circiter 3, iuxta viam publicam, litteris rudibus. *Now on the lawn at Traws Mawr, in the parish of Newchurch, near Caermarthen* E. L. B.

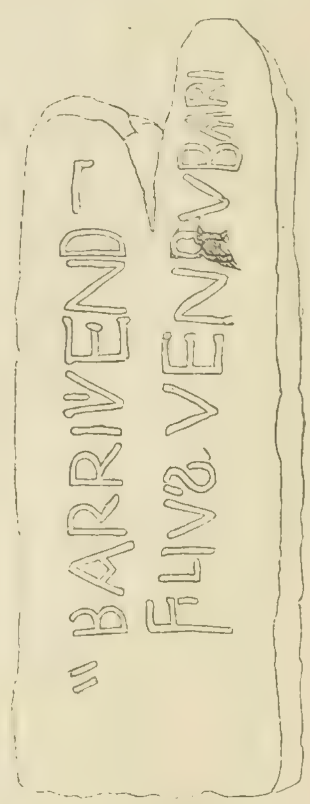


Severini fili Severi

Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 627 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 141); Westwood *Gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; E. L. B. Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 3, 1872 p. 68; I. Rhys ibid. 6, 1875 p. 359.

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88 *Llandawke,* prope *Laughhorne, Caermarthenshire,* ad ecclesiae portam meridionalem (*as a threshold*), cippus transverse scriptus. Litterae Celticae a Ioh. Rhys primum observatae extabant *all round its upper part.* Litterae altae sunt dig. 4.



Barrivendi filius Vendubari [*hic iacit*]

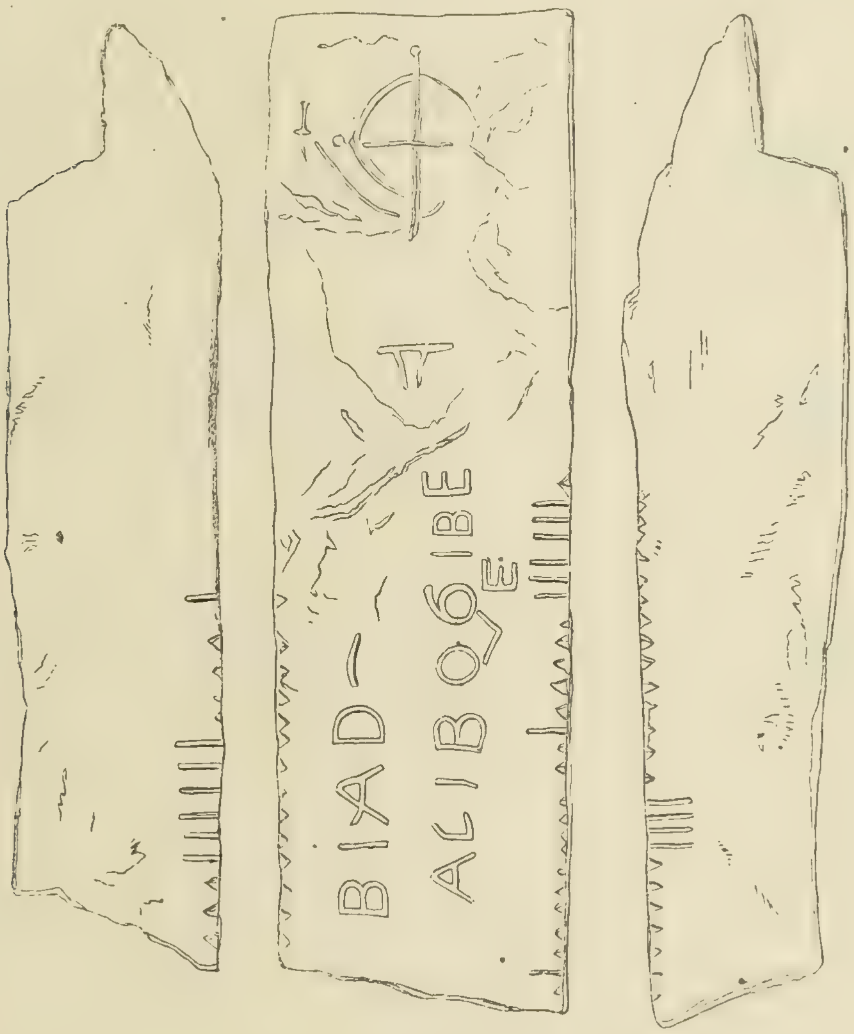
Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 13, 1867 p. 343; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 7 et Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 19 qui addit vocabula duo ultima, utpote scripta in latere lapidis, antea non visa esse, atque litteras Celticas satis evanidas haec fere putat dicere:

in latere dextro: *maqi m*; in sinistro: *taqoledemu . . . b . . . .*

Reliqua vero legi non posse. Addit praeterea haec: *it is worth noticing that the Roman letters seem to have been cut first, otherwise they and the Celtic ones, which must follow the edge of the stone, would not have come in one another's way as they do*; ita hasta quae intra V litteram cernitur ad titulum Celticum pertinet.

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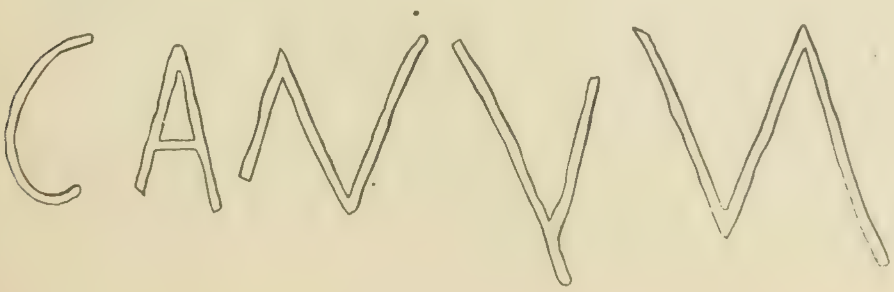
89 *Llanwinio, Caermarthenshire,* rep. a. 1846. Cippus altus p. 4,1 atus p. 1 dig. 3; in margine sunt litterae Celticae.



G. Grant Francis *proceedings of the society of antiq.* ser. II 3, 1867 p. 446, qui crucem fortasse postea additam esse censet.

---

90 *Llangan, nearly two miles distant from Whitland (the old Ty Gwyn ar Daf), Caermarthenshire, on a stone resembling a rude chair, which lies in a field behind the church, about 30 or 40 yards from the churchyard. When it was removed to its present position is unknown.* Sella lapidea ab aegrotis frequentata est etiam ante hos triginta vel quadraginta annos, quia morbos sanare credebatur.



Canna . . . . . .

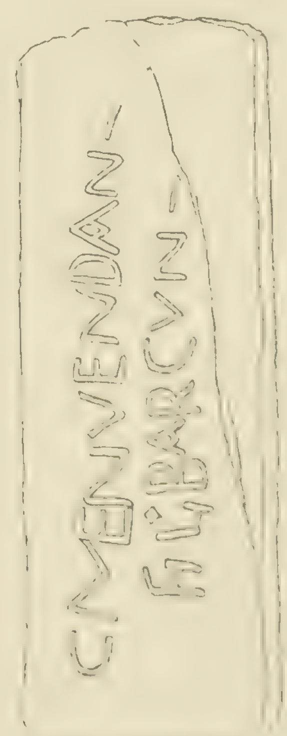
E. L. Barnwell Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 3, 1872 p. 236 ligno incisam, quem sequor; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 7 et Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 6, 1875 p. 360, qui adnotat primum tituli versum fortasse ita, ut dedi, legendum esse, reliqua vero omnino vix legi posse.

Canna femina erat illustris Armoricana atque parentela iuncta cum Sancto Germano; Sanctus Iltutus *was her cousin and brother in law* (*about* 520); vir eius *Sadwrn* (*Varchog*) sive Saturnus erat.

Barnwell lectionem ait esse factam *from careful tracings and measurements of Mr. Benjamin Williams* (*Gwynionydd*), *the master of the parish school. Canun* sive *Canuu* legi posse concedit Barnwell.

---

91 *In the parish of Hen Llan Amgoed, about 3 miles south-west of Llanboidy, about 1½ mile of the Whitland Station, Caermarthenshire,* in agro qui pertinet ad *Parkie* (*Parcau*) Jones. *In the field above the house of a farm called Parcau,* prope *Llangan* Rhys. Litterae altae sunt dig. 3.



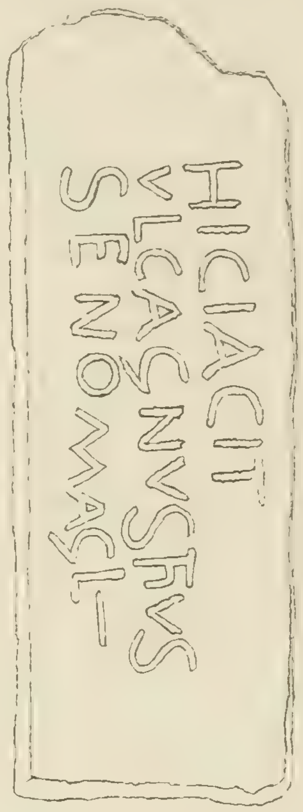
Quenvendani fili Barcuni

Edw. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 627 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 141: Orell.

2777); H. L. Jones Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 15, 1869 p. 297 et 414; G. Wilkinson Collectanea *of the British Archaeological association* 2, 1868 p. 219 et Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 2, 1871 p. 140ss.; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 2, 1871 p. 256 cuius imaginem exhibeo; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 7 et Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 245 et 6, 1875 p 360 quem sequor; R. R. Brash ibid. 5 p. 335.

Barcuni eius nomen in *Cefn Varchen* loci nomine adhuc extare putant. Wilkinsonus *c*, quod initio legitur, putat significare *corpus*; ut fuerit *c(orpus) Menvendan(i) fili Barcun(i)*; I. Rhys legit *Quenvendan(i)*; mihi antea visum est fuisse *Cmenuendani* cum Westwoodio eiusque imagine; sed Rhys vidit lapidem ipsique Westwoodio coram lapide nuper persuasit primum elementum esse *Q*.

92 *Llanfihangel ar Arth (or as it is sometimes written yr Eroth, or Jerverth* Westwood), *Caermarthenshire, close to the station of Cross Inn, in the churchyard, a rude stone standing near the west end of the church. The inscription extends about 2 feet in length, the letters being about 2½ inches high.*



hic iacit Ulcagnus fius Senomagli

Edw. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 627 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 141; Orell. 2778) cui descripsit Saunders; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 15, 1860 p. 414 et accuratius ibid. ser. IV 2, 1871 p. 258 quem sequor; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 4 qui addit: fivs *is an error for* 'filius' atque versionem addidit hanc: *here lies Ylchan, the son of Henfael; with Ylchaen compare (Llech-)Ylched in Anglesey* (et n. 14), *and with* Senomagl- *the form* Senemagli.

VII. *PEMBROKESHIRE.*

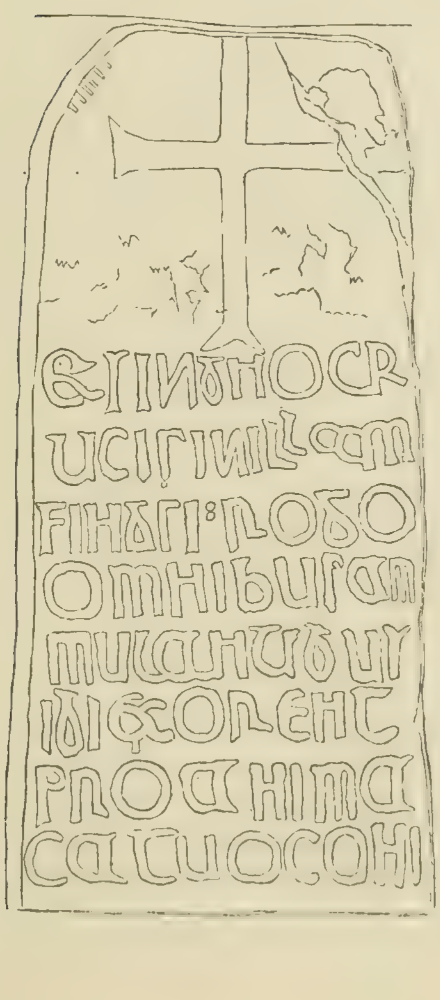
93 *Penally, Pembrokeshire, the nearest station to Tenby, on a large, flat stone ornamented with an interlaced ribbon-pattern inscribed, found in the vestry of the church* Westwood. Frustra quaesivit Rhys. Mensura non indicata. Litterae sunt Hibernosaxonicae quas dicunt minusculae. Haddan tribuendam censet fortasse saeculo duodecimo.

hec est crux quam aedificavit Mail Domnc ....

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 10, 1864 p. 328 (inde *Gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 45 et A. Way *proceedings of the Oxford Architectural Society; May* 15 1861; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 632); I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 6 qui addit vidisse se ibidem cruces duas alias in curte ecclesiae, sed non inscriptas.

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94 *Caldy* (s. *Caldey*) *Island* prope *Tenby, Pembrokeshire*, lapis insertus parieti aediculae; a. 1810 *lying in Mr. Kynastons garden* Fenton. Litterae Celticae in utroque margine insculptae in muro latent paene omnes. Creditur esse saeculi noni exeuntis. Cippus altus p. 5 dig. 9, latus dig. 16.



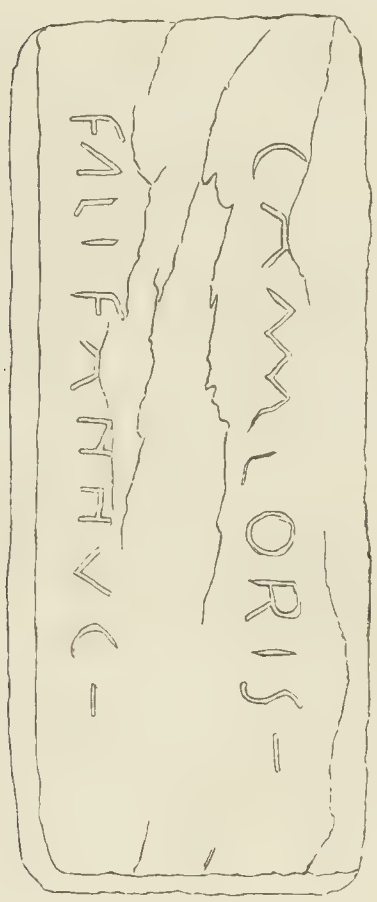
et singno crucis in illam fingsi rogo omnibus ammulantibus ibi exorent pro anima Catuoconi

R. Fenton *a historical tour through Pembrokeshire* (Lond. 1811 4.) p. 458; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 1, 1855 p. 259 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 632) et *Gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; A. Way *archaeol. journal* 26, 1869 p. 222 (inde adhibita eadem tabula ligno incisa Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 1, 1870 p. 138) quem sequor; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 7 et Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 19.

Westwood ponit inter saecula septimum et nonum, recentiorem autem esse negat; I. Rhys adnotat: *the* et *refers us, undoubtedly, to the Celtic inscription, which is to be detected on both edges of the stone, but not to be read until the stone is got out of the wall where it now stands.*

Fenton finem tantum ita *orent pro anim caduoconi* legit.

95 *Stackpole-Elidyr,* sive *Cheriton, near Earl Cawdor's seat, Pembrokeshire, in the church, on the altar in the small chapel or chantry on the south side of the chancel.* Eo delatam esse tabulam aetate media, quam dicunt, apparet. Mensura non indicatur; litterae Celticae nusquam detectae sunt.



Camelorigi fili Fannuci

H. Longueville Jones Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 7, 1861 p. 139; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 6, quem sequor.

96 *Carew, Pembrokeshire, inscribed in a square panel on the great upright cross, near the tollgate* Rhys. Exemplar huius tituli novicium extat in *Pethard castle* in Hibernia.

exemplum antiquum	*exemplum novicium*
m a P 3 I T	m a Φ 3 ɩ T
ϵ u ɔ F ɩ ϵ	ϵ u T P ϵ =
C ϵ T T ϵ Y	C ϵ T . . T · ϵ X

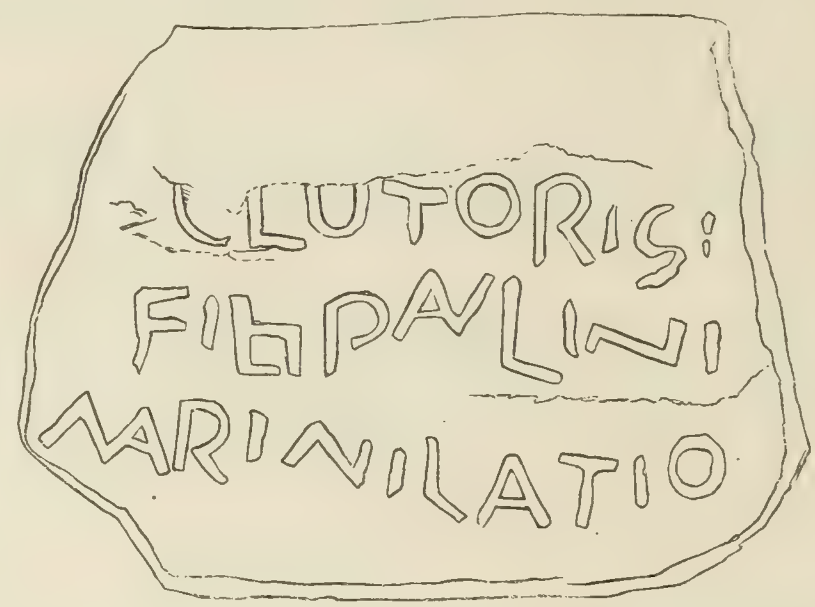
Margeteud f(ilius) Ecettey

Westwood *Gent. mag.* 2, 1861 p. 44; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 7 qui ait lectionem esse incertam, sed cum probabilitate ita, ut dedi, expediendam. Eius exemplum mihi missum exhibeo; eidem debeo tituli novicii exemplum ex ectypo descriptum.

Rhys tertium versus alterius elementum etiam ʊ esse posse adnotat.

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97 *Llandyssilio, Pembrokeshire,* 5 *miles north of Narberth, about* 2 *miles of Narberth Road Station,* lapides duo, quorum hic prior altus est p. 3 dig. 9, latus p. 3. Alter est infra n. 98. Tribuuntur male saeculo octavo.

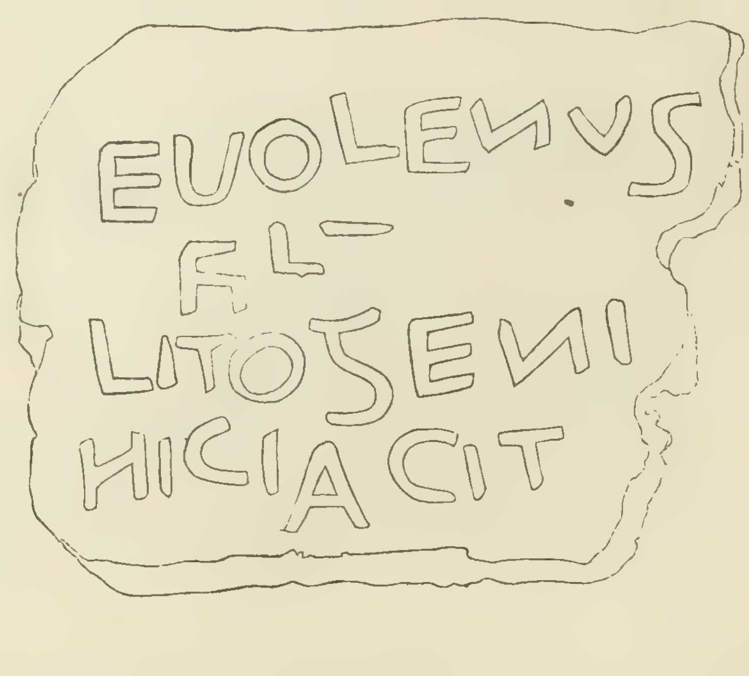


Clutorigi fili Paulini Marinilatio

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 6, 1860 p. 54 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 169) qui dubitanter proposuit *latio* vocabulum, quod in fine est, intellegi posse pro *lateo* (*hic*); I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 7 qui addit: *it might be rendered into modern Welsh* 'Clodri, fab Peulin Merynllyd'.

---

98 *Llandyssilio, Pembrokeshire,* rep. et servatus una cum n. 97. Lapis latus est p. 3, altus dig. 28. Litterae dicuntur multo rudiores esse quam tituli n. 97.



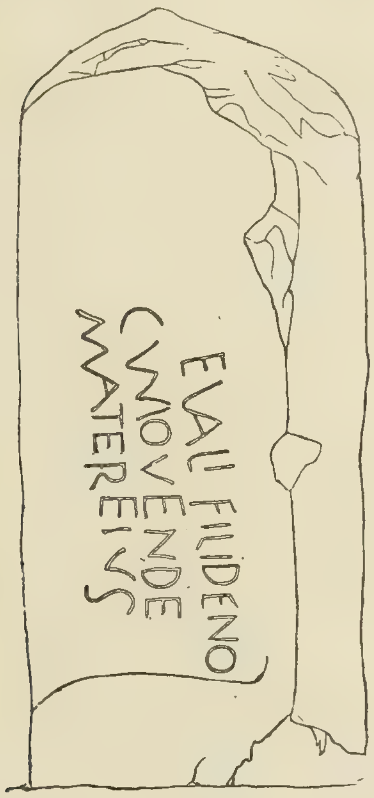
Evolenggi fili Litogeni hic iacit

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 6, 1860 p. 54 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 631); I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 7.

Rhys addit prave legi *Evolenus,* ut mea imago habet, pro eo quod in lapide est

E V O L E Ƨ Ƨ ¯

99 *Spittal, Pembrokeshire, in the neighbourhood of Haverfordwest, in the churchyard, on a tall erect stone.* Mensura non indicata; litterae Celticae desunt.



Evali fili Dencui Cuniovende mater eius

H. Longueville Jones Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 7, 1861 p. 302 cuius imaginem exhibeo; I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 332 qui una cum Llywarch Reynolds examinavit.

Jones v. 1 legerat *Evali fili Deno*, sed Rhys observat V- certam esse, C pro O non satis certam, posse enim etiam de Q cogitari.

---

100 *On a farm called Pen Arthur, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from St. David's, Pembrokeshire, in the occupation of Mr. Arnold,* in cruce reperta *on a moor not far distant, now used as a gatepost* WESTWOOD. *This stone is merely a fragment of a larger one, and forms a gatepost near the house; it is placed upside down, which considerably enhances the difficulty of reading it* RHYS. Litterae altae sunt dig. circiter 2.



XPS
Gurmarc
[*filius*]

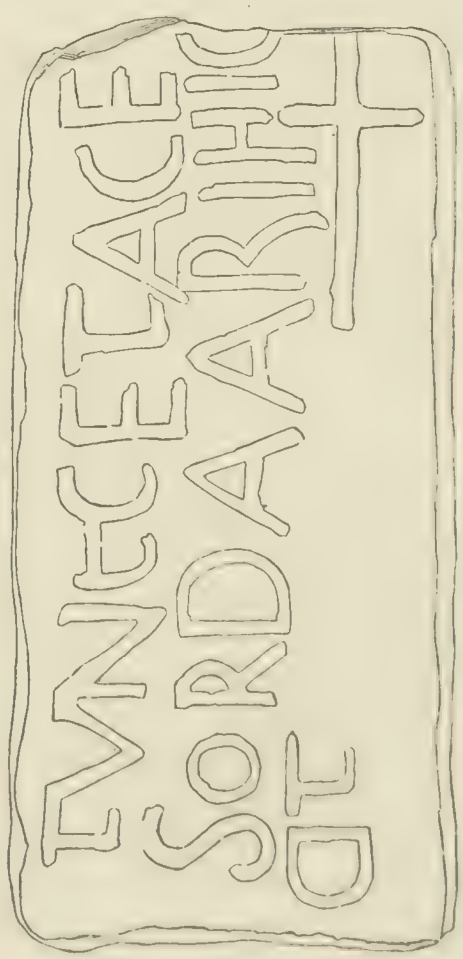
Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 2, 1856 p. 51 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 632) et *Gent mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 6 qui addit: *above the cross as it now stands is the name of* Gurmarc *in Hiberno-Saxon characters, and below it in one corner a word which may possibly be* filius, *whilst the other corner has the monogram* XPS, *in mixed Greek and Latin characters.* Cruces aliae duae minores ibidem servantur, sed inscriptionibus, ut videntur, carentes.

On the left hand side of the road about six miles from St. David's we noticed a stone with a cross on it, enclosed, excepting a part of the shaft, in an ellipse representing as nearly as possible the outline of a shilling loaf tin with the dough inside marked with the usual baker's cross: hence it happens that the stone and the village are called Mesur-y-dorth, i. e. 'The Loaf-measure'. No letters are visible on the stone, but as we had no time to dig up the earth around it, we cannot be sure that the lower portion of it has none.

I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 6.

---

101 *Tremarchog* sive *St. Nicholas, Pembrokeshire, about three miles from Mathry in the direction to Fishguard, on a stone used as a stile in the hedge of the churchyard*; lapis longus est dig. 30, latus 12. Tribuitur saeculo quinto sextove.



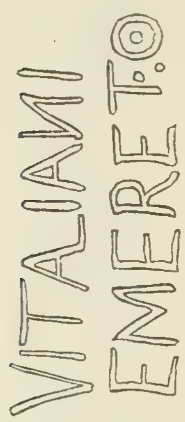
Tunccetace [*ux*]*sor Daari hic* [*ia*]*cit*

R. Fenton *a historical tour through Pembrokeshire* p. 28 ligno incisam dat plenam;

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 2, 1856 p. 49 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 169), qui quas litteras repperit insertas muro curtis ecclesiae uncis saepsi; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 6 qui addit: *the attempt to reduce* tunc, *taken to be the Latin adverb, to a compatibility of tense with* iacit, *is quite uncalled for.*

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102 *Nevern, Pembrokeshire,* in curte ecclesiae, *an irregular shaped stone, about two yards high* Llwyd. *Now at a farm-house called Cwm Glöyn, used as a gate-post, at the entrance from the Cardigan road to the lane leading to Cwm Gloyn, about two miles above Nevern* Rhys. Litterae Celticae perspicuae conspiciuntur in angulo dextro prope cacumen lapidis.



Vitaliani Emereto

Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 638 (inde Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 323; Goughs Camden 3 p. 151; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 6, 1860 p. 52 frustra quaesivit); I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 4, 1873 p. 387, item 5, 1874 p. 20 et *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 5 qui affirmat litteras Celticas significare

Vitaliani

EMERET . . . Llwyd. Titulum vere Romanum esse et centurialem putabat Horsley, non recte; obstant enim nominum ratio, ᴎ litterae forma, *Emereto* scriptura; denique nota centuriae, quam ille omissam credebat, nunquam videtur in lapide fuisse. Unde huic seriei tribuenda erat necessario.

103 *Nevern* prope *Newport, Pembrokeshire, in the church yard,* in cruce anaglyphis permultis ornata. Creditur esse saeculi fere octavi. Alta est p. 10, lata infra dig. 27, supra 24.



Gambold:	Rhys:
hanh	*an*
e	*heh*
et	et
d n s	*d n s*

Guil. Gambold in Gibsons Camden p. 638 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 151); Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 6, 1860 p. 48 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 632) et *Gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 44; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 6 qui addit: *I have no notion what the letters may exactly signify : possibly* dns *stands for* dominus. Videntur esse litterae initiales nominum, quae vix divinando assequeris.

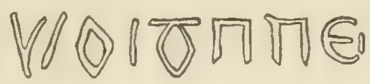
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104 *Nevern, Pembrokeshire,* fragmentum tituli insertum muro ecclesiae meridionali; altum est dig. 14, latum 5.

T H
W I
M I
I M

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 6, 1860 p. 52 qui addit: *the W in the second line has the two middle strokes crossed at the top; the two M's have the two middle strokes only reaching half the length of the side strokes, and the I in the third line is well tipped at top and at bottom, as well as dilated in the middle. The letters are nearly 3 inches long. I can find no previous notice of this stone.*

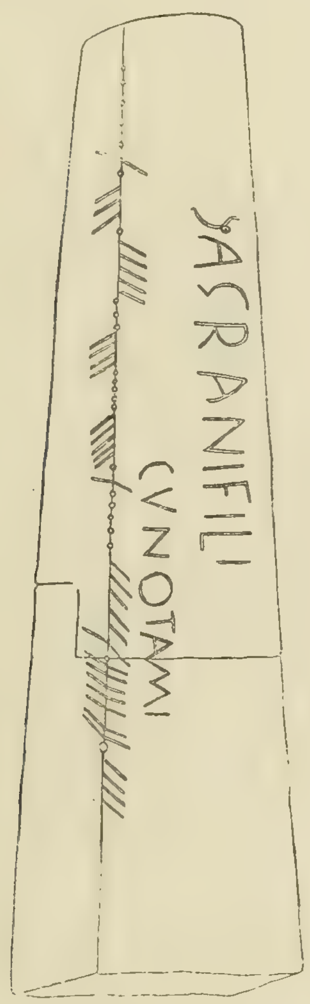
105 *Nevern* prope *Newport, Pembrokeshire, a stone not 2 feet high, round at the top.* Periit.



Guil. Gambold in Gibsons Camden p. 639 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 151).

---

106 *St. Dogmaels Abbey, Pembrokeshire,* prope *Cardigan,* ubi adhuc extat. In latere litterae Celticae sunt. Cippus altus p. circiter 7, latus infra dig. 12, supra 9, crassus circiter 7.



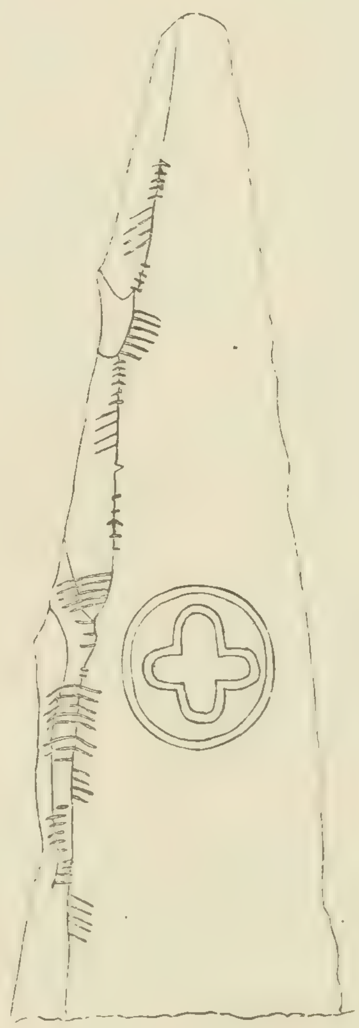
Sagrani fili Cunotami

Guil. Gambold in Gibsons Camden p. 638 (inde Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 323; Goughs Camden 3 p. 152; Orell. 2779); H. Longueville Jones Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 6, 1860 p. 134 (quae commentatio repetita est in *the Kilkenny archaeological journal* 3, 1860/1 p. 229 ss.) et *Gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; R. R. Brash Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 15, 1869 p. 155; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 5 qui addit litteras Celticas efficere vocabula

Sagramni maqi Cunatami

Legebatur aut *Safrani* aut *Sasrani*; sed tertium elementum *g* litteram esse probant etiam litterae Celticae.

107 At *the church of Bridell, in northern Pembrokeshire, near the town of Cardigan, a stone with a small cross in the church yard*; litterae Celticae tantum inscriptae sunt. *The church stands on the right hand side of the road leading from Cardigan to Narberth, about 3 miles from the former and one mile from Cilgerran.* Cippus altus p. 7 dig. 6, latus infra p. 2 dig. 1 ad dig. 10, supra dig. 5 ad 4½.



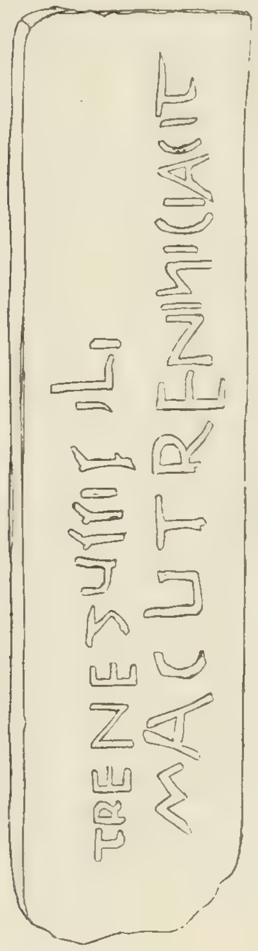
Nettasagru maqi Mucoi Breci?

H. Longueville Jones Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 6, 1860 p. 314; R. R. Brash ibid. ser. IV 3, 1872 p. 249 (cf. S. Ferguson ibid. p. 355 et Brash ibid. 4, 1873 p. 103); I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 4, 1873 p. 76. 386, *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 5, item Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 21 qui addit, ultimum vocabulum fortasse etiam ita legi posse *Mreci Sleci,* sive *Vreci.*

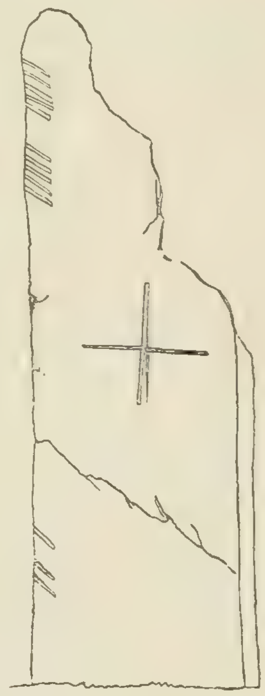
Ferguson olim legerat (*proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* vol. II p. 48): *Nettasacrohocoudocoeffeci*, postea (ibid. p. 355): *Nettasagru Maqi Mucoi greci*; Brash autem: *Neqasagrom Maqi Mucoi Neci.* Exhibeo quae legenda proposuerunt Ioh. Rhys et Ioh. Jones.

108 *Cilgerran* prope *Cardigan, Pembrokeshire,* cippus transverse scriptus, altus p. 8, latus p. 1½, qui stat in curte ecclesiae, ab ecclesia meridiem versus; in latere lapidis septentrionali litterae Celticae sunt, in parte postica crucis signum.

a



b



Trenegussi fili Macutreni hic iacit

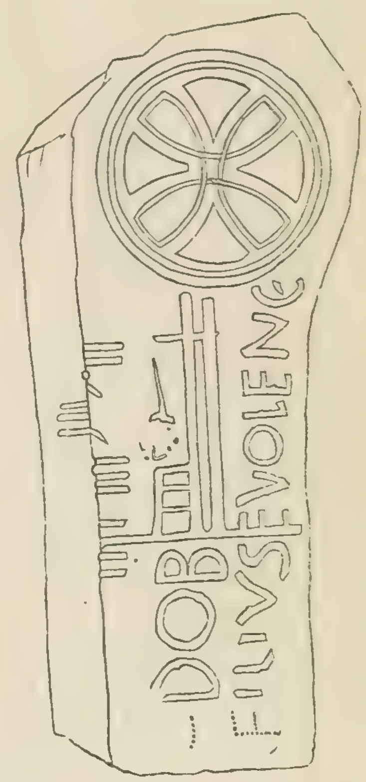
Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 1, 1855 p. 9 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 169); I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 5 et Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 20 qui examinavit accurate una cum Ioh. Jones *of Ystrad Meurig* additque: *the portion in Roman characters is not difficult to read ..., but the one in ogham* (n. 107) *took us many hours to decipher, as many of the letters had grown very faint, especially those on the front of the stone ..... Bit by bit we made out the following reading, which we feel confident is the right one*

Trenagusu maqi Maqitreni

The Trens, I may add by the way, seems to have their name perpetuated in Penallt Treini, the name of a farm in the neighbourhood.

---

109 *Clydai* (s. *Clydey*), *Pembrokeshire, about* 6 *miles from Cilgerran,* prope podium graduum, qui ad granarium ducunt in *Ty Coed farm* (*Dygoed, or more correctly, perhaps, Dugoed* Rhys), circiter m. p. ab ecclesia; cippus transverse scriptus, in margine litterae Celticae. Medium titulum occulunt ex parte lineae transversae additae tempore recentiore, ut videntur. Lapis longus est p. 4 dig. 3, latus infra dig. 11½, supra dig. 14, crassus dig. 3 ad 4.



Dob . . . i [*f*]*ilius Evolengi*

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 6, 1860 p. 227; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 5; R. R. Brash Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 280.

Rhys litteras Celticas primum ita legit

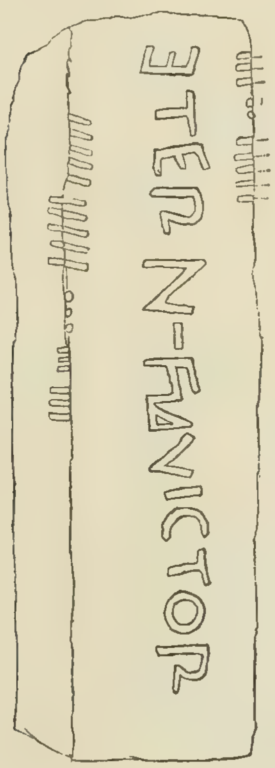
Doblotucisi

Brash vero haec ait sibi visa esse

Dofot maqi S . . .

Westwood legerat *Dob . . filius Volenc* addideratque *Volenc* nomen fortasse referendum esse ad virum aliquem aut Valentis aut Valentii nomine insignitum, perperam. Hoc inde repetivit Haddan 1 p. 168, qui lapidem Valentis aut Valentii alicuius in *Clydai* servari affirmat. Bilinguem esse putabat S. Ferguson; sed R. R. Brash nomina plane diversa esse contendit putatque primum incisum esse titulum Celticum, deinde tempore posteriore Romanum, lapidem vero ne sic quidem mansisse in situ, sed inversum ita ut pars crassa, quae olim humo infixa erat, erigeretur in altum atque ornaretur cruce Graeca, similiter ut in n. 48. Tum etiam additas esse lineas illas transversas, fortasse ut crucis quasi basim aliquam efficerent.

110 *Clydai* (*Clydey*), *Pembrokeshire*, basis horologii iuxta murum curtis ecclesiae septentrionalem; cippus altus p. 4 dig. 2, latus p. 1 dig. 1; in margine sunt litterae Celticae. Quarum quae desunt cum parte lapidis excisae sunt, ut horologium supra figeretur.



Etterni fili Victor

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 6, 1860 p. 236 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 168); I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 4, 1873 p. 198 et *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 5, item Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 278 (cf. p. 21) cuius lectionem sequor.

Rhys *Etterni*, non *Eterni*, in lapide esse affirmat. Eidem litterae Celticae visae sunt haec esse:

Ettern . . . . . *V(ic)tor*

111 *Clydai* (*Clydey*), *Pembrokeshire, eight miles by road south of Newcastle Emlin, in a lonely glen or hollow, among the Preseli hills, about six miles from Cilgerran*, inserta muro curtis ecclesiae, ad ostium orientale extra portam in angulo eius sinistro (*the Lych-gate*). Lapis longus est p. 5.

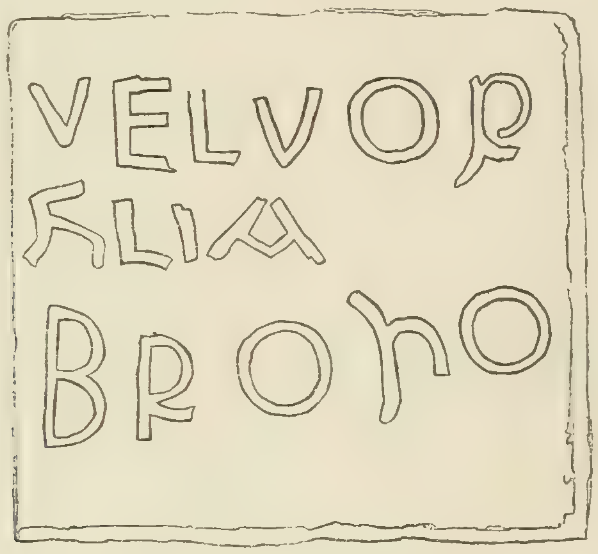


Solini filius Vendoni

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 6, 1860 p. 224 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 169); I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 5 et Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 277 quem sequor.

VIII. *CARDIGANSHIRE.*

112 *Llandyssul* (s. *Llandyssil*) prope *Newcastle-Emlyn, Cardighanshire,* in muro curtis ecclesiae; ad dextram a porta occidentali; lapis altus est dig. 12, longus 14; litterae rudes, altae dig. $2\frac{1}{2}$ ad 4.



Velvor filia Broho[*magli?*]

Meyrick *Cardiganshire* p. 149 tab. 4 fig. 1 male; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 2, 1856 p. 144; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 4.

I. Rhys nomen patris supplevit, addens: '*who this Brochwel was I have no idea, and his daughter's name is also thoroughly strange to us*'.

---

113 *Llandyssul, Cardiganshire, in a farm yard near Capel Mair in the parish of Llangeler, about two miles from the Station,* titulus hodie plane evanidus, scilicet consulto nuper erasus (Rhys). Lapis longus pedes circiter $2\frac{1}{2}$, latus 2. Repertus est a. 1828.

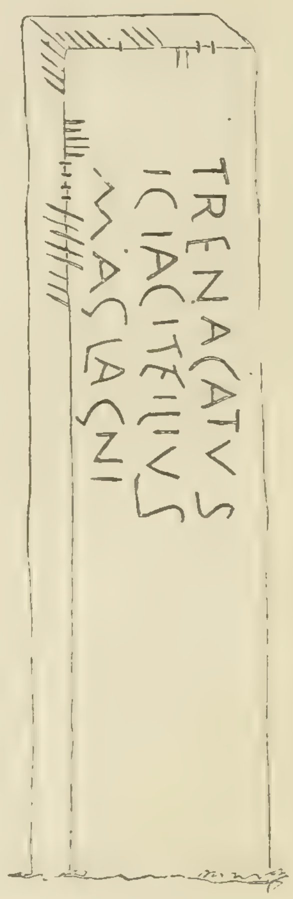
Decabarbalom filius Brocagni

E. L. B. Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 3, 1872 p. 66; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 7 et Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1875 p. 371.

E. L. B. adnotat: *from the copy sent by Mr. Spurrell of Caermarthen it appears that .... the Oghams were not corresponding to the inscription. The oghams, however, may have been incorrectly given.* Lectionem addit Westwoodii.

I. Rhys addit alios, ut *Mr. Randall Roberts*, legisse litteras Romanas ita *Decaparbeilom,* Celticas vero *Deccaibanvalbdis,* totam igitur lectionem adhuc esse desperatam.

114 *Llanfechan* (s. *Llanvaughan*), *the ruin of an old mansion near Llanybydder* s. *Llan-y-byther Station, Cardiganshire,* cippus altus p. 9 dig. 3, latus p. 1 dig. 8, repertus in parietinis aediculae dictae *Capel Whyl*; servatur in horto culinae (*in the kitchen garden* Meyr.). Nunc *forming the western boundary of what was once a garden* atque iam pedes tantum 6 dig. 8 altus Westw. *Lying against a hedge in a field close by* Rhys. In margine litterae Celticae sunt.



Trenacatus ic iacit filius Maglagni

Meyrick p. 191 tab. 4 fig. 3; H. Longueville Jones Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 7, 1861 p. 43 (inde *assoc. journ.* 17, 1861 p. 302; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 168) et *Gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; R. R. Brash Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 15, 1869 p. 160; item repetita est commentatio ab H. Longueville Jones conscripta in *the Kilkenny archaeological journal* 3, 1860/1 p. 303 ss.; I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 4, 1873 p. 74 et *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 4.

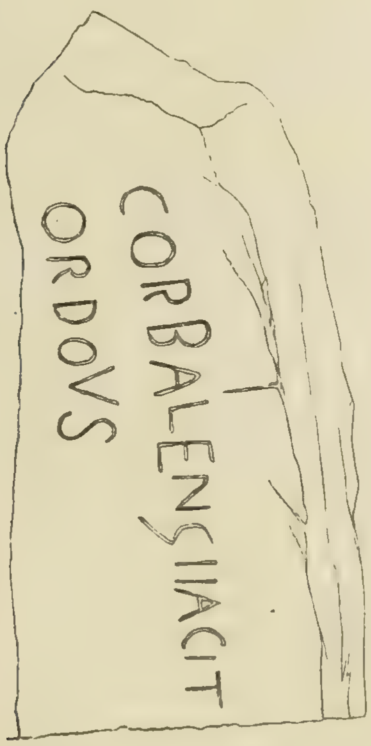
I. Rhys litteras Celticas significare putat

Trenaccatlo

in modern Welsh Tren a Chadlo, Tren and Cadlo.

---

115 In *Penbryn parish*, *Cardiganshire*, olim stetit non procul ab ecclesia, nunc iacet in agro quodam dicto *Parc Caregg y lluniau*, cippus altus circiter p. 5, latus p. 2 dig. 3 ad p. 1 dig. 4. *The shortest cut to this stone would be from the Cardigan road at a point a little north of Blaenporth; it stands in the middle of a corn field called Cae'r Felin Wynt on the farm of Dyffryn Bern,* litteris optime servatis Rhys.



Ordous Corbalengi iacit

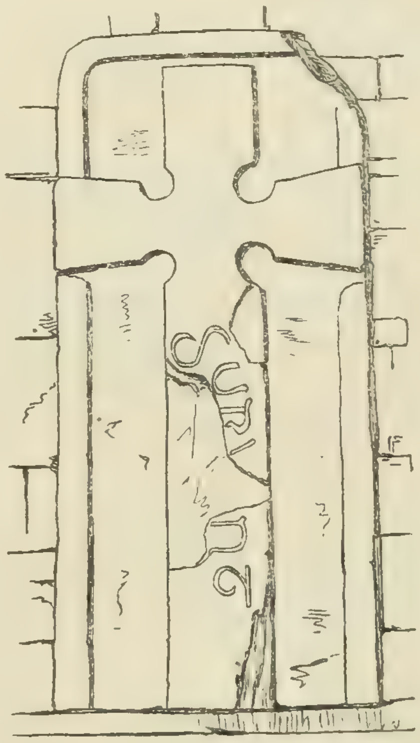
Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 648 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 160); Meyrick p. 178 tab. 4 fig. 2; H. Longueville Jones Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 7, 1861 p. 305.

1 iacet Meyrick.

Legendam putavi inscriptionem ita, ut praecedat v. 2; sed potest etiam *Corbalengi* nomen defuncti esse. Llwyd proposuerat, sed dubitanter, *cor Balencii*. *Ordous* videtur idem esse atque Ordovix olim gentis nomen.

---

116 *Llanarth*, *Cardiganshire*, in curte ecclesiae prope portam meridionalem. Lapis altus est p. 4 dig. 6, latus p. 2 dig. 10; cruce magna tectus est omnis, in cuius trabe inferiore titulus legitur; in margine extant litterae Celticae.



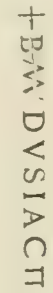
Gurhir[e]t ?

Meyrick p. 235 tab. 4 fig. 4 qui male legit *Henricus*; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 9, 1863 p. 262; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 4 et Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 20.

Rhys haec addit: *the stone has peeled of, so that some of the letters are very imperfect and one of them entirely gone. On the left arm of the cross we found four strokes making, if we read downwards in the same direction as* Gurhiret, *the Ogmic character for* c. *Thus we have altogether* C. Gurhiret, i. e. *Croc Gurhiret, the cross of Gurhiret, which is interesting as showing that the Celtic alphabet was used, to some extent, as late as the eighth century. I find no reason to believe there ever were more Ogmic characters on the stone.*

---

117 *Silian, some what under two miles from Bettws Station, Cardiganshire, a cross-inscribed stone built into the wall of the church, the shaft of the cross extending right through the middle of the letters B and A, and showing that the stone originally stood upright; it is placed horizontally in the wall, and is probably only a fragment.*

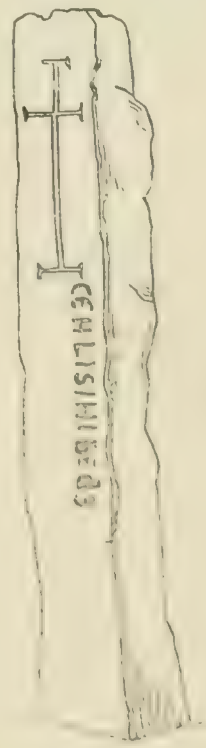


Bandus iacit

I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 4. Idem exemplum suum mihi misit, quod exhibeo In *Silian* servari praeterea lapidem litteris Celticis inscriptum Iohanni Rhys affirmavit *Ioh. Jones of Glandennis.*

---

118 *Llandewi Brewi*, *Cardiganshire*, ad portam ecclesiae, cippus tenuis, dictus a volgo *St. Davids leaning staff* (Meyr.), litteris incertis. Cippus altus p. 7 dig. 7, latus dig. 10.



C[e]nlisini ... ?

Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 644 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 158), qui non intellexit; Meyrick p. 271 tab. 5 fig. 3; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 4.

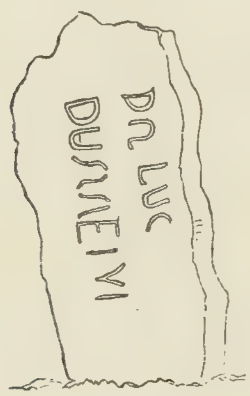
Rhys adnotat: *it would now seem to be*

ceHIISПbtdS

but the HII *may be* FILI *and the* d *may be* R *partly obliterated.*

---

119 *Llandewi Brewi, Cardiganshire,* postis ianuae, quae ad ecclesiae curtem ducit a parte orientis, cippus altus p. 3 dig. 10, latus p. 1 dig. 2, litteris incertis.

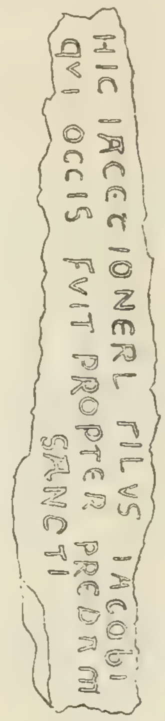


Dalucdusnelvi?

Meyrick p. 271 tab. 5 fig. 4.

Quemadmodum vocabula distinguenda sint non liquet.

120 *Llan Devi Brevi, Cardiganshire,* ad ecclesiam, supra portam quae ad suggestum ducit (*over the chancel door*). Tribuitur saeculo octavo. Mensura non indicata.



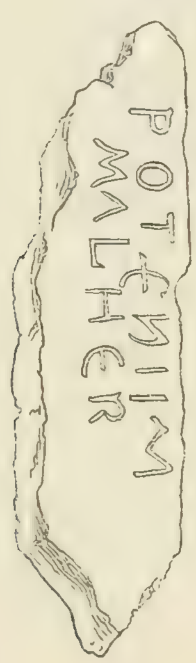
hic iacet Ianert filius I[acobi?] qui occisus fuit propter p[redam?] sancti [David?]

Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 644 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 158; Meyrick p. 269 tab. 5 fig. 2; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 625) qui supplevit secundum ea, quae de hoc lapide ibi tradita accepit. Partem lapidis inferiorem ab eo additam in textu uncis inclusi.

Creditur hic homo idem esse atque *Idnerth* ultimus episcopus in *Llanbadarn,* qui occisus est c. a. 720 (Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 146).

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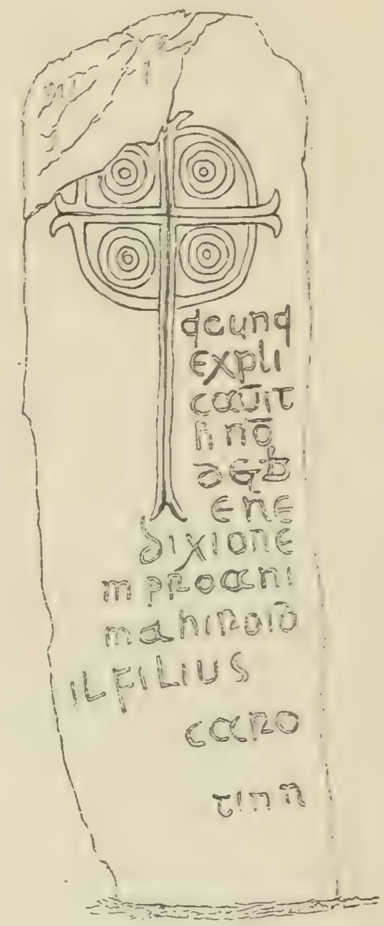
121 *Tregaron, Cardiganshire,* in curte ecclesiae olim, postea servatus in *Goodrich Court* cura Meyrickii. Lapis altus est p. 1 dig. 2, latus p. 1.



Potenina malher (mulier?)

Meyrick p. 252 tab. 7 fig. 1 (inde Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 1, 1850 p. 90).

122 *In the parish of Llanwnnws,* prope *Ystrad Meurig* (s. *Meyric*), *Cardiganshire, on a stone ornamented with a cross (the Gwnnws stone).* Cippus altus p. 3 dig. 9.



(Christus) quicunque explicaverit hoc nomen det benedixionem pro anima Hiroidil filius Carotinn

Meyrick p. 304 tab. 7 fig. 6; Professor Graves misit Westwoodio, is mihi; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 4 et Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 245 qui adnotat: *after many futile attempts we made out the following legend, which, I am confident, is the correct one.* Supra proposui exemplum Meyrickii correctum ex exemplo Iohannis Rhys, quod is mecum communicavit.

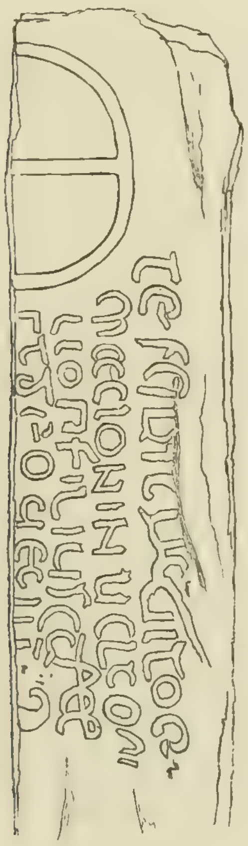
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123 *In Llanwnnws churchyard, near Ystrad Meurig, Cardiganshire, a stone which has a cross on it and an inscription in Hiberno-Saxon characters.* Imaginem photographicam frustra procurare conatus est Rhys.

Canotinn

I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 4: ductus indicatione quadam *in the Myvyrian Archaiology* (p. 422, a); sed idem postea intellexit mihique nuper scripsit referenda haec esse ad n. 122.

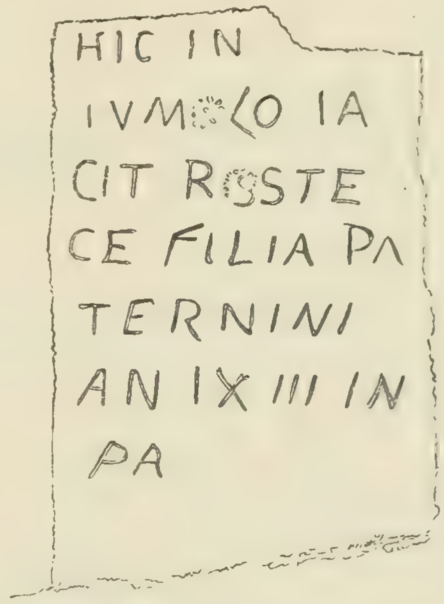
124 *Llanllear, Cardiganshire* Westwood. *Llanllyr, in Col. Lewis' house, a cross-inscribed stone; the original stone was split longitudinally along the shaft of the cross; the one half has been lost, and the remaining one is, I believe, to be removed to a more fitting place, than it now occupies, when the repairs going on at the house have been completed* Rhys. Mensura non indicata.



temuicucoitoc— | . acioninuato | cas filius asa|ittmeitcii . . . . ?

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 9, 1863 p. 258 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 629) qui *Macloniu* et *filius* tantum vocabula legit; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 5 quem sequor; addit autem lectionem incertam esse (*the reading is not perhaps altogether wrong*).

125 *In Llanervil* (s. *Llanerfyl*), *Montgomeryshire* (*fourteen miles from Welshpool, about twelve from Dinas Mawddwy, and between ten and twelve from Carno over the hills* Rhys), *on a stone in the churchyard.* Mensura non indicata.



hic [*in*] *tum*[*u*]*lo iacit R*[*e*]*stece filia Paternini an. IXIII in pa*[*ce*]

Lewis Morris *Gent. mag.* 61, 1791 p. 13 tab. 3 fig. 3; Westwood mihi misit; I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 4, 1873 p. 290 et *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10 non viderat, postea Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 333 legit quamvis evanidam, ut dedi supra.

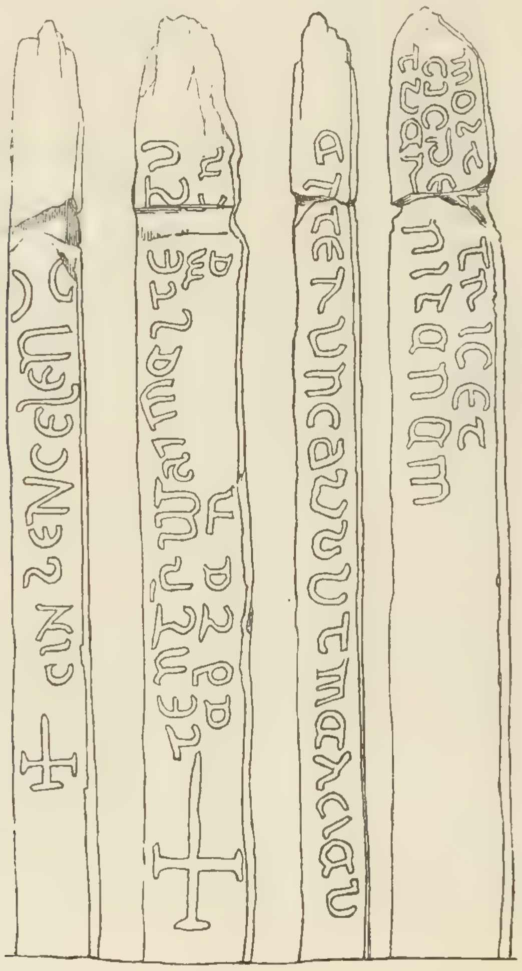
6 lege AN · LXIII.

Near Maes Llymystyn, in the parish of Garthbeibio, Montgomeryshire, at the distance of about 100 *yards from the path leading across the fields to the farm-house, and in the second field from the river, is an erect stone, having an inscription (though illegible) on the east side; the remaining sides forming the four sides of a hexagon. The top has evidently been broken off, and near the foot of it lie fragments, which, with little trouble, and as little expense, may yet be restored to their original position. I am inclined to think a cross will be found inscribed upon it.*

D. R. Thomas Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 2, 1856 p. 329.

IX. *MERIONETHSHIRE.*

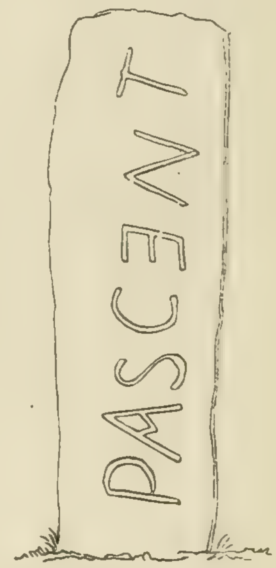
126 *Towyn, Merionethshire, in the parish church, the so called St. Cadfans stone.* Lapis longus p. circiter 7, latus circiter dig. 10. Tribuitur saeculo sexto circiter medio, fortasse iniuria.



a † *cingen celen*
b † *tengrug cimaltedgu adgan ma . . . tr*
c *anterunc dubut marciau[n]*
d *molt tricet clode tuar [a]nitanam*

Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 622 (inde et ex schedis Ed. Llwyd et Tayloris Goughs Camden 3 p. 172 tab. 9 fig. 1—5); Pennant 1 p. 93. 94, *supplemental tables* 5 fig. 3; I. Williams et Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. 3, 1848 p. 364, Thom. Wakeman et I. G. Nichols Archaeol. Cambr. 4, 1849 p. 21; Westwood et Wakeman Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 1, 1850 p. 90. 205 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 164); I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 243 qui examinavit a. 1874, sed lectionem et interpretationem esse incertissimas affirmat. Ceterum litteras uncis inclusas addidit Rhys, quas putaret extare in lapide.

127 *Towyn, Merionethshire, in the churchyard.* Mensura cippi non indicata.



Pascent?

Pennant *supplem. tables* tab. 5 fig. 2 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 172 tab. 9 fig. 7); Westwood *Gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 164. Lapis videtur integer esse; de tempore eius non liquet.

128 *Kell Wart (Ardudwy, Llanaber), Merionethshire,* lapis pro ponticulo tramitis inserviens Gough. In *Llanaber church* prope *Barmouth* Rhys. Mensura non indicata.



Caelexti Monedorigi

Pennant nescio ubi (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 173); Jones Parry Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 215 (cf. ser. III 12, 1866 p. 368; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 629); I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 11. Eius exemplum exceptum e lapide mihique missum supra dedi.

Pennant ita dedit: *hic iacit Calixtus Monedorigi.* Rhys olim adnotavit: Caelix *king of the mountains, rather than the king of the Isle of Man, as some seem to have supposed; but who was this monarch of the mountains?* Nunc mecum putat simpliciter esse *Caelexti* (pro *Caelestis* aut *Calixti*) (*filius*) *Monedorigi*; patris nomen potest fuisse aut *Monedorix* aut *Monedorigus.* Rhys ipse comparat *Dumnorix, Dumnorigis* formas.

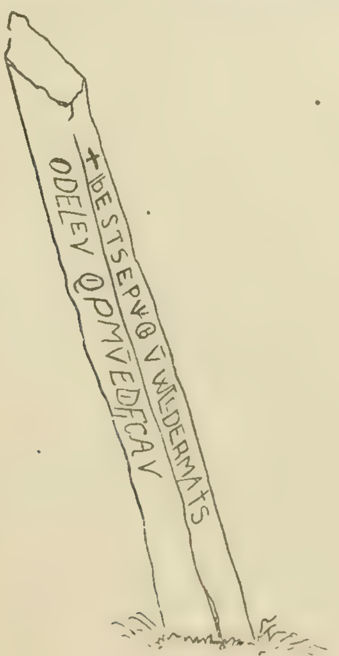
129 Puteal ligneum, rep. *in a bog near Dinas Mawddwy, in Merionethshire, formed of a massy piece of knotty oak, rude in the sides as in the state of nature; the top and bottom bevelled, seemingly with no better instrument than the axe. On the upper part is a large hollow basin capable of containing about six quarts — immediately beyond a narrow slope has been formed, on which is cut, in large letters, the inscription* Llwyd. Diameter circuli maioris dig. 11, minoris dig. 3, *length of the log* 1 *f.* 10 *in.*



Athrywyn?

Rich. Llwyd (1790) in *archaeol. journ.* 13, 1856 p. 292 (inde Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 3, 1872 p. 258).

130 *Llanfihangel y Traethau, Merionethshire, in the church yard.* Cippus oblique stans altus p. circiter 6.



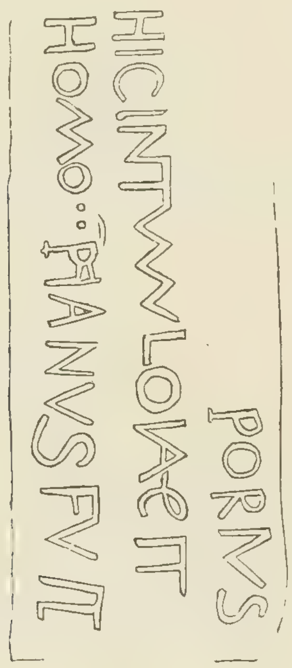
✝ *h(oc) est sepulcrum Wleder matris | Odelev qui primum edificav[it] || hanc eclesia | in t(e)mpore Ewini regis*

Pennant *supplemental tables* 5 fig. 4; Goughs Camden 3 p. 172 in tab. fig. 8. 9; T. P. D. Jones Parry et Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. 3, 1848 p. 224, hic etiam *Gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; I. Wakeman et I. G. Nichols Archaeol. Cambr. 4, 1849 p. 21 s. (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 628); I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 243 s. et 334 qui examinavit a. 1874 cuiusque lectionem sequor; R. R. Brash ibid. p. 335.

Quae post || dedi in imagine non depicta, quia scripta sunt in cippi lateribus duobus reliquis, qui descripserunt exhibent similiter omnes.

Regem Ewinum (*Owen*) obiisse a. 987 ex libro *Brut y Tywysogion* constat, ut I. Rhys adnotavit; sed idem potius adscribendam censet tempori *of Owain Gwynedd*, p. C. 1137—1169. Saeculi decimi quinti lapidem esse putabat Westwood.

131 *In the Parish of Trawsfynydd, .. not far from Rhiw goch, is a stone with this inscription* Vaugh. *Parish of Trawsvynydh*, prope *Llĕch Idris, Merionethshire*, lapis dictus *Bĕdh Porws or Porus' grave* Llwyd. *A stone on the farm of Llech Idris, about three miles beyond Trawsfynydd, not far from what is I believe the old road to Dolgelley* Rhys. Infra addita sunt haec tempore recenti: 1245E. Cippus altus est p. 10 plus minus, latus p. 4 dig. 6, crassus dig. 15.



Porius hic in tumulo iacit,
homo christianus fuit

Rob. Vaughan [1592—1666] Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 1, 1850 p. 203; Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 662 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 176) et Archaeol. Cambr. 3, 1848 p. 246; (H. L. Jones) Archaeol. Cambr. 1, 1846 p. 424 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 167); Westwood *Gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 11; W. E. Wynne Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1873 p. 78 qui ab Ioh. *Lloyd of Cefnfaes* et *Pen y Glanau* audierat, ante a. 1856 additamentum novicium (1245 E) in lapide non fuisse.

2 . . rianvs Llwyd; legebant *Christianus*, quod quamquam non probatum ab Edwardo Llwyd tamen fortasse verum est (xrianvs).

Vaughan legebat *hic in tumulo iacet Eporeus qui homo Xrianus fuit.*

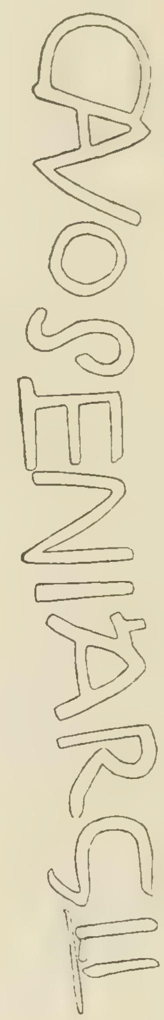
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132 *Caer Gai, parish of Llannuwchllyn, Merionethshire* Vaughan. Videtur periisse. Mensura non indicata.

hec iacet Salvianus Bursocavi filius Cupetian

R. Vaughan [1592—1666] Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 1, 1850 p. 204; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10 non vidit; sed lectionem affirmat incertam esse, *but it is such that one cannot doubt that the original from which it has been guessed was of a date anterior to the end of the sixth century.*

133 *Llanfawr* (s. *Llanfor*), prope *Bala, Merionethshire, built into the church-wall, inside the entrance; the rest is lost* Vaughan. Mensura non indicata.



Cavoseniargii . . . . .

R. Vaughan [1592—1666] Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 1, 1850 p. 204; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 11 qui ectypum misit.

Cavos Eniarsii Vaughan legit, *Cavo Seniarsii* legendum putavit Westwood. Imago quamvis in fine *li* potius videatur exhibere, tamen *ii* probabilius est. Linea subscripta aut fortuita est aut interpunctionis vice fungitur.

134 *Llanfihangel-y-Traethau* (*S. Michael of the estuaries*), *Merionethshire*, in ora maritima, circiter m. p. 4 ab *Harlech*, in muris ecclesiae nuper lapis repertus est forma triangulari longus dig. circiter 22. Inscriptus est utrimque tam in fastigio quam infra. Qui ab altera parte extant tituli novicii sunt hi '*Mai. 16 / 1679*' et lingua Gallica (*Welsh*) alter lectu difficilis, sed in haec vocabula desinens '*wyf mewn heddwch*' (i. e. sum in pace). Ab altera parte extant tituli Latini duo, in fastigio angulato alter (*a*), cuius versus duo priores visi sunt inducti esse consulto, alter (*b*) infra. Litterae neglegenter incisae hodie admodum evanidae sunt.

a

M
I M P

DOMVS
MEA
5 SEPVLCHRVM

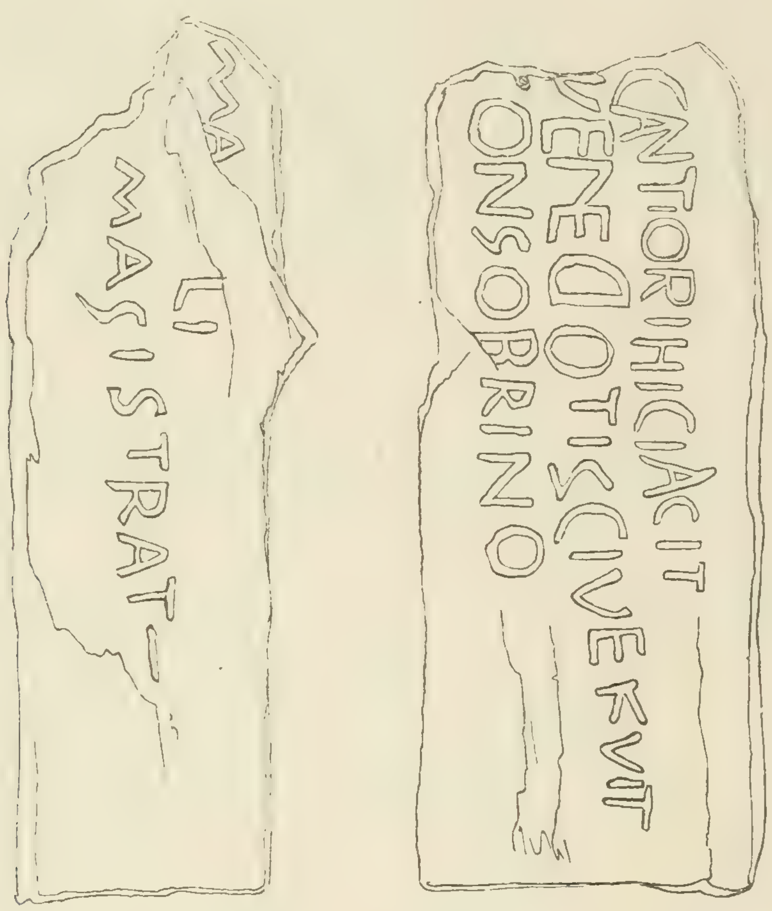
b

*ip*SE IVBET MORTIS TE ME
MINISSE DEVS †

I. Wordsworth in ephemeride *the Academy* a. 1874 p. 434. Ectypum, quod idem reportavit, incerta tantum vestigia exhibet, unde imago inde desumi non potuit. Sed apparet vere observasse editorem, cum tituli *a* vv. 1. 2 ex antiquiore fortasse reliquos esse diceret, vv. 3—5 multo recentiores itemque titulum *b*. Idem in epistula ad me data adnotat vocabula '*domus mea sepulchrum*' fortasse desumpta esse ex versu Iob prophetae XVII 13: '*si sustinuero, infernus domus mea est*'. Versiculus infra positus unde desumptus sit indicavit iam amicus Wordsworthii; scilicet legitur apud Martialem II 59, 4. Poetam christianis etiam hominibus acceptum fuisse docet titulus Hispanus christianus n. 65 anni p. C. 641, in quo legitur alter Martialis versiculus (VI 76, 4) *non timet hostiles iam lapis iste minas.*

X. *CAERNARVONSHIRE.*

135 *Penmachno, Caernarvonshire.* Cippus magnus (mensura accuratior non indicata). Creditur esse saeculi sexti septimive.

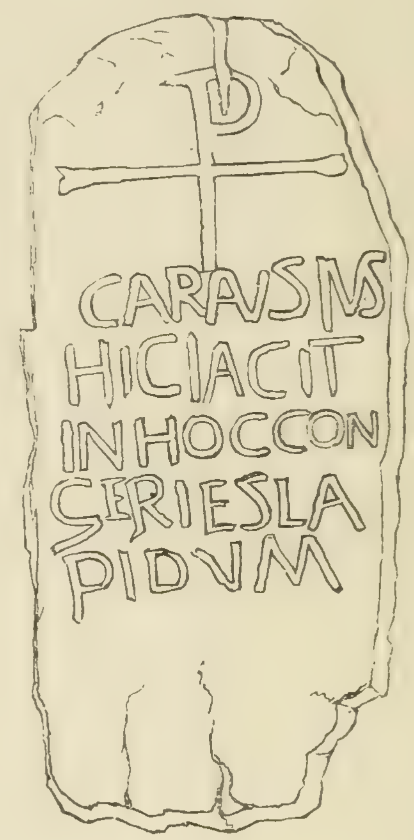


Cantiori. Hic iacit, Venedotis cive(s) fuit, [c]onsobrino(s) Ma[g]li magistrati

Pennant nescio quo loco memoravit; H. Longueville Jones Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 6, 1860 p. 363 (cf. *Gent. mag.* 9, 1860 p. 497, 8); Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 2, 1871 p. 257 cuius imaginem sequor; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10.

Venedotis cives creditur esse civis Venedotiae, i. e. Guenedotae sive Guenedotiae, hodiernae *Gwynedd*; ita enim apud Nennium et in annalibus Cambriae regio illa appellatur. Sed quis affirmet *Venedotes* sive *Venedotis* non fuisse viri alicuius nomen fortasse iuxta sepulti, ita ut *Cantiorus* (aut *Cantiorius*) eius civis sive conterraneus fuisse dicatur? Vocabula duo ultima cum non in eodem lapidis latere scripta sint, peculiarem titulum esse credebant; sed recte I. Rhys monuit cum prioribus esse coniungenda. Licet autem verba aut ita iungere ut supra indicavi interpunctione, aut etiam ita: *C. hic iacit, Venedotis cives, fuit consobrinos M. m.*

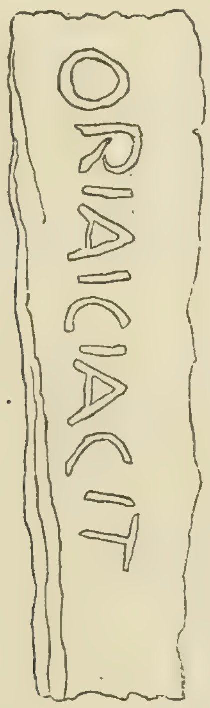
136 Repertus in *Penmachno, Caernarvonshire,* servatus ibidem in ecclesia. Cippus parvus altus dig. 22, latus 11.



Carausius hic iacit in hoc congeries lapidum

Westwood *Gent. mag.* 9, 1860 p. 497, 8 et 11, 1861 p. 39; Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 9, 1863 p. 256 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 166); I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10.

137 *Penmachno,* prope *Llanrwst, Caernarvonshire, on a rude stone in the church found in taking down the old church.* In lapide rudi supra, ut videtur, non integro reperto dum vetus ecclesia diruitur. Nunc servatur intra ecclesiam cura H. L. Pryce rectoris. Litterae altae sunt dig. 2 ad 3.



. . . . oria ic iacit

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 2, 1871 p. 262 qui initio nihil deesse affirmat; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10.

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138 *Llannor* prope *Pwlhelli, Caernarvonshire,* in posti curtis ecclesiae.

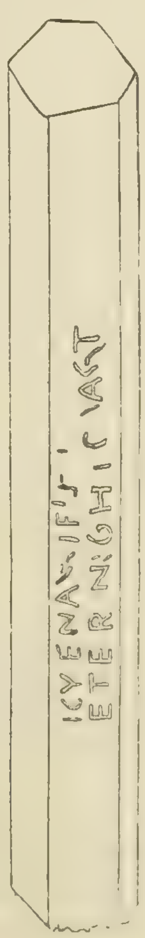
Figulini fili Locu . . . ei hic iacit

Westwood textum mihi misit; I. Rhys non vidit frustraque studuit obtinere exemplum. Imaginem vel ectypum nancisci non potui.

Lectionem sola Westwoodii fide stare ne obliviscaris.

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139 In dioecesi *Llannor* promontorii *Lleyn,* *Caernarvonshire;* lapides duo reperti in sepulcro iuxta domunculam dictam *Beudy'r Mynydd,* in praedio *Pempris.* Lapis hic altus p. 6 dig. 2; alter lapis est infra n. 140.

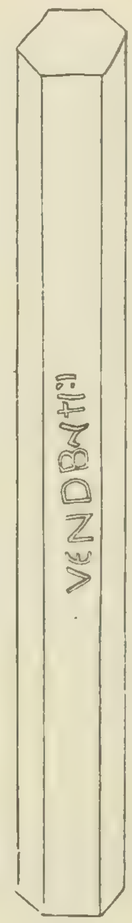


Icuenali fili Etern[i] hic iacit

T. L. D. Jones Parry et Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. 2, 1847 p. 202 (cf. ibid. ser. III 6, 1860 p. 226; indidem Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 166). I. Rhys non vidit.

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140 In dioecesi *Llannor, Caernarvonshire,* rep. et servata una cum praecedente. Lapis altus p. 6.



Vend . . . .

T. L. D. Jones Parry et Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. 2, 1847 p. 202 (cf. ibid. ser. III 6, 1860 p. 226; inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 166); I. Rhys non vidit.

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141 In *Llannor parish, Caernarvonshire, over a stable.* Mensura non indicata.

DERVON HIC IACET

Goughs Camden 3 p. 186. Fortasse recentior quam a. 1000.

142 *Llangian, about nine miles from Pwllheli, Caernarvonshire,* in curte ad ecclesiae latus meridionale. Cippus altus p. 3 dig. 10. Tribuitur saeculo quinto.



Meli Medici fili Martini iacit

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. 3, 1848 p. 105 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 166); I. Y. Simpson *proceedings of the society of antiquaries of Scotland* 4, 1863 p. 130 ligno incisam; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10 et Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 173.

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143 *Bardsey Abbey, Caernarvonshire, a gravestone, apparently of the sixth century.* Mensura non indicatur.

. . . . . MARC VELIO

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. 3, 1848 p. 365. I. Rhys non vidit.

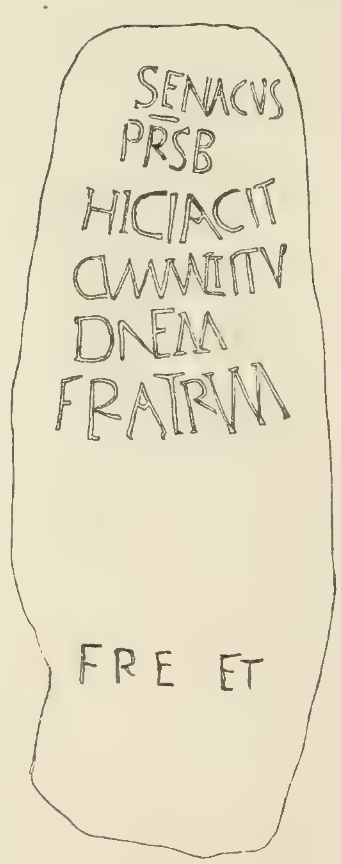
Nisi sexti saeculi esse titulum affirmavisset Westwood, cuius sola fide lectio stat, facile dé lapide Romano saeculi alterius tertiive, sed male lecto, cogitaveris.

In *Capel Yverack* in *Aberdaron, Caernarvonshire,* cippum inscriptum extare, cuius tamen titulum non adscripsit, affirmat

Goughs Camden 3 p. 186.

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144 Repertus in *Gors*, inter *Cefn Amwlech* (s. *Amwlch*) et *Aberdaron, Caernarvonshire,* servatus in *Cefn Amwlch, on the lawn of the house of Charles Wynne Esq.* Credebatur saeculi esse decimi undecimive; est autem multo vetustior. Cippus forma cylindrica altus est p. 3 dig. 6, latus 6 ad 18; litterae altae dig. $2\frac{1}{2}$ ad $3\frac{1}{2}$.

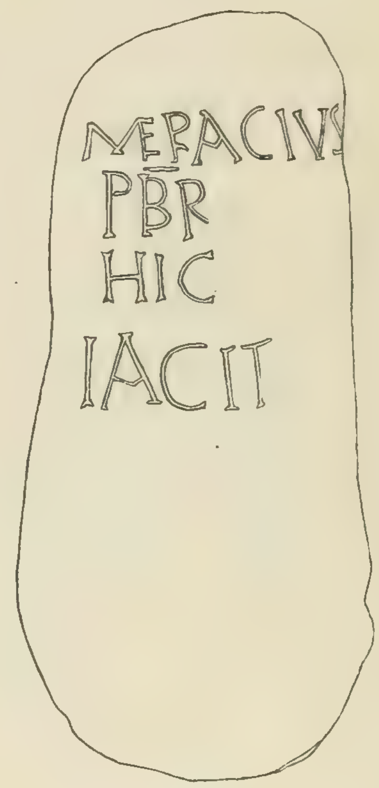


Senacus pr(e)sb(yter) hic iacit cum multitud(i)nem fratrum . . . . [*prespiter?*]

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 5, 1859 p. 54 et *Gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 629); I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10 cuius lectionem sequor. Is addit inter *fratrum* et *prespiter* vocabula alia esse, quae legi non possint. In imagine ne *prespiter* quidem vocabulum clare deprehenditur; sed se legisse in lapide Rhys affirmat.

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145 *Cefn Amwlch, along the pilgrim road going to Bardsey Island, Caernarvonshire, lying under some trees near the house.* Cippus altus p. 3, latus dig. 8—12; litterae altae dig. $2\frac{1}{2}$ ad $3\frac{1}{2}$.



Veracius p(res)b(yte)r hic iacit

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 5, 1859 p. 55 et *Gent. mag.* 9, 1860 p. 497, 8 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 629); I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10 quem sequor.

Meracius Westwood, sed *Veracius* legendum esse affirmat Rhys.

146 *Llanhaiarn* (s. *Llanelhaiarn*), *about four miles from Chwilog Station, Caernarvonshire,* rep. ante tres plus minus annos (ante a. 1867 puto) in campo olim dicto *Gardd Sart* iuxta curtem ecclesiae. Cippus altus p. 4 dig. 3.

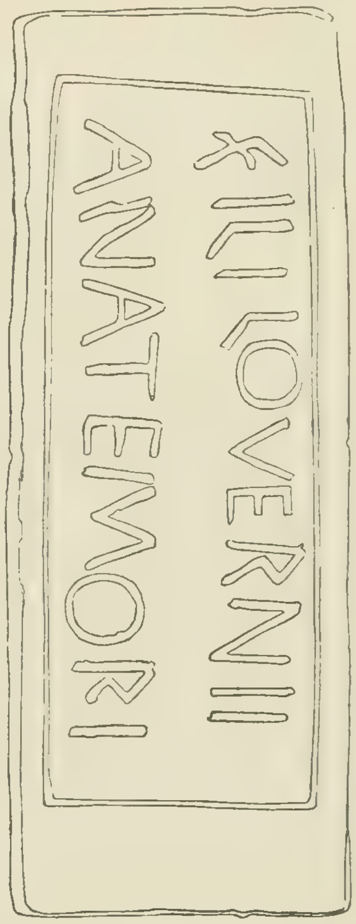


Alhortu Seimetiaco hic iacet

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 13, 1867 p. 342; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10 et Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 246.

Rhys primum ita legerat: *Alhortugemetiaco hic iacet*, postea vero, postquam iterum examinavit lapidem, eam praetulit lectionem, quam exhibui supra. Idem Rhys adnotat in hoc solo lapide *iacet* formam extare pro *iacit* alioquin solita in his titulis.

147 *Llanfaglan* prope *Caernarvon*; prodiit ex muris ecclesiae, in qua servatur. Cippus altus p. 5, latus dig. 15.



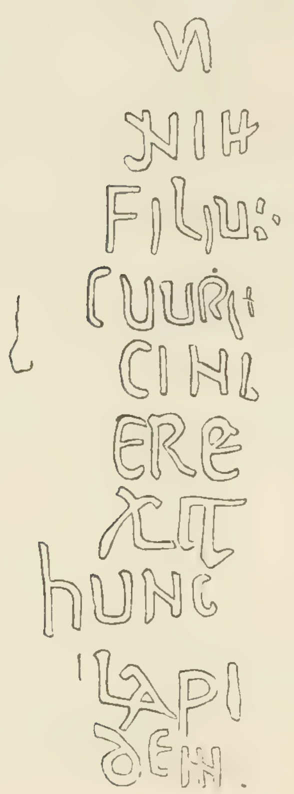
Anatemori fili Lovernii

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 1, 1855 p. 8; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10.

Videtur integra esse eoque ordine procedere, quem supra indicavi.

XI. *ANGLESEY.*

148 *Vrondeg near Newburgh, Anglesey* LLWYD. *In a place called Vron (s. Fron) in the parish of Llangaffo, on the way to Newborough and Caernarvon* ANON. *I found it serving as a gate post* JONES. Similiter reliqui. Servatur in *Llangaffo, about three miles from Holland Arms station, in the vestry of the church* RHYS. Cippus altus est p. 6.



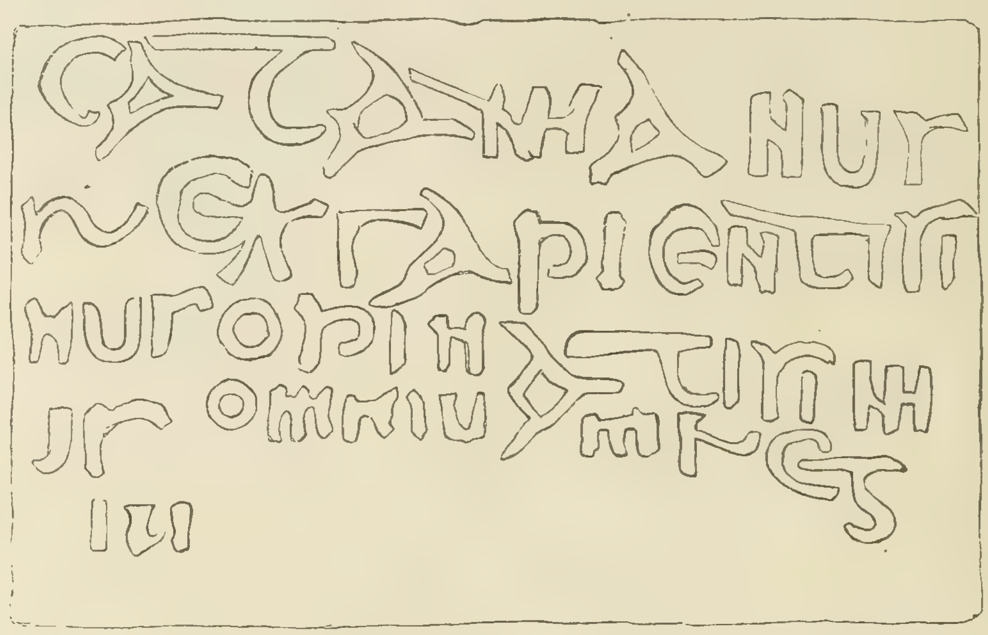
us . . . nih . . . i filius Cuuri . . cini erexit hunc lapidem

Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden ed. II (1722) 2 p. 810 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 203); Anonymus in cod. Mus. Brit. 14, 934 f. 216; Pennant 2 p. 223 qui non vidit, sed sumpsit ex schedis Rowlandi; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. 1, 1846 p. 429 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 629) quem sequor; H. L. Jones *gent. mag.* 9, 1860 p. 498; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10 cuius lectionem exhibeo.

Initio pauca videntur deesse. 1. 2 CVR . . . Llwyd Penn., ‾VR|SHIH: Anon. (unde supplevi S litteram initio v. 2). 4. 5 VINNEMAGLI Jones, CVNRIANI vel VLRICI (ita Rowland) Llwyd, CVVRICINI Pennant Jones.

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149 In *Llangadwaladr, near Bodorgan Station, two miles north-east of Newburgh, Anglesey, on a stone like a coffin lid,* supra portam ecclesiae meridionalem LLWYD. Ibidem reliqui. Litterae sunt saeculi septimi secundum opinionem Westwoodii. Mensura non indicata.

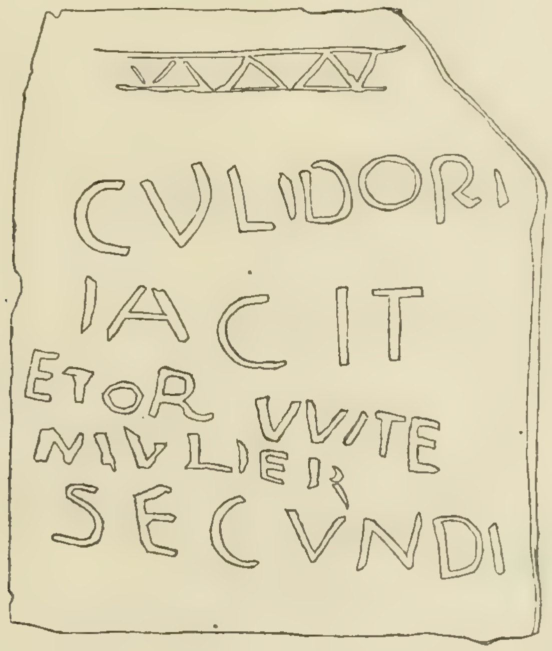


Catamanus rex sapientisimus opinatisimus omnium regum

Ed. Llwyd *philos. transact.* 22, 1700 p. 790 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 203); *History of Anglesey* p. 33 male; Rowland Mona antiqua p. 157 tab. 9 fig. 4; G. Petrie apud H. L. Jones Archaeol. Cambr. 1, 1846 p. 166 ligno incisam, quem sequor; Westwood *gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 166 ex praecedentibus; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10.

Rex *Cadwalader,* qui obiit a. p. C. 664 aut 679, putatur lapidem hunc erexisse avo suo regi *Cadfan.* V. 3 in. pars M litterae in imagine periit.

150 *Llangefni, Anglesey, in the churchyard, at the S. E. side of the church* WESTWOOD. *In the vestry room* RHYS. Cippus altus est p. 4 dig. 3, latus dig. 18, litterae variant inter dig. $3\frac{1}{4}$ et $1\frac{3}{4}$.



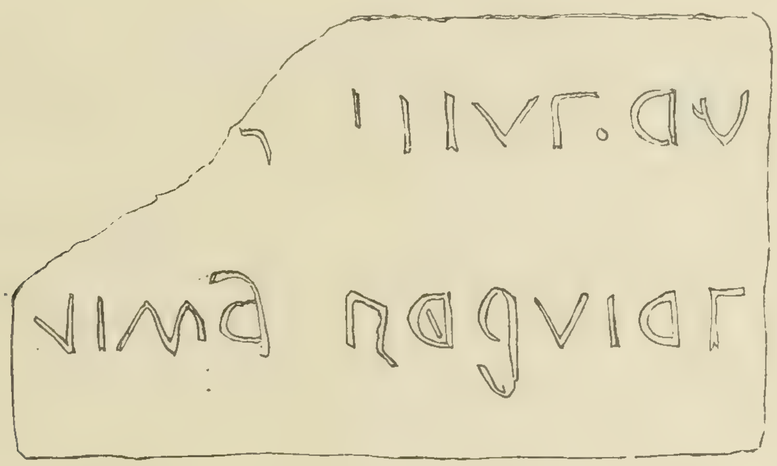
Culidori iacit et Oruvite mulier Secundi

H. L. Jones Archaeol. Cambr. 2, 1847 p. 42; melius Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 2, 1856 p. 145 et *gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10.

Supra nihil deest.

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151 *Heneglwys, Anglesey, about four miles from Holland Arms Station, in the wall of the church.* Lapis longus dig. 22, latus 13.

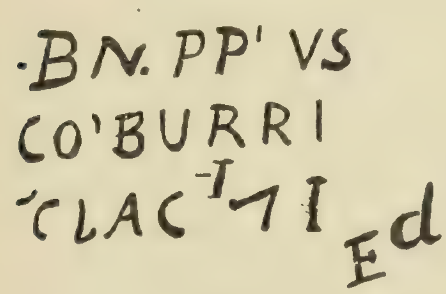


. . *ilius cu*[*ius a*]*nima requicit* [*in pace*] . . .

H. L. Jones Archaeol. Cambr. 1, 1846 p. 67 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 628); Westwood *gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 4, 1873 p. 290 et *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10.

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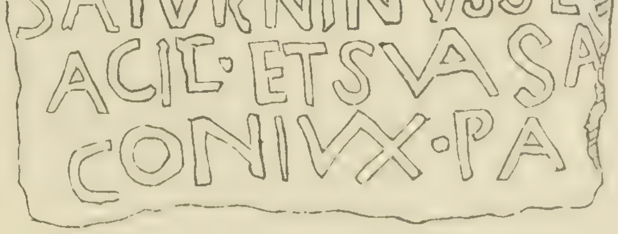
152 *Whaen Wen House in Anglesey* a. d. 1728.



Obarrus Conburri ic iacit?

Anonymus in cod. mus. Brit. 14, 934 f. 216 exempla duo profert alterum a Guilelmo Jones Slater, alterum ab Iohanne Owen Dwyran sumptum. Hoc exhibet imago mea, quae Slaterus legit dedi in textu. *E d* in fine videntur novicia esse.

153 *Llansadwrn, Anglesey, about two miles from Bangor by the ferry-boat,* in aediculae S. Saturnini pariete orientali. Saeculi sexti esse creditur. Mensura non indicata.

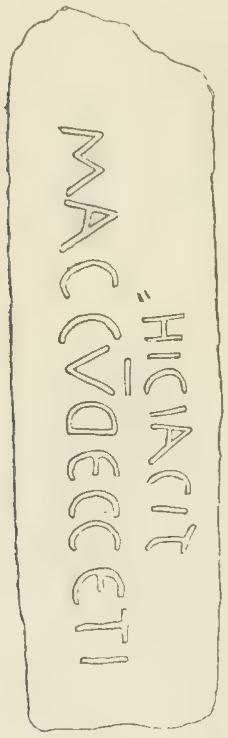


hic beatu[*s*] *Saturninus se*[*p*(*ultus*) *i*]*acit et Suasa coniux. Pa*[*x vobiscum?*]

H. L. Jones *archaeol. journ.* 1, 1846 p. 124 et Archaèol. Cambr. 2, 1847 p. 259 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 165); Westwood *gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10.

3 Legerunt etiam *se* [*ipse*] *iacit et sua sa*[*ncta*] *coniux*; minus probabiliter.

154 *In Penrhos Llugwy* (s. *Lligwy*) *churchyard, Anglesey, about five miles from Amlwch, near the west end of the church, on the south side, about a yard and a half from the church* Rhys. Mensura non indicata.



hic iacit Maccu Decceti

Rowlands Mona antiqua p. 157 tab. 9 fig. 3 (inde H. L. Jones Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 7, 1861 p. 296; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 166); Lord Boston Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 10, 1864 p. 105 quem sequor; R. R. Brash Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 2, 1871 p. 266; I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 4, 1873 p. 198 s. 334. 386 s. et *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10.

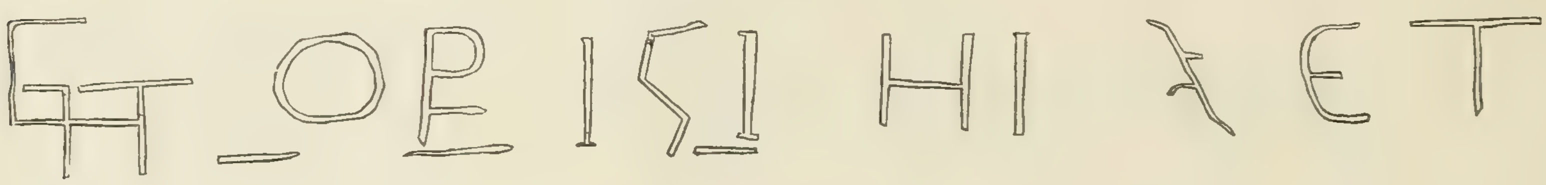
Brash legendam putat ita: *hic iacit Maccui decceti,* Rhys: *Maccu-decceti* lineamque *V* litterae superpositam in lapide esse negat.

'Maccus plurimarum rex insularum' fuit a. p. C. 973; a quo hic homo videtur prorsus diversus esse.

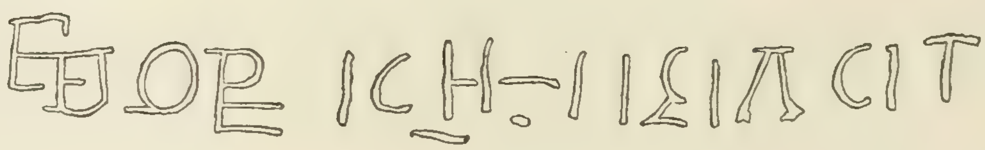
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155 In *Llan Babo, Anglesey* Llwyd. *Maen-hyr Llanol yn Llan Babo,* i. e. lapis servatus *in the parish of Llan Babo, in a tenement called Llanol* (sed *Llanol* pro *Llineol* positum esse alii coniecerunt, ut si lapis lineis exculptus) Anon. Cippus videtur erectus stetisse.

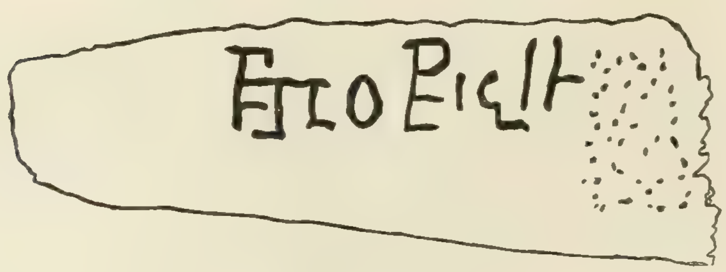
Llwyd:



a



b



Westwood:



Edw. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 678 cui descr. Robert Humphreys (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 205); Anonymus in cod. mus. Brit. 14, 934 f. 215* et 215 v. exempla duo *a* et *b* profert auctoribus non indicatis; Westwood mihi misit, qui perspexit in fine latere vocabula *ic iacit.* Reliqua incerta.

156 *Llaniestin, Anglesey,* in ecclesia. Tribuitur saeculo nono, sed videtur multo recentior esse.

hic iacet sanctus Yestinus cui Gwenllian filia Madoc et Gryffyt ap
Gwilym optulit in oblac(i)o(n)em istam imaginem p(ro) salute animarum s(uarum)

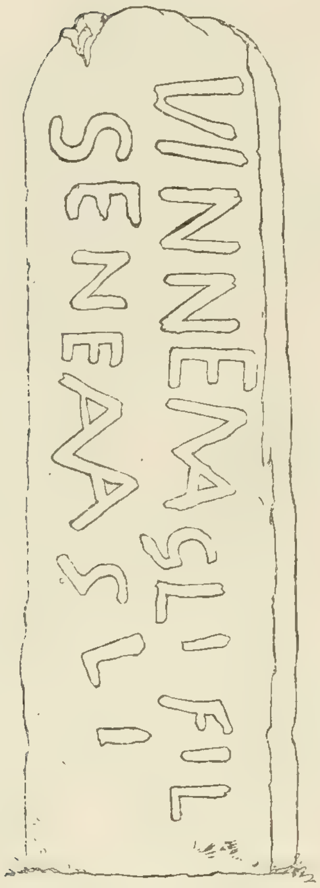
Goughs Camden 3 p. 202; Rowlands Mona antiqua p. 155 tab. 9 fig. 2 (inde H. L. Jones Archaeol. Cambr. 2, 1847 p. 324; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 166); M. H. Bloxam Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 224.

Rowlands haec tantum legi posse in lapide adnotat:

ΠIaJMaazGRYRRVƶMPGWILꝰM | MNIMMRVM:S | ИaM:P:SMMIVƶa | SC$\overline{B}$ | IPꝉVNI

XII. *DENBIGHSHIRE.*

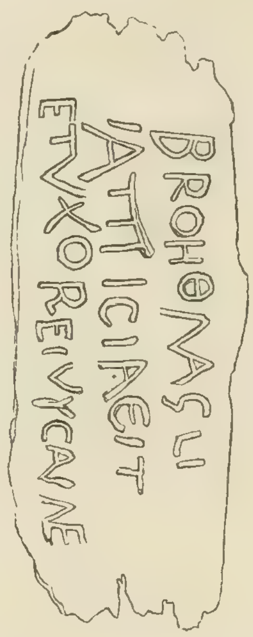
157 *Gwytherin, six to seven miles south-east of Llanrwst, Denbighshire,* in curte ecclesiae. Creditur sexti saeculi esse.



Vinnemagli fili Senemagli

Pennant *supplem. tables* tab. 5 fig. 1 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 210 tab. 9 fig. 18); Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 4, 1858 p. 406 (cf. 2, 1847 p. 33; indidem Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 167); I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 4, 1873 p. 197. 386 et *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10.

158 Repertus in campo dicto *Doltrebedw, Denbighshire,* cum via nova versus *Holyhead* intra *Limà* et *Cernioge* sternebatur. Servatur in *the drawing room of Lima House, the seat of Charles Wynne Esq., about* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *m. west of Pentre Voelas.* Saeculi octavi esse creditur.

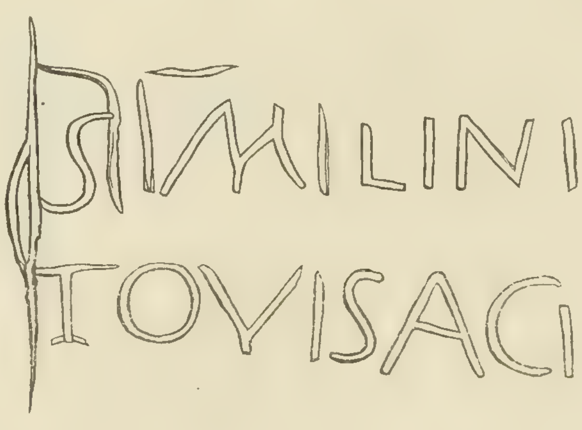


Brohomagli iam ic iacit et uxor eius Caune

Gent. mag. 90, 1820 I p. 443; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. 2, 1847 p. 30 et 183 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 625); I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10.

Anonymus in *gent. mag.* ita legit: *Brohonagli | iat hic iacit | et uxorem Caune.*

159 Inter montes huius regionis (i. e. *Denbighshire*) locus est vulgo dictus *Cerig y Drudion,* i. e. lapides Druydarum, nonnullaeque cernuntur columnulae ad *Y-voellas* peregrinis characteribus inscriptae .. et haud multum a *Clocainog* haec in saxo legitur inscriptio Camden. *In Clocaenog parish,* 3 *miles from Ruthin,* lapis altus p. $6\frac{1}{2}$, latus $2\frac{1}{4}$ Llwyd. *Formerly on the summit of Bryn-y-Beddau, near Ruthin, upon a barrow named Bedd-Emlyn; Lord Bagot removed it to Pool Park,* ubi servatur. Litterae Celticae extant *upwards on both edges,* similiter atque in n. 24 Rhys.



Saumilini Tovisaci

Camden ed. V (1600) p. 599, ed. VI (1607) p. 546; Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 685 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 211); H. M. in *gent. mag.* 73, 1803 p. 417 tab. 2 fig. 6; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 1, 1855 p. 116 (cf.

ser. nova 5, 1854 p. 239) et Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 233, item *gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 4, 1873 p. 399, *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10 et Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 17ss. et 330s.

Litterae Celticae ab Ioh. Rhys nuper examinatae (Archaeol. Cambr. 5, 1874 p. 18) haec visae sunt significare:

Subelino (s. *Saobilinu*) [*To*]*visaci*

I. Rhys qui una cum R. Thoma inspexit putat Latinum quoque nomen legendum esse *Sumilini* — '*the peculiar line curving off towards the left, above the* S, *turns out to be a fault in the stone ....; in the next place, what in this drawing appears as* I *and* M, *are to be joined, though it is true the groove-forming the bottom of the angle where they meet gets very shallow; still I think they fairly form a conjoint character which is to be read* VM'. Westwood contra affirmat (Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 233) *Sum* legi non posse, sed *Aim* certum esse. Rhys postquam denuo lapidem examinavit a. 1874 adiutus etiam exemplo, quod S. Ferguson sumpserat, concedit Westwoodio initio non *Sum*.. legendum esse sed *Saumilini* (ut primum elementum compositum sit ex S et A). Ceterum Ferguson et Rhys etiam *To* syllabam litteris Celticis scriptam sibi deprehendisse visi sunt quamvis evanidam.

---

160 Basis crucis dicta *the pillar of Eliseg*, $\frac{1}{4}$ *mile from* Valle Crucis (s. *Llanegwest*) *Abbey, about half an hour's walk from Llangollen Station, Denbighshire.* Columna alta est supra p. 12, lata infra p. 7, supra 6; basis eius quadrata lata quoquo versus p. 5, crassa dig. 15. Litterarum formas ut potuit scribendo imitatus est LLWYD. Ad saeculum nonum medium (a. p. C. 850) fere refertur a doctis Anglis. Hodie titulum scriptum litteris Hibernosaxonicis paene evanidum esse affirmat RHYS.

\+ Concenn filius Catteli, Catteli
filius Brohemail, Brohmail filius (*sic*)
Eliseg, Eliseg filius Guoillauc,
Concenn itaque pronepos Eliseg
5 edificavit hunc lapidem proavo
suo Eliseg + ipse est Eliseg qui necr
— at hereditatem Povos . ipc . . mort .
ca^{v}tem per vissi . . ep . o . t . estate Anglo
. . . . in gladio suo parta in igne
10 . . . . imque pecituerit manescr . p (*sic*)
. . . . mdet benedictionem supe
. . . . Eliseg + ipse est Concenn
. . . . tus . c . c . meiunge . manu
. . . . e ad regnum suum Povos ea
15 . . . . ertiinbani . r . et quod
. . . . s . ais . ucavesmec
. . . . syn ein . . montem
. . . .
. . . . . . il . e . monarchiam
20 . ail maximus Brittanniae
. nn . pascen . . mavi . annan
. britua t . m filius Guarthi
. que bened . que bened . germanusque
. . peperit ei . . se . ira filia maximi
25 . . gis qui occidit regi Romano
rum + Conmarch pinxit hoc
chirografū rege suo poscente
Concenn + benedictio dñi ir Con (*sic*)
cenn . ss i tota familia eius
30 et in tota ragione Povois (*sic*)
usque in . . . . . .

Ed. Llwyd in Goughs Camden 3 p. 214 tab. 11 fig. 1 et 12 atque ex eiusdem exemplo a Westwood secum communicato I. Williams Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 2, 1851 p. 295 (cf. 1, 1846 p. 32; indidem Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 625); Pennant p. 373 tab. 26; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10 non examinavit, sed addit *the reading given in the* Archaeol. Cambr. 1846 p. 32 *is not, as far as I am able to test it, to be depended upon as accurate.*

Exhibeo textum Edwardi Llwyd a Ric. Gough editum in tab. 12 praeter litterarum apices minores, qui visi sunt inutiles; sed addidi litteras initiales nominum propriorum maiores.

Catell rex *of Powys* mortuus esse traditur a. p. C. 808 aut 810; unde titulus hic tribuitur saeculo nono fere medio.

Restituere nemodum ausus est inscriptionem universam neque succedet restitutio, quanquam nonnulla constitui possunt satis probabiliter, nisi ei, cui rerum in monumento hoc singulari relatarum memoriam certa ratione redintegrare contigerit.

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161 *Llanegwest* (s. *Llanegwist*) *Abbey, Denbighshire, one of the chimney pieces.* Mensura non indicatur.

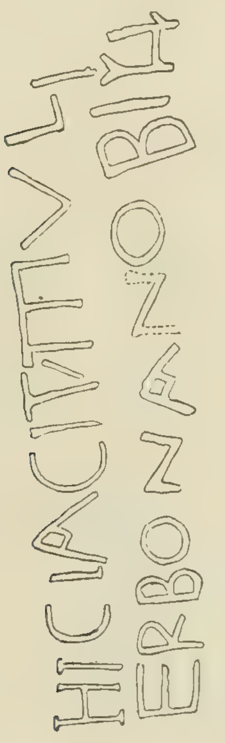
hic iacet . . . . arurvet

Pennant 1 p. 372 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 214); I. Rhys non vidit.

Fortasse recentior quam a. 1000.

XIII. *FLINTSHIRE.*

162 *Caerwys, Flintshire, on a stone in the parish* Gough., *A stone which stands on the grounds at Downing, about half an hour's walk from Mostyn Station* Rhys. Mensura non indicata.

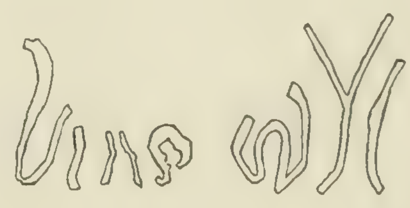


hic iacit mulier bona Nobili

Goughs Camden 3 p. 223; Pennant 1 p. 425; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. III 1, 1855 p. 153 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 629) et *gent. mag.* 11, 1861 p. 39; I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 10.

*Hic iacet muli*ER BO ... *obiit* Pennant. Westwood legit *mulier bona nobilis*; Rhys addit *mulier bona* versionem esse vocabuli Cambrici *Gwreig-dda.*

163 *Trelawnyd, Mostynhall, Flintshire,* crux inscripta litteris signisve, dicta *Maen achwynfan* (lapis lamentationis). Crux extat, sed titulum in ea legi nunquam audiverat Rhys. Alta est p. 12, lata p. $2\frac{1}{4}$, crassa dig. 10.

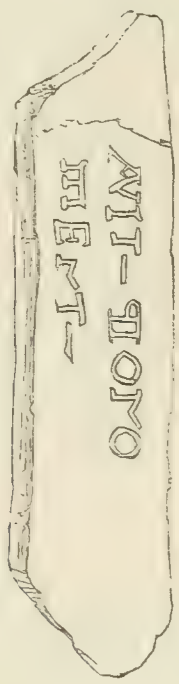


Via ....

Goughs Camden 3 p. 225 et tab. 11 fig. 3, ubi crucis tantum imago exhibetur.

XIV. *ISLE OF MAN.*

164 In *Kirk Santon*, in insula *Man, found when the new church was building, upwards of* 40 *years ago* (1823). Mensura non indicata.



Aviti Noro | merti?

Oswald Archaeol. Scotica 2 II 1823 p. 507 tab. 19 fig. *K* (inde Cumming *the runic and other monumental remains of the isle of Man* Lond. 1857 p. 42 tab. 14 fig. 48; cf. Archaeol. Cambr. 12, 1866 p. 251 ss.).

Legebant *avit(um) monoment(um)*, perperam sine dubio; quid vero significet elementum v. 1 quintum, pro quo *N* posui in textu, non liquet; septimum videtur R esse.

XV. RELIQVAE BRITANNIAE REGIONES.

165 *Whitchurch, Hants, hundred of Evingar, Kingsclere division,* prope flumen *Teste.* Titulus scriptus est lineis duabus supra absidem semicircularem, in qua est protome feminae. Lapis altus est p. 1 dig. 10, latus p. 1 dig. 9.

† HIC CORPVS FRIΘBVRGÆ REQVI
ESCIT IN PACE . . . . SEPVLTVM

D. H. Haigh misit nescio a quo descriptum adnotatque formas litterarum satis vetustas esse, protomen Romanis similem. Imago rudis edita est in ephemeride architectorum Anglicorum *the Builder* dicta, d. 11 m. Nov. a. 1871; adscribitur ibi saeculo nono.

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166 In *Barming, Kent,* prope *Maidstone* et *Rochester,* fragmenta tabularum lapidearum reperta sunt, quae creduntur pertinuisse ad coperculum sarcophagi. Insunt palmae, non litterae, rudi opere insculptae vel potius scariphatae.

B. Poste in C. R. Smith's collectanea antiqua 1, 1848 p. 183 ss. tab. 57 (inde D. H. Haigh *the monasteries of S. Heiu* cet. p. 39 tab. 4 fig. 3. 4 qui putat litteras esse Celticas). Vidi quaedam eius generis plumbea in museo Britannico.

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167 In villa rustica prope *Chedworth, Gloucestershire,* prodiit inter alia lapis laevigatus in latere inferiore, cui insculptum est incisione profunda et accurata monogramma christianum eius, quae sub Constantino usurpari solebat, formae idemque monogramma in tribus aliis lapidibus, qui ex fundamentis villae extracti sunt, scariphatum extat.

I. B. de Rossi *bullettino di archeologia cristiana* a. 1872 p. 122 (inde C. I. L. VII p. 314 ad n. 72*a*).

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168 *Bishopstone, Sussex,* in horologio, quod infixum est parieti meridionali ecclesiae.

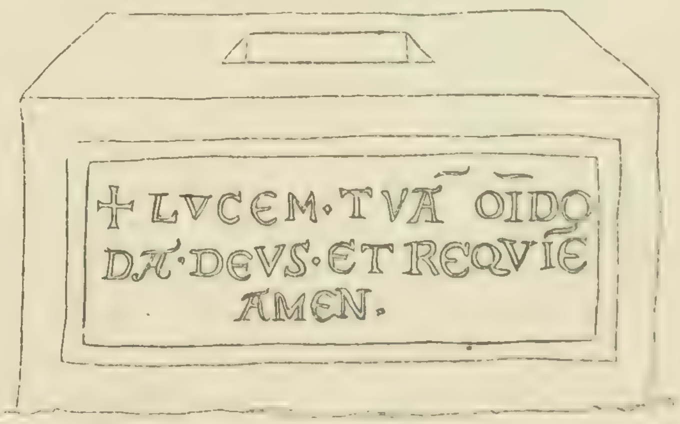


† *Eadric*

M. A. Lower *Gent. mag.* 14, 1840 p. 496; W. Figg *archaeological journal* 11, 1854 p. 60; ex his addita imagine ligno incisa D. H. Haigh Archaeologia Aeliana ser. nova 1, 1856 p. 179.

Eadric hic rex Cantiae putatur esse filius Ecberti, qui regnavit annis 685 et 686. Sed fuit is homo unicus, qui nomen illud gessit?

169 *Haddenham, Cambridgeshire, the tombstone of Ovinus* (?), *Ethelredas steward, who died about* a. 680. Sed videtur multo recentior esse. Mensura non indicata.

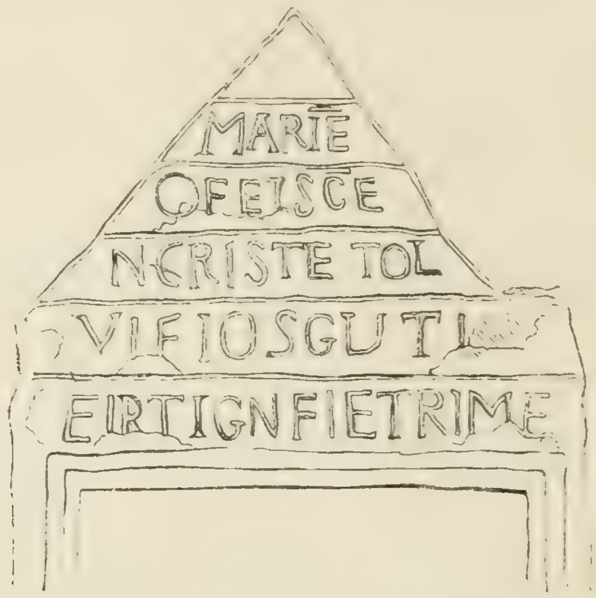


† *Lucem tua(m) Oi(n)do da deus et requie(m). Amen*

Stukeley itinerarium curiosum 1 p. 12 tab. 11 (inde Goughs Camden 2 p. 234 tab 13).

Etiam *Onido* aut *Omido* nomen solvi posse adnotat Rhys.

170 Lindi (*Lincoln*) in suburbio turri ecclesiae S. Mariae de *Wigford* (*St. Mary-le-Wigford*) insertus in pariete exteriore extat cippus Romanus, cui inscriptus est titulus C. I. L. VII 191. In eius cippi fastigio postea, fortasse cum condita est ecclesia illa, insculptus est titulus hic, quem olim dixi saeculi videri decimi sexti, male; videtur enim potius tribuendus esse septimo octavove. Litterae altae sunt m. circiter 0,08.



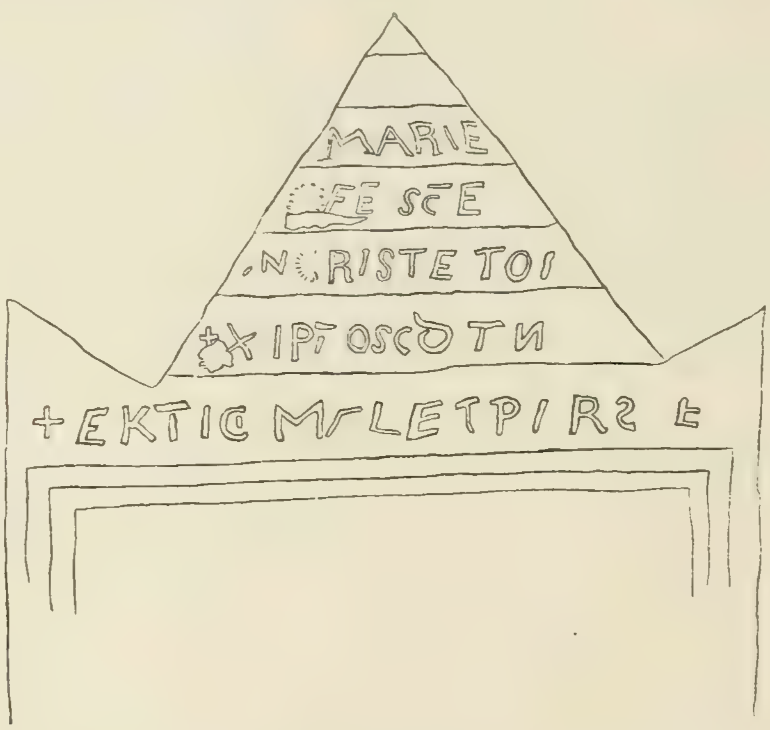
Stukeley itin. curios. I p. 66 tab. 64 *2D* fig. 111; Maur. Johnson in Ioh. Nichols biblioth. topogr. Britannica III p. 70 tab. III fig. 12; E. Trollope *archaeol. journal* 17, 1860 p. 15 ligno incisam (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 39).

Ectypa misit titulumque a me rogatus plus semel et accurate examinavit Ioh. Wordsworth; inde eam quam supra exhibui lectionem constituimus. Hastas, quae videntur puncti instar positae esse, non differre ab I littera et v. 4 extremo litteram vel litteras aliquot periisse adnotat Wordsworth. Apposui autem, ut de lectione constaret quantum fieri posset, etiam Stukeleii, Johnsonis, Trollopii exempla:

Stukeley:

MARIE
OFEISCE
NERISIEIO
†VIPIOSCSI I R
5 †ERIIGMEIEIRIPEPI

Johnson:



Trollope:

MARIE
OFEIScE
NERISTETOL
VIFIOSGDTI
EDTIGNFIETRIRIL 5

Titulum ab imo sursum legendum esse perspexit Muellenhoffius; ita, si cum Ioh. Nichols, quod sine dubio verum, elementum alterum tertii versus C esse statuatur, manifesta fieri haec: CRISTETOL|OFE · S̄C̄E MARIE, *Christo in laudem* (*et*) *Sanctae Mariae.* Scilicet ante S̄C̄E coniunctionem 7 *and* supplendam videri, nisi *to lofe sce Marie* aliquis iungere malit; eum vero *Criste* dativum non habere quo referat. Initium autem tituli (in versibus imis) intellegi omnino non posse; si elementum paenultimum v. 1 *m* sit, tum in mentem alicui venire posse verbum Anglosaxonicum *trimman, getrimman* sive *getremman* (firmare munire aedificare). Sed si initio v. 2 VIF legitur (quae enim sequitur hasta similiter ut v. 1 ante ETRIME posita vocabula dividere videtur), verbum illud in *etrime* agnosci nequit. Quae post *vif* et hastam puncti instar positam sequantur *Ôsgyd* feminae nomen esse posse; ut ea quae v. 1 legantur feminae illius viri qui titulum posuit, nomen videantur continuisse; sed *Eirtign* positum esse pro *Aerthegn* non credibile; *Aerthegn* nomen ignotum, quamvis possit explicare. Restare autem I|N illud intra *Ôsgyd* et *Criste.* *Osgut* comparari posse Wordsworth putat cum *Osgood* et *Oscott* nominibus noviciis et significare *Ostgut, East estate.*

171 *Crowland* (s. *Croyland*), *Lincolnshire; St. Guthlac's cross upon the bank between Crowland and Spalding near Peakhill, Lincolnshire.* Titulus vix eius videtur aetatis esse, qua homo ille sanctus dicitur vixisse. Mensura non indicata.



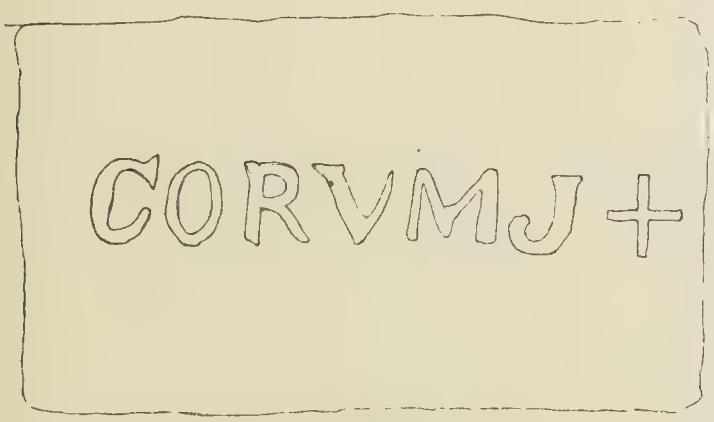
a. p. C. 716?

.... *a[i]o hanc petra(m) Guthlacus pr(esby)t(er)? sibi metam*

Camden ed. VI (1607) p. 400; Stukeley itinerarium curiosum 1 p. 12 tab. 11 (inde Pownall Archaeologia 3, 1786 p. 96); Pownall Archaeologia 6, 1782 p. 395 ss. tab. 56 cui descripsit *the Rev. Mr. Scribo* (inde Goughs Camden 2 p. 332 cum tabula aeri incisa).

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172 Isurii (*Aldborough*), *on a small stone.* Lapis latus est circiter m. 0.23, altus 0.14.



Corumi †

Ioh. Wordsworth ectypum misit, ex quo descripsi quodque delineandum curavi.

On the road from Leeds to Burley was (and, I believe, still is, though hidden beneath the soil), a monument called the Grey stone, on which are said to be deeply impressed the marks of a giants fingers; and these finger marks I suspect will be found to be an Ogham inscription, should this monument (which the late Mr. Denny, to whom I wrote about it in 1857, was unable to find) be sought for and disinterred. It is now probably built over (D. H. Haigh 1875).

Ilkley. Olicanae — columnae Romano opere exsculptae in coemeterio Camden. Christianos lapides esse primus observavit Plot. *In the wall of the churchyard is a broken stone, upon which is placed a Dyal, on the west side of which is a human figure (tho' much injured by time) with a glory about his head* Richardson, qui inde christianum esse lapidem perspexit. Cruces variae anaglyphis ornatae; litterae videntur nullae observatae esse.

Camden Britannia ed. VI (1607) p. 567 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 289); Plot *Staffordshire* p. 432 tab. 33 fig. 10. 11; Ric. Richardson in Lelandi itinerario ed. III a. 1768 p. 147.

173 *Dewsborough, Yorkshire, West Riding,* prope *Wakefield* ad *Calder* fluvium. Accepimus crucem hic extitisse in qua scriptum fuit

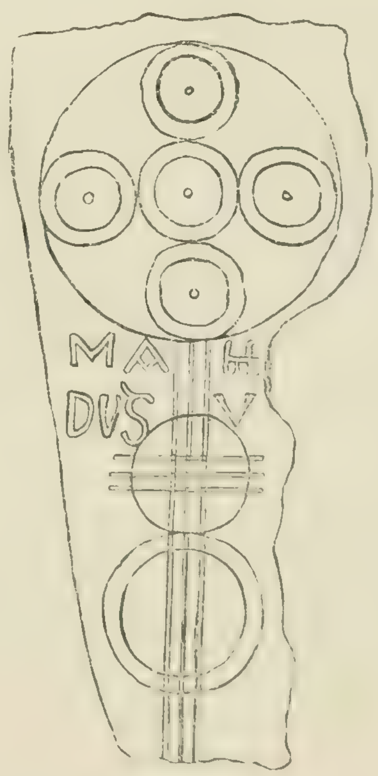
Paulinus hic praedicavit et celebravit

Camden Britannia ed. VI (1607) p. 585 iam Lelando notam (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 237).

Referunt ad Paulinum primum archiepiscopum Eburacensem anni 626; sed patet titulum esse, si fuit omnino, recentiorem. Exemplum hoc novicium a. 1805 dicitur periisse.

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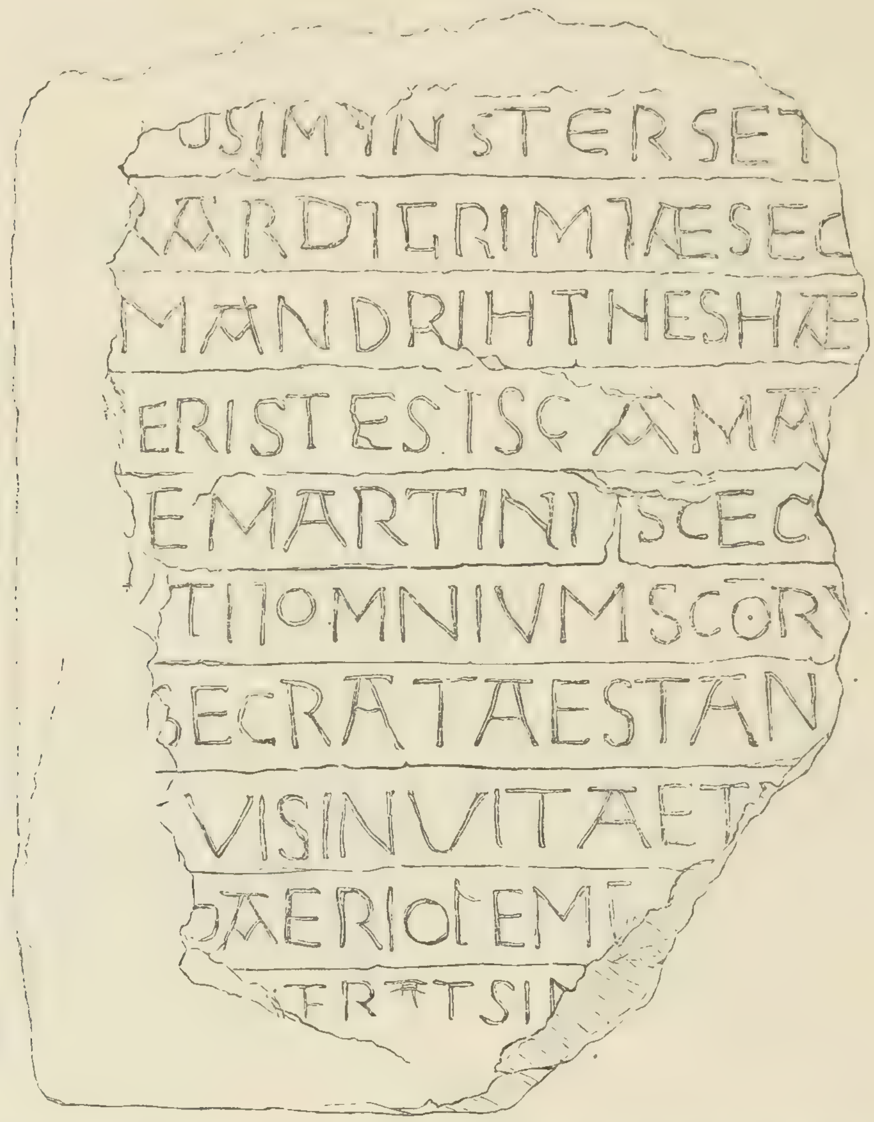
174 In vico *Healaugh* (s. *Heeley, Helegh* Lelandi), tribus m. p. a *Tadcaster, Yorkshire,* in coemeterio ab ecclesia versus septentriones et orientem, repertus est lapis sepulcralis hic, cuius mensura non indicatur.



Madug | He[i]u

D. H. Haigh *notes on the history of S. Begu* etc. p. 28, idem *the monasteries of S. Heiu* cet. p. 17.

175 Eburaci in ecclesia S. Mariae prope *Castlegate*.



[*th*]*os mynster set*[*ton E*|*f*]*rard 7 Grim 7 Aese o*[*n n*|*a*]*man drihtnes hae*[*lend*|*es C*]*ristes 7 sca Ma*[*ria 7 sc*]*e Martini 7 sce C*[*uthbe*|*rh*]*ti 7 omnium scor*[*um. C*|*on*]*-secrata est an*[*no d* . . . .] *VI. Sinuit aet* . . . . | . . . *oaerio* [*th*]*e me* . . . . *ter aet Sinuit* . . . .

Ex imagine photographica descripsi, ex lapide mihi descripsit Ioh. Wordsworth. D. H. Haigh *communications to the monthly meetings of the Yorkshire philosophical society* 1870 p. 27 ss., qui observat vv. 1—4 et 9. 10 ab eadem manu incisos esse, vv. 5—8 autem ab altera; priorem enim manum ᴀ et ᴁ exhibere, alteram ᴀ et ᴀᴇ. Praeterea

V. 1 [*th*]*os* accusativum feminini putat positum pro *thás*; sed *mynster* neutrum est. Hastam quae sequitur *S* litteram casu ortam credit. *Mynster* non *minster* legi adnotat Wordsworth. — V. 4 ERISTE pro CRISTE in lapide est.

V. 7 in fine Haigh primum suppleverat *an*[*no ML*|*XX*]*VI*, deinde autem *an*[*no D*|*CCL*]*VI*, adnotans saeculo septimo et octavo potissimum monasteria condita esse in Northumbria, nono autem saeculo pleraque diruta esse invasione Danorum; annum autem DCCXVI propterea excludi, quia huius monasterii mentio nulla facta sit in Bedae historia ecclesiastica. Apparet incertam esse hanc ratiocinationem annumque certo suppleri non posse.

V. 8 et reliqua ita legit et supplevit Haigh: *Sinuit aet* [*urbis po*]*maerio the me*[*wrat hat*|*te hi mins*]*ter aet Sin*[*uites ethelstow*], vertens *Sinuit of the suburb, who wrote me, called it minster in Sinuits patrimony.* Wordsworthius . . *oaerio*, non . . *maerio* in lapide esse observat; ita ut fuerit fortasse PŌAERIO. Ceterum supplementa illa eidem visa sunt incertissima omnia; recte. Pater eius episcopus Lindensis hanc proposuit lectionem incertam et ipsam: [. . *s*]*uis in vit. aet*[*erna* | *in su*]*o aerio* [*t*]*emp*[*lo dabit* | *aeternus pa*]*ter aet. sin*[*e fine*].

176 Eburaci in museo in fragmento basis, quae crucem sustinebat. Lapis altus p. 2, latus p. 1 dig. 1. Litterae non inelegantes possunt esse saeculi octavi recentioresve.

A D M
MORI
A M
5 Σ C O
RVM

. . . *ad m*(*e*)*moriam s*(*an*)*c*(*t*)*orum* . . .

I. Raine canonicus Eburacensis misit depictam accurate, idem edidit in catalogo musei Eburacensis (ed. VI 1875) p. 46 n. 1.

Quid initio scriptum fuerit ex litterarum reliquiis dispici nequit.

---

177 *Wensley, Yorkshire, N. R.* Lapis altus circiter dig. 30, latus 24. Litterae similes atque in n. 182 et 188.

+ *orate pro*

EAT ЬER

crux

EЬT ЄT

A R ЧINI

[✝ *orate pro*] *Eatbereht et Arvini* . . . . .

D. H. Haigh, qui olim delineaverat, mecum communicavit; imago accurata, quae ligno incidi posset, inde effici non potuit.

Prodiit indidem lapis aetatis inferioris, de quo dixi in praefatione.

178 Olim in *Ripon* in monasterio vetusto, nunc Eburaci in museo. In fastigio ornamentum est umboni simile, fortasse ima crucis pars. Infra integra est; litterae sunt optimae.



Descripsi ex imagine photographa ab I. Raine missa, qui edidit in catal. mus. Eburacensis (ed. VI 1875) p. 48 n. 11; I. Wordsworth quoque mihi descripsit.

179 *At Old Byland, Yorkshire, North Riding,* prope *Helmesley,* in horologio solari.

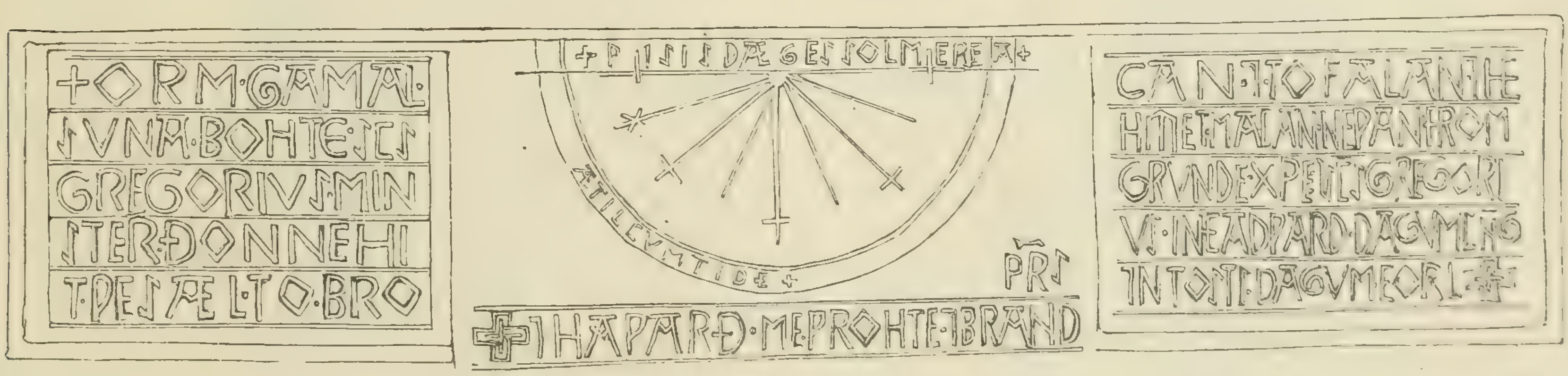


Sumarleđ 7 Huscarl me fecit

D. H. Haigh Archaeologia Aeliana ser. nova 1, 1856 p. 179 et *Yorksh. philos. soc.* 1870 p. 27 ss.

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180 In *Kirkdale, Yorkshire, North Riding,* supra portam meridionalem ecclesiae in lapide longo p. 7, alto 2 horologium solare extat cum titulis his.



a (iuxta horologium a latere utroque):

† orm gamal | *suna bohte s(an)c(tu)s* | *Gregorius minster thonne hi*|*t wes ael to bro*||*can 7 to falan 7 he* | *hit let macan newan from grunde 7 Christe s(an)c(tu)s Gregorius in Eadward dagum c(y)n(in)g in Tosti dagum Eorl †*

b infra horologium:

† 7 Hawarth me wrohte 7 Brand pr(e)s(byter)

c in horologio:

† this is daeges solmerea † aet ilcum tide (i. e. *hic est solis index diei et unius cuiusque horae*)

I. Brooke Archaeologia V, 1779 p. 188 ss. (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 330 tab. 18 fig. 2); I. W. Rowe *reports and papers read at the meetings of the architectural societies of Lincoln diocese, county of York* cet. (Lincoln, Williamson, 1874) p. 308 ss. Inde mihi descripsit Ioh. Wordsworth.

Tosti hic Siwardo successit, ut putant, a. 1055 et exul factus est a. 1065.

181 In *Edstone* prope *Pickering, Yorkshire, North Riding,* in horologio solari.



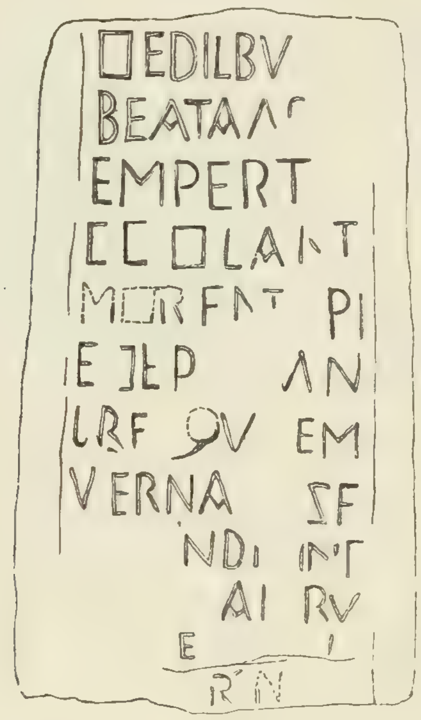
† Lothan me wrohtea
orlogium viatorum

D. H. Haigh misit Wordsworthio; is mihi.

182—184 *Hackness, Yorkshire, N. R.,* prope *Scarborough.* Extant ibi fragmenta tria crucis alicuius aut plurium aut unius similis atque ea est, quae in *Bewcastle* servatur, anaglyphis et litteris Runicis ornata et a. 664 ut videtur erecta (G. Stephens *old-northern Runic monuments* 1 p. 398), collocata nunc in ecclesiae cancello (*set up in the chancel of the church*). Tituli tribuuntur saeculo octavo ineunti. Mensurae accuratae non indicantur.

182 Fragmenti summo loco collocati facies ad septentriones spectans itemque meridionalis ornamenta tantum exhibent. Leguntur autem tituli hi

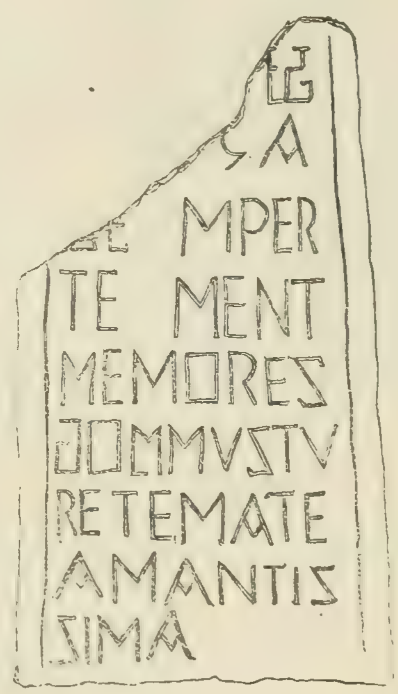
a in latere orientali:



Oedilburga beata ad semper te recolant amantes[1]) *pie deposcant requiem vernantem sempiternam sanctorum pia mater Apostolica*[2])?

[1]) moerentes *monast.* [2]) vernantem in nomine XPi mater venerabilis . . . lica *monast.*

b in latere occidentali:

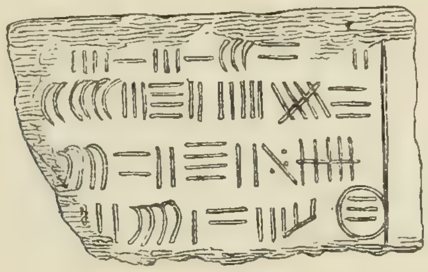


[*Hua*]*etb*[*ur*]*ga semper te ament*[1]) *memores dommus tuae te mater amantissima?*

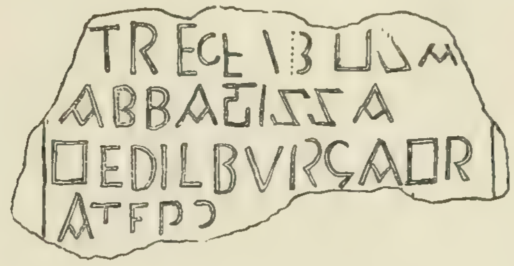
[1]) semper tenent *monast.*

183 Fragmentum imo loco positum item in facie septentrionali atque meridionali opere anaglypho ornatum est; leguntur vero tituli hi Celticus, ut videtur,

c in latere orientali:



d in latere occidentali:



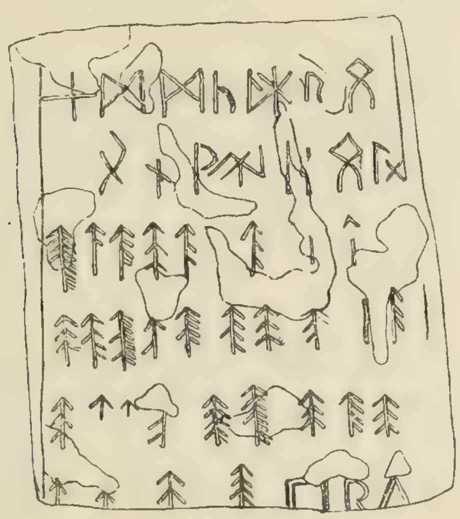
Trecea ora . . . [1]) *abbatissa Oedilburga orate pr*[*o* . . . . . .]

[1]) Trece[a B]osa *monast.*

---

184 Tertium fragmentum ab altero latere titulum bilinguem habet Runicum et Latinum hunc

e



. . . *ora*[*te* . . . . .

f ab altero supra protomen mulieris hunc:

BVGGA VIRGO

Bugga virgo

D. H. Haigh primus edidit in libello seorsum edito (v. n. 187) *notes on the history of S. Begu* cet. p. 30 ss. imaginibus additis nullis; deinde repetivit, sed lectione subinde mutata (ut supra indicavi) in dissertatione inscripta *the monasteriės of S. Heiu* cet. p. 24 ss. cum imaginibus lithographis (tab. 3 fig. 1—4 et tab. 4), quas supra repetendas curavi. G. Stephens *old-northern Runic monuments* 1 p. 467 titulum *e* solum exhibet.

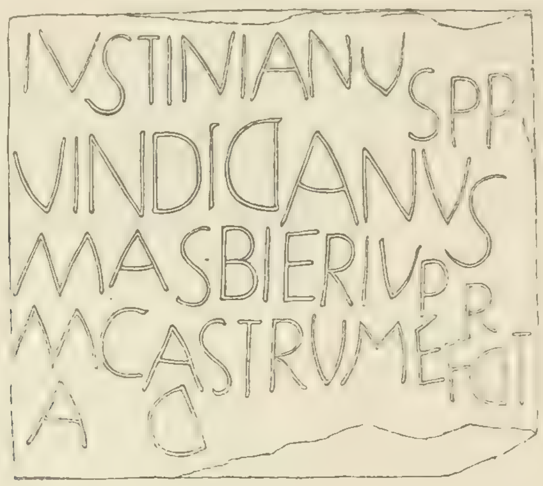
Oedilburga haec sive *Aethelburg* abbatissa monasterii eius fuisse creditur post mulierem *Aelfled* nominatam; quam illa a. 705 ad regem Aldfridum comitata esse putatur. Ipsam cum *Hwaetburga* et *Ecgburga* filias esse putat Haigh Aldwulfi regis Anglorum orientalium. Treceam praeterea Buggamque memorari in epistulis Bonifatii adnotat idem (Jaffé monum. Mogunt. p. 74 cet.; Treceam ibi non repperi).

Lectionem posterioris potissimum partis titulorum *a* et *b* neglegenter incisae et evanidae incertissimam esse apparet idemque adnotat Haigh. Litteras Runicas aut Celticas tituli *e* idem, sed admodum dubitanter, solvit ita:

† m m c n n r (oe?) | g(?) n w (r?) s . . . oe a (?)

Ceterum aliud eius scripturae exemplum extare in Britannia negat; sed extare similem scripturam in codice Sangallensi n. 270. Titulum *c* Celticis litteris scriptum esse putat similibus earum, quae in meridionalibus Britanniae regionibus et in Hibernia reperiantur; at quid significent litterae illae Haigh non indicavit.

185 *Ravenhill,* inter *Whitby* et *Scarborough,* ubi servabat YOUNG; rep. a. 1774 ab operariis *Childs* capitani, cum effodiebant fundamenta aedium *Ravenhill-Hall.* Servatur in *the Whitby museum.* Lapis longus est dig. 22, altus 15.



Iustinianus p(rae)p(ositus)? Vindicianus m(agister)? a[r]biteriu pr(aepositi) m(ilitum)? castrum fecit a[nn]o ......

Delineandam curavi ex ectypis ab Newton et Franks mecum communicatis. Charlton *history of Whitby* (1779) p. 43 ligno incisam (inde Gough in schedis Oxoniensibus); Young *history of Whitby* 2 p. 708; nuper etiam delineatam misit W. Thompson Watkin.

V. 2 ɑ (pro CI) in lapide est, item v. 4 EECI, 5 A . . O vel A . . CI.

Exempla omnia consentiunt vel potius unius apographa sunt. In fine non integram esse non indicatur. Explicationem, quam proposui exempli gratia, scio incertissimam esse. Litterarum formae ad saeculum quintum sextumve ducunt.

V. 3 *masbiteriu* (E enim videtur pro ꟷE posita esse) fortasse barbare scriptum pro *magisteriu.*

Comparavit Mommsenus titulum saeculi quinti in Pannonia inferiore repertum C. I. L. III 3370: *Fl(avius) Iovinus ex p(rae)p(osito) militum Histricorum et Fl(avius) Paulus biarcus pater et filius domum a fundamentis iusserunt fabricari.*

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186 *Haukswell* prope *Richmond, Yorkshire, N. R.,* crux parva, cuius caput deest, fixa in basi quadrangulari; in facie inter ornamenta (*interlacing patterns*) in tabella parva haec scripta sunt litteris evanidis

ҺAECEST
CRVXS̄C
ƷACOBI

haec est crux s(an)c(ti) Gacobi

D. H. Haigh Archaeologia Aeliana ser. nova 1, 1856 p. 185 in tab. fig. 17 ex ectypo.

Si formas recte excepit Haigh, v. 3 *Gacobi* scriptum videtur ex usu Anglosaxonum, qui *jod* littera carent.

Iacobus hic creditur diaconus fuisse S. Paulini, a Beda memoratus, qui obiit a. 690.

187 *Gretabridge, Richmondshire, Yorkshire;* cippus rep. a. 1778 iuxta viam inter alios lapides medio itinere inter hunc locum et praedium *Wyecliffe.*

B A E D A
/// /////// T ·
ʌ E F T E
R B E R C
5 Һ T V I N I
B E C V Ν
A E F T E R F

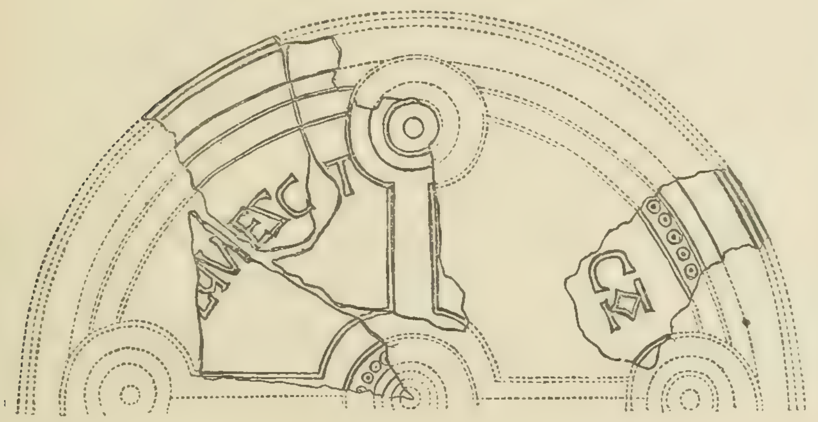
Goughs Camden 3 p. 340 tab. 19 fig. 7 a Marmaduke Tunstall societati antiquariorum Londiniensi missa (eius schedam mea causa contulit C. Knight Watson); D. H. Haigh Archaeologia Aeliana ser. nova 1, 1856 p. 156 (inde G. Stephens *old-northern Runic monuments* 1 p. 476) q. v.

Haigh, quem sequor, ita legit: *Baeda ... aefter Berchtuini becun aefter f....*

V. 2 fuit fortasse [*presby*]*t*(*er*).

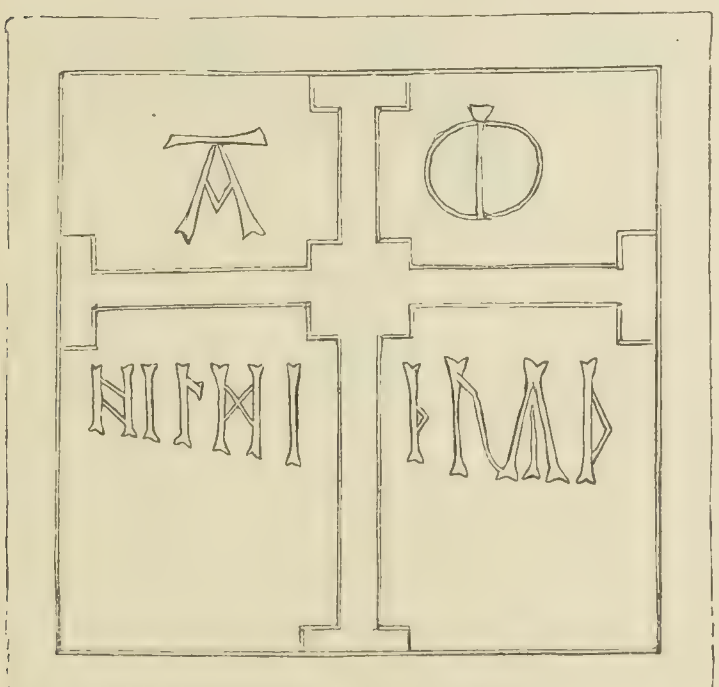
188—196 Prope *Hartlepool, Durham,* m. Iulio a. 1833, effossionibus inter aedificandum institutis in agro dicto *Cross Close*, circa 135 *yards south east* ab ecclesia vetusta S. Hildae, coemeterium eiusdem ecclesiae detectum est, quod ad *Heruteu* vetus putatur pertinuisse. Sarcophagorum et lapidum ibi repertorum plerique perierunt, pauci servantur in museo societatis antiquariae Aelianensis (in *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*), in museo Dunelmensi et apud canonicum W. Greenwell Dunelmi. Lapides n. 194 m. Octobri a. 1838 in fundamentis domus privatae in *South Terrace,* n. 195 et 196 detecti sunt m. Septembri a. 1843 eodem loco, atque n. 188—193.

188 Fragmenta lapidis rotundi, quae aut latent aut perierunt; Sir Cuthbert Sharp reliquit imaginem lapidis eadem magnitudine supra archetypum factam. Ex hac et ex delineationibus in Archaeologia editis quae infra datur imago restituta est. Diameter est dig. 13.



. . . *r*]*equiesc*[*i*]*t* [*hoc lo*]*co* . . . .

189 Lapis cruce signatus et litteris Runicis, paulo minus pedem unum latus et altus.



A Ω
Hildithryth

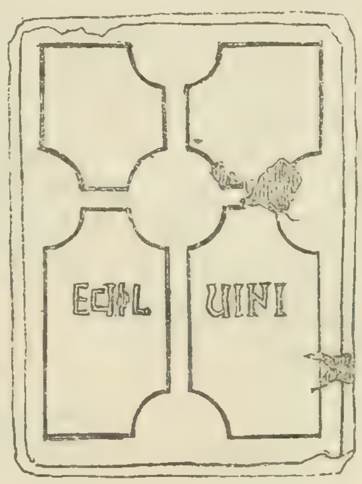
Hild idem nomen atque hoc putat Haigh (*the monasteries* cet. p. 19), sed breviatum.

190 Lapis similis, altus dig. $7\frac{3}{4}$, latus $6\frac{1}{2}$.



Hilddigyth

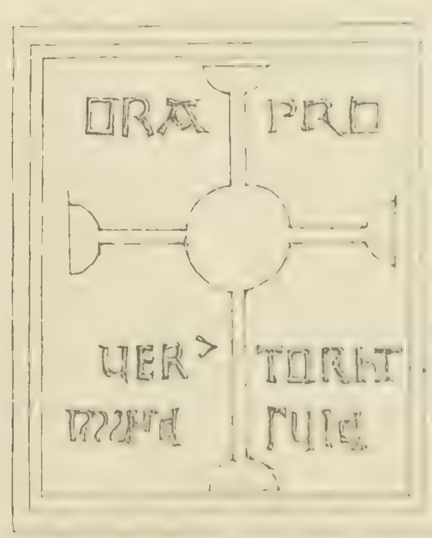
191 Crux extat in lapide alto dig. $7\frac{1}{2}$, lato $5\frac{1}{2}$; inscriptum in lapide est



Ediluini

Hoc esse nomen ducis regis Oswiu, qui a. 651 regem Oswini vicit, adnotat Haigh.

192 Lapis praecedenti similis; altus dig. $8\frac{1}{2}$, latus 7.



ora pro Vermund et Torhtsuid

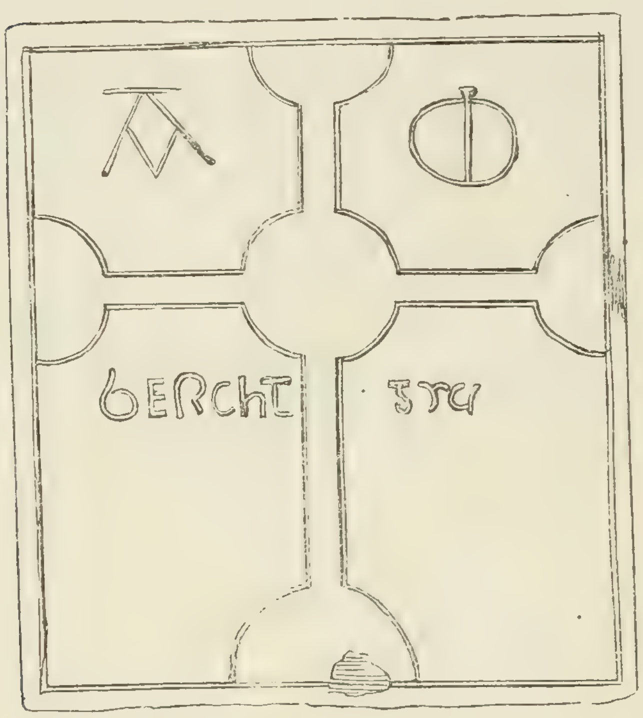
193 Lapis similis, altus dig. $8\frac{1}{2}$, latus 7.



orate pro Ediluini
orate pro Vermund et Torhtsuid

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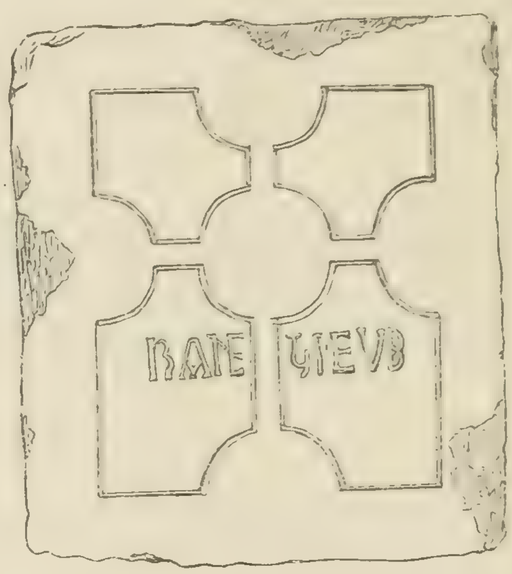
194 Lapis similis atque n. 188, repertus a. 1838; altus dig. $11\frac{1}{2}$, latus 10.



A Ω
Berchtgyd

Nomen ter extare in epistulis S. Bonifatii (Jaffé monum. Mogunt. p. 312. 313) adnotat editor.

195 Lapis a. 1843 repertus, altus dig. 8, latus $7\frac{3}{4}$.



Kanegneub?

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196 Repertus cum praecedente, altus dig. $10\frac{3}{4}$, latus $8\frac{3}{4}$.

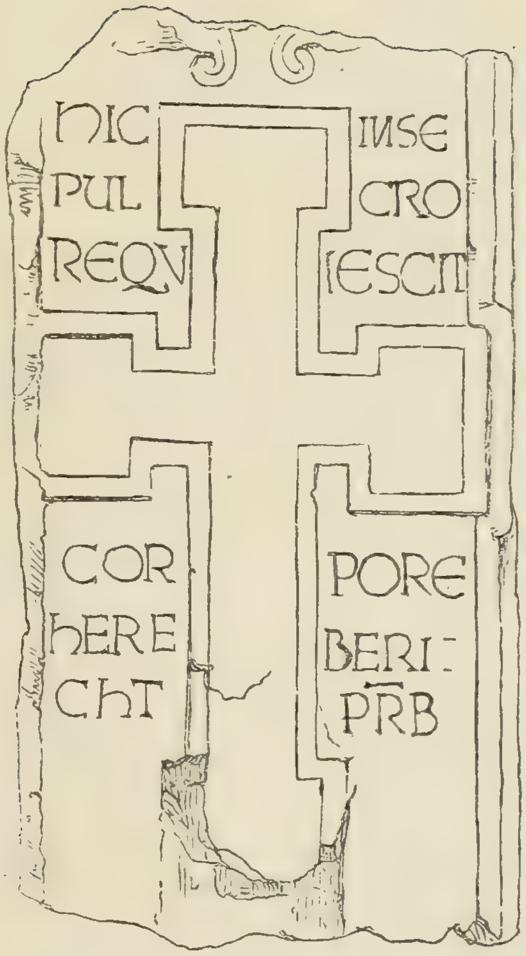


...te Bregusu...
...guguid

Titulus ad *Bregusuid* matrem Hildae refertur.

Sir Cuthbert Sharp Archaeologia 26, 1836 p. 479 ss. tab. 52 fig. 1—4 nn. 188. 189. 190. 192 solos exhibuit (inde G. Stephens *old-northern Runic monuments* p. 392 ss. nn. 189. 190); D. H. Haigh *association journal* 1, 1846 p. 185 ss. et in libellis seorsum editis duobus, altero inscripto *notes on the history of S. Begu and S. Hild and on some relics of antiquity discovered in the sites of the religious establishments formed by them* (Hartlepool s. a. apud I. Procter 8.) p. 18 ss. altero *the monasteries of S. Heiu and S. Hild* (ex *Yorkshire archaeological journal*) p. 18 ss. omnes, qui putat titulos hos tribuendos esse saeculo septimo vel octavo.

197 *At Durham, from Wearmouth, having been buried under the ruins of the monastery in the 9th century it is perfectly fresh and sharp, every letter distinct, except perhaps an* E *which looks like* I *with side scores very faint. It was found about* 12 *years ago.*

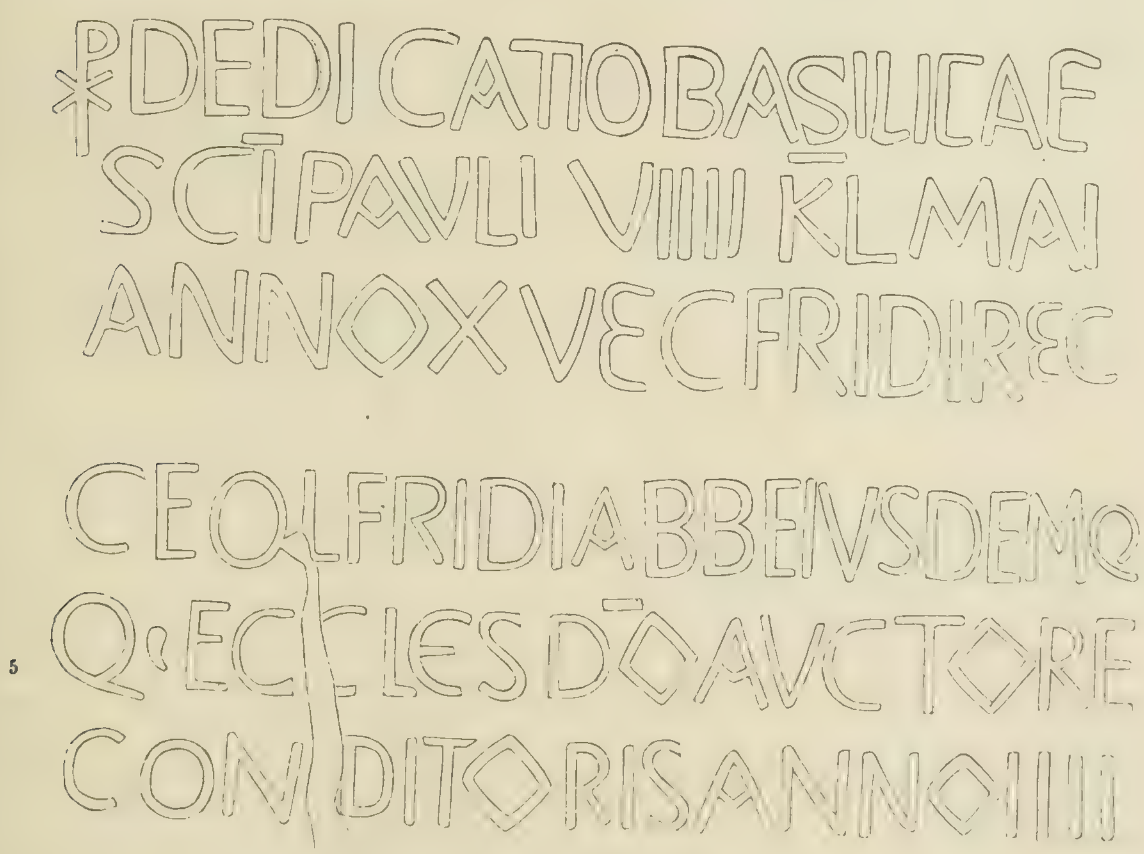


hic in sepulcro requiescit corpore Hereberecht pr(es)b(yter)

D. H. Haigh *runic monuments of Northumbria* p. 38; idem mihi imaginem photographam, quam curavi delineandam, misit.

---

198 *Jarrow, Durham,* ʻinscriptio ibidem reperta in quadrato lapide, maiusculis Romanis scripta' monachus saec. XII apud Lelandvm. Olim erat *in the north wall of the chancel,* tum remota est *to the arch of the tower, betwixt the chancel and nave* Brand. Ibi extat.



p. C. 685

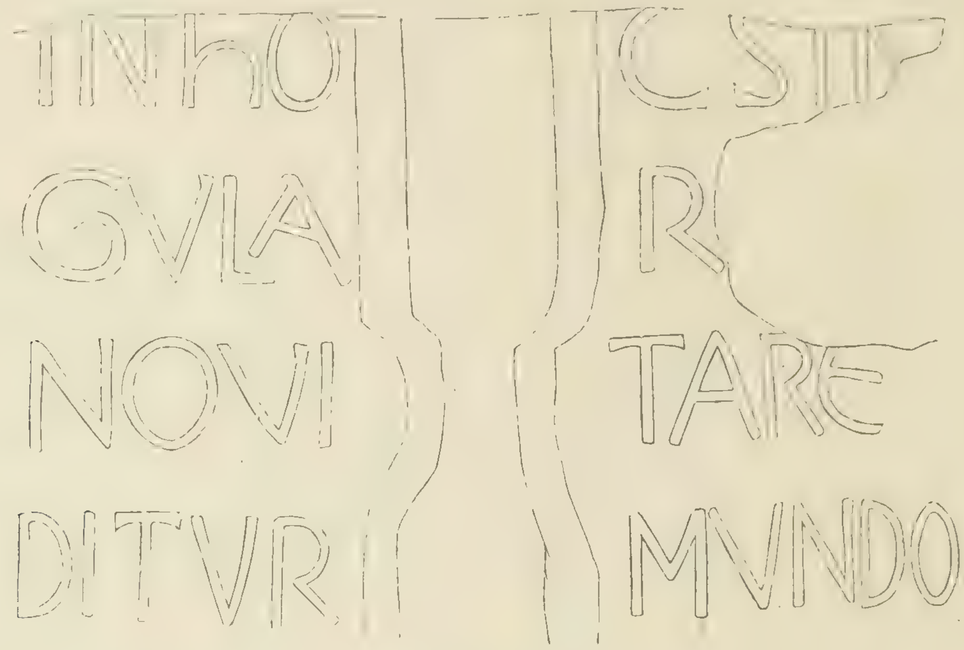
† dedicatio basilicae s(an)c(t)i Pauli VIIII k(a)l(endas) Mai(as) anno XV Ecfridi reg(is) . . . . Ceolfridi abb(atis) eiusdemq(ue) q(uondam?) eccles(iae) d(e)o auctore conditoris anno IIII

Ectypum, ex quo imaginem delineandam curavi, misit Bruce; Leland collectanea 3 p. 39. 42; Camden ed. VI (1607) p. 606; Hutchinson *Northumberland* 2 p, 476; Brand *history of Newcastle* 2 p. 51; Surtees *Durham* 2 p. 67 (inde memorat Stuart *sculptured stones of Scotland* 2 p. 44 ad tab. 85) qui sequitur Hodgsonis lectionem secum puto communicatam.

Ecfridus Northumbriae rex aliunde notus est.

V. 3 videtur consulto vacuus relictus esse.

199 *Jarrow, in the priory, on a stone built up at present with the letters inwards, at the bottom of the east jamb of that south window which is next to the west door of the lately erected body of the church, copied December 10th 1782, when at my most earnest request the master builder was prevailed upon to open it out from within* Brand. Extat ibidem.

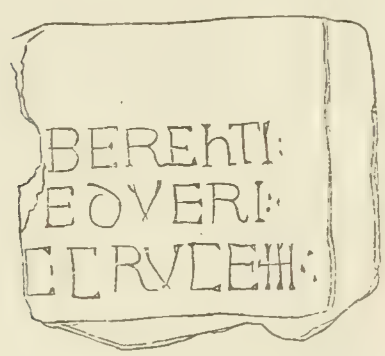


in hoc si[*n*]*gular*[*i an*]*no vita re*[*d*]*ditur mundo*

Ectypum, cuius imaginem exhibeo, misit Bruce; Brand *Newcastle* 2 p. 64 (inde Surtees *Durham* 2 p. 68 adn.).

---

200 *Jarrow, Durham*, fragmentum olim in ecclesia, rep. a. 1782 (Brand), nunc in *Newcastle* in museo. '*The form of the letters correspond in characters with the capitals of the Lindisfarne gospels*' Stuart.



. . . *berehti* . . | . . . *edveri* | [*han*]*c crucem*

Descripsi; Bruce ectypum misit, quod curavi delineandum; Brand *history of Newcastle* 2 p. 64 (inde Surtees *Durham* 2 p. 68); Stuart *sculptured stones of Scotland* 2 p. 65 tab. CXVI.

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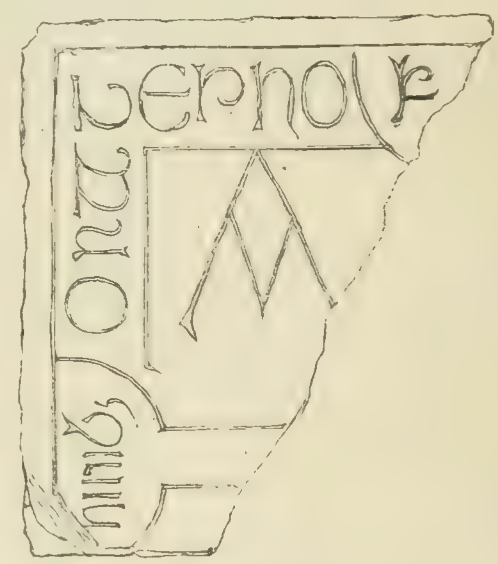
201 Inter titulos lapicidinae Romanae rupi ad *Gelt* fluvium prope *Brampton, Cumberland*, insculptos, quos composui C. I. L. VII 912 *a*—*h*, 'recentiore charactere', ut Camdenus ait, haec quoque legebantur:

OFICIVM ROMANORVM

Camden ed. VI (1607) p. 644 (inde C. I. L. VII 912).

Adscripsi, quia tam septimi octavive quam tertii quartive decimi saeculi esse potest.

202 In *Billingham, Northumberland*, dum ecclesia restauratur, in eius parietibus repertum est fragmentum lapidis sepulcralis, quod servat Greenwell Dunelmi. Lapis integer videtur fuisse altus dig. 12, latus 10.



A [Ω] *orate pro f*[*ratribus nostris et pro cunctis christianis h*]*ominib*(*us*)?

Guil. Greenwell canonicus Dunelmensis mecum communicavit; D. H. Haigh *the monasteries of S. Heiu* cet. p. 19 qui accepit ab eodem.

[*O*]*mnib*(*us*) legi non posse Greenwell affirmat.

203 *Hexham, Northumberland,* in ecclesia, in cruce parva, aegre distinguuntur litterae

E P̄ S

D. H. Haigh mecum communicavit.

204 Olim in *Hexham,* nunc Dunelmi in bibliotheca capitulari, pars basis, cui imposita erat crux, quam in sepulcro Occae episcopi erectam fuisse existimant; litteris quam maxime evanidis, *and yet it looks as if it might be made out with time and speculation* GREENWELL.

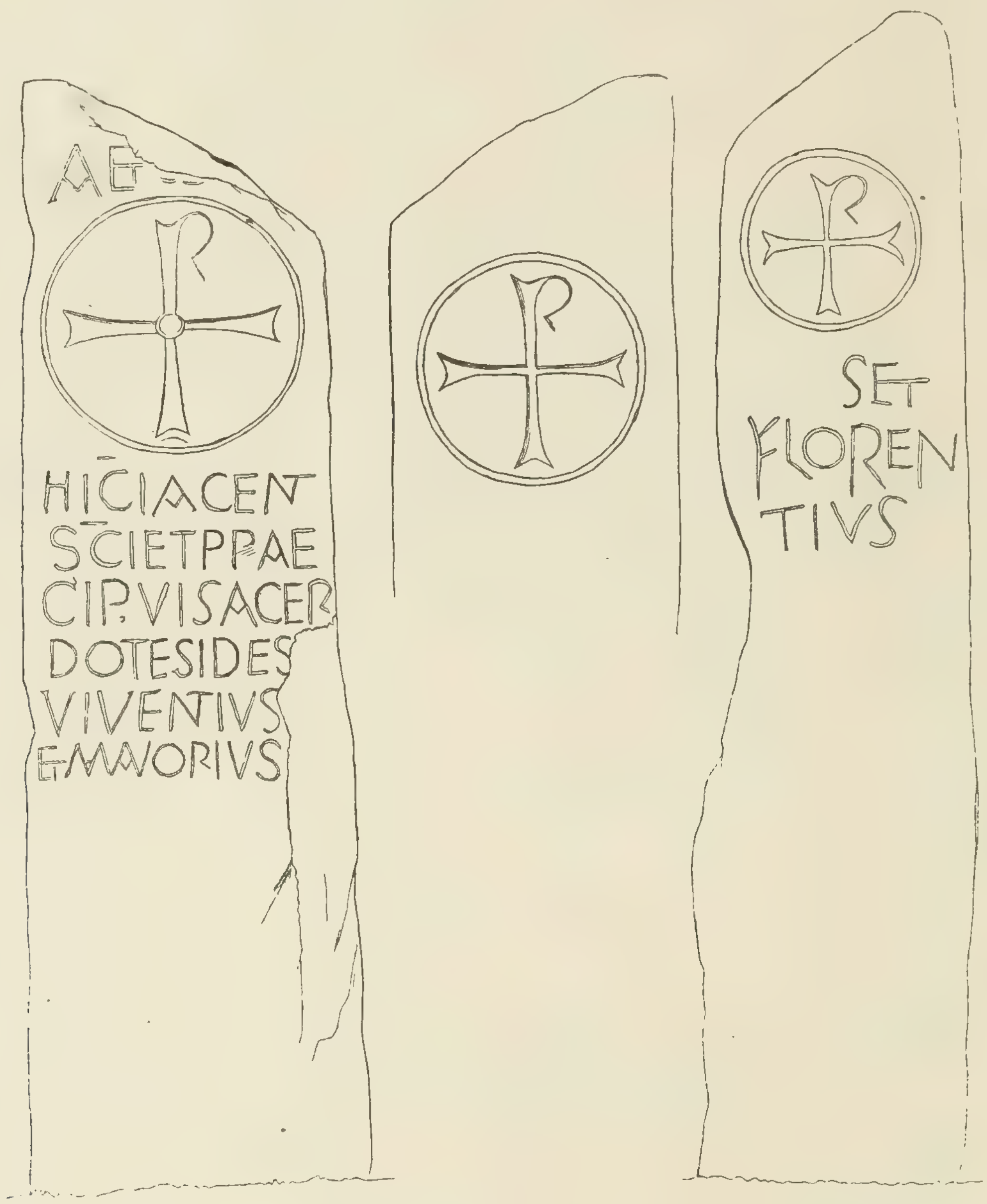
VNIGENITO FILIO DEI . . . . .

Guil. Greenwell Dunelmensis mecum communicavit addens reliqua legi omnino non posse et ne haec quidem, quae supra posui, satis certa esse.

XVI. CALEDONIA.

205. 206 In *Kirkmadrine* sive *Toskerton, in the parish of Stoneykirk, on the west side of the bay of Luce, Wigtonshire,* extabant cippi duo, *used as gateposts in the walls of the burying ground* (Arthur Mitchell); lapides sunt *hard rounded blocks of whinstone.* Exempla gypsea servantur in museo Edinburgensi. Litterarum forma saeculo quinto sextove videtur convenire.

205 — 206



A Ω *hic iacent s(an)c(t)i et praecipui sacerdotes id est Viventius et Maiorius*

. . . . *s et Florentius*

Descripsi ectypa. Stuart *sculptured stones of Scotland* 2 p. 35 tab. 71, qui adnotat nuper demum (*a few years ago,* a. 1867) per Arthurum Mitchell detectos esse titulos perquam memorabiles.

205 in. A *et* [Ω] Rhys; sed puto Ω quadratum esse. — In fine *Mavorius* Stuart legit, non recte puto.

206 [*Christ*]*us et Florentius* Rhys legit, ut ☧ pro Christi nomine accipiatur; sed *s* addita tum plane supervacanea esset. Fuitne *s*(*itus*) *et*?

Crucis signum cum litteris α et ω initio positum comparetur cum non absimili tituli Hispani n. 176 anni 589 in Carthagine nova reperti.

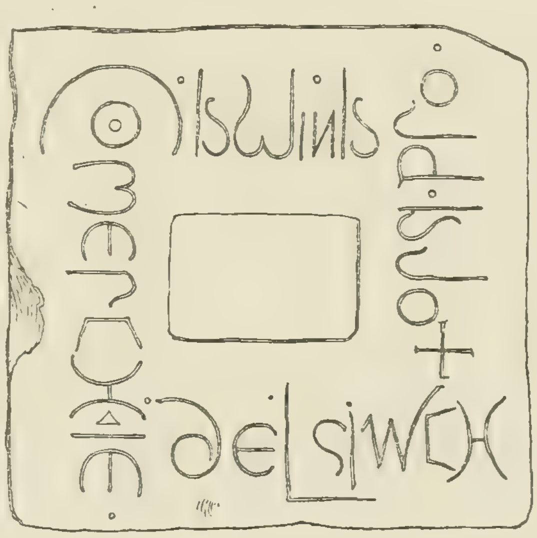
207 Prope *Whithorn, Wigtonshire, on the high ground above the town, on the side of the road leading towards the isle of Whithorn.* Lapis dicitur esse altus p. 4, latus 2.



loci [sanc]ti Petri apustoli

Stuart *sculptured stones of Scotland* 2 p. 53 (ad tab. 96) tab. 77.

208 *At Friars Carse, in the parish of Dunscore, Dumfriesshire.* Lapis dicitur saeculo proximo exeunte eo delatus esse e situ quodam vicino per Iacobum *Riddell, of Glenriddell,* rerum antiquarum collectorem. In fuste crucis, cui videtur super impositus fuisse discus rotundus, forfex insculpta est, in facie basis tempore recenti crux et vocabulum *Lauchmoor,* situm fortasse indicans, unde provenerit lapis. In superficie vero basis titulus extat vetustior, cuius tamen litterae videntur refectae esse tempore recenti.



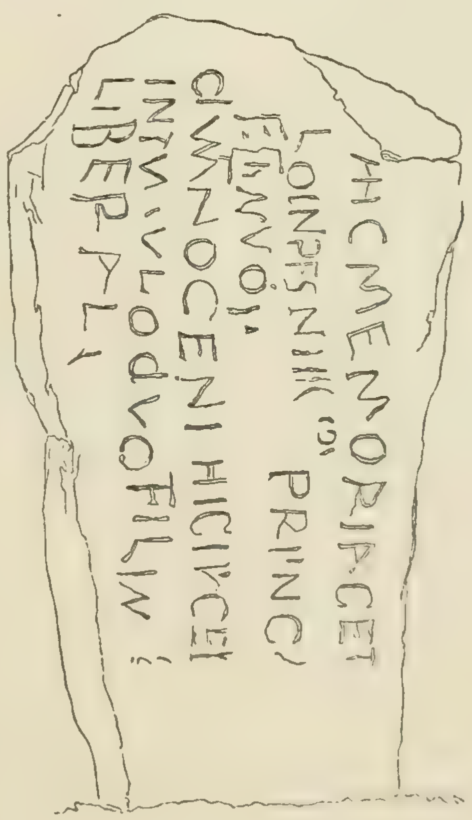
† ora pro anima Comerchie delgiwch?

Stuart *sculptured stones of Scotland* 2 p. 67 tab. 120.

Titulum integrum Stuart legere non potuit; sed affirmat omnino genuinum esse et vetustum, quamvis propter litteras refectas dubitatum sit de eius antiquitate.

---

209 Ab *Yarrow Kirk, Selkirkshire,* paullo versus occidentem, et iuxta pastoris tugurium, lapis stat altus p. 5 dig. 4, latus, ubi latissimus est, p. circiter 3. Litterae sunt evanidae. Ibidem repertus est lapis signis circularibus insignitus similiter atque lapis ad *Annan Street* repertus apud Wilsonem *prehistoric annals of Scotland* p. 334. Exemplum gypseum extat in museo Edinburgensi.



. . . . hic Memor iacet . . . .
princ . . . Dumnoceni hic iacet
in tumulo duo fili . . . Liberali . . .

Descripsi ectypum, ut potui, sed pauca tantum legi; Ioh. Alex. Smith *proceedings of the society of antiquaries of Scotland* 2, 1859 p. 484 tab. 18 ex exemplo photographo; idem *additional notes* ibid. 4, 1863 p. 524 ss.

Iac. Russell, qui primus descripsit, ita legit: *hic memoriae et* | . . . . *hic* | . . *nudi* | . . . . . . *hic iacent* | *in tumulo duo filii* | *Liberali*

I. Y. Simpson (*proceedings* 4 p. 119) ita: *hic Memor iacit f. Loin . . . ni . . .* | *hic Pe . . m* | *Dumnogeni. hic iacent* | *in tumulo duo fili* | *Liberali*

Smith vero ita: *hic Memor iaceti* | *Loin[ris] ni. . . . .* | *princ(i)*|*pes [C]nudi* | *Dumnogeni hic iacent* | *in tumulo duo fili* | *Liberali*

210 A. MCCLXI sept. id. Maii inventa est quaedam magnifica crux et venerabilis apud Peblis (*Peebles*) ...; sed quoto anno vel a quibus personis ibidem abscondita fuerit penitus ignoratur. Creditur tamen, quod saeviente Maximiani persecutione in Britannia per quosdam fideles ibidem abscondebatur circa annum domini 296. Inde vero non longe postea reperta est urna lapidea, quasi tribus vel quatuor passibus a loco quo illa gloriosa crux fuerat inventa, cineres et ossa continens cuiusdam corporis humani quasi membratim detruncati. Cuius autem sunt reliquiae nondum scitur ab aliquo. Quidam tamen autumant illius esse reliquias, cuius nomen inventum est scriptum in ipsa petra, in qua crux illa sancta iacebat. Sculpebatur autem in ipsa petra forinsecus

LOCVS SANCTI NICHOLAI EPISCOPI

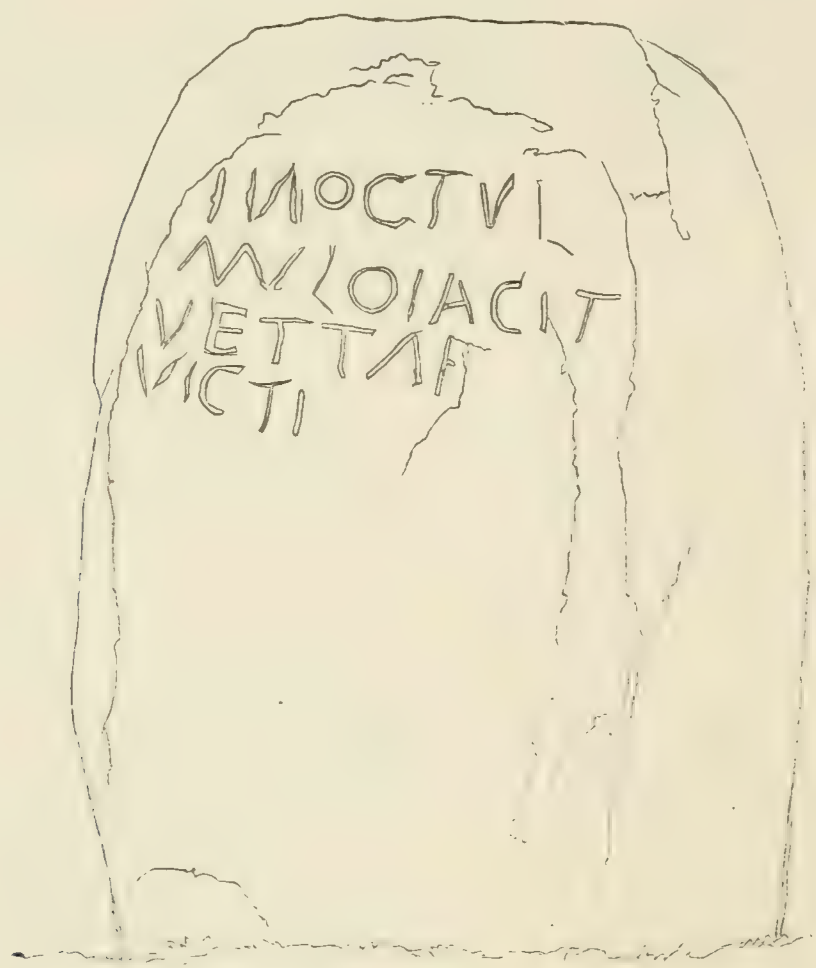
Forduni Scotichronicon ed. Goodall (Edinburgi 1759 fol.) 2 p. 97 (inde Stuart *sculptured stones of Scotland* 2 p. 53 ad tab. 106).

In exemplis Forduni manu scriptis duobus legi LOCVLVS adnotat Goodall.

Totam narratiunculam fidem vix mereri apparet; sed lapidem ita inscriptum extare potuisse nemo negabit.

---

211 *The Ketstean* prope *Cramond* Llwyd. *Close by Kirklistoun Water, upon the south side, there is a square pillar over against the mannor of Carloury* Sibbald. *On the right hand, at a small distance from the road to Cramond, is a rude stone opposite to Carlowrie near the margin of the river, called by the common people the Cattstane* Gough. *In the parish of Kirkliston, on the farm of Briggs, in a field on the north side of the road to Linlithgow, and between the sixth and seventh milestone from Edinburgh* Simpson, qui addit: *it is a massive unhewn block of the secondary greenstone-trap of the district ... in form somewhat prismatic, or irregularly triangular, with its angles very rounded; ..... nearly* 12′ *in circumference, about* 4′ 5″ *in width,* 3′ 3″ *in thickness, its height above ground about* 4½′. In museo Edinburgensi itemque in Aelianensi (*Newcastle on-Tyne*) servantur exempla gypsea, quae descripsi.



in oc tumulo iacit Vetta
f(ilius) Victi

Ed. Llwyd *philosophical transactions* 22, 1700 p. 790 in tab. fig. 2 et in Rowlands Mona antiqua p. 313; R. Sibbald *historical inquiries* (1708) p. 50; Maitland *history of Edinburg* (1753) p. 508; Pennant *tour in Scotland* (1772) p. 237; I. Muckarsie *statistical account of Scotland* 10 (1794) p. 68. 75; Goughs Camden 4 p. 56 tab. 4; Wilson *prehistoric*

annals of Scotland p. 96; I. Y. Simpson *proceedings of the society of antiquaries of Scotland* 4, 1863 p. 119 ss. et seorsum Edinburgi 1862 4. (inde Westwood *gent. mag.* 11, 1860 p. 39 et Archaeol. Cambrensis ser. III 8, 1862 p. 294 ss.; I. Braun *Bonner Jahrbücher* 35, 1863 p. 146; Stuart *sculptured stones of Scotland* 2 p. XLVIII eadem incisione atque Simpson usus; G. Stephens *old-northern Runic monuments* 1 p. 59).

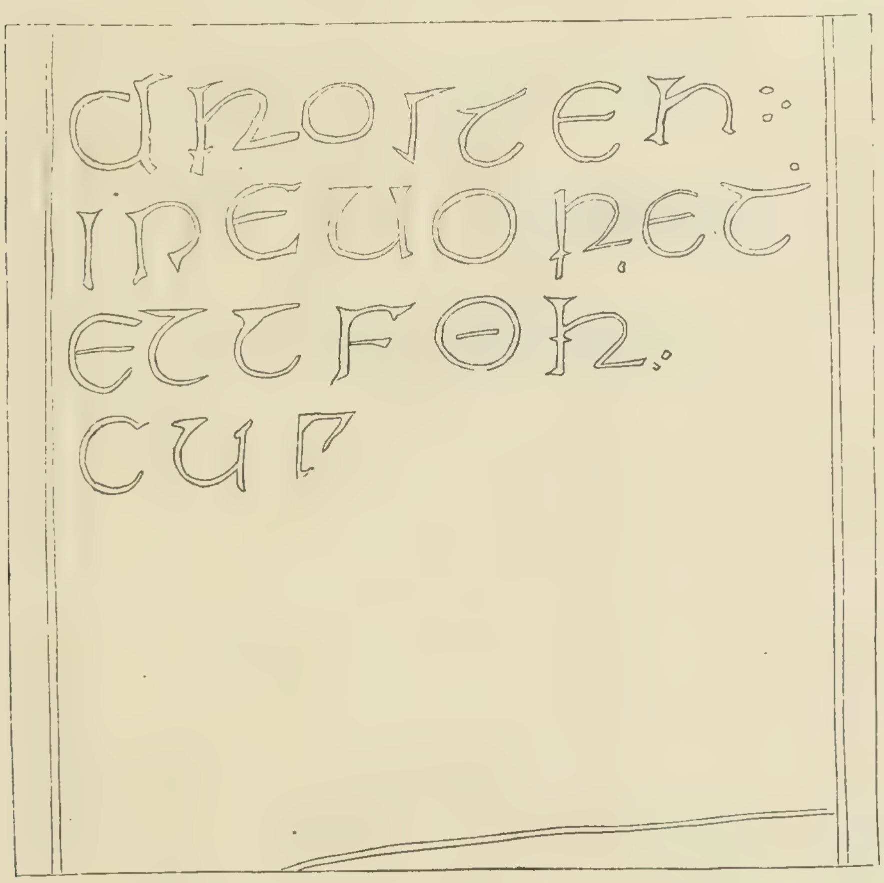
Vetta filius Victi creditur fuisse atavus Hengist et Horsa regum, non sine aliqua probabilitate, ut exposuit Simpson. Sed I. Rhys (Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 248) legendum esse putat

in oc tumulo iacit Vetta f . . . . Victi (aut *Victorini*)

addens haec: *the identification . . . of* Vetta *with a name of a warrior of the Hengist and Horsa lot, is in any case utterly groundless as far as I can see.* Atque sane dubitationi locus est, cum nomina illa ex narrationibus fabulosis tantum nota sint, non ex rerum memoria cum fide tradita. Probabilius autem videtur *Vetta* viri nomen esse quam mulieris, quod *Vette* potius fuisset.

---

212 In *St. Vigeans, Forfarshire, in the churchyard,* in cruce magnifice ornata. Litterarum forma ea est, quam Hiberno-Britannicam Westwood dicit.



drosten | *ipeuoret* | *ett for*|*cus*

W. F. Skene *proceedings of the society of antiquaries of Scotland* 1, 1855 p. 82 (cf. Petrie *proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 3, 1847 p. 445 ss.; I. H. Todd apud Wilsonem *prehistoric annals of Scotland* 2 p. 243); Westwood *archaeological journal* 9, 1852 p. 285 ss. cui miserat Patrick Chalmers; Stuart *sculptured stones of Scotland* 2 p. 70 tab. 126—129 (in tabula 129 litterae eodem modulo atque in lapide sunt exhibentur; hanc sequor); R. Carr *proceedings of the society of antiquaries of Scotland* 7, 1870 p. 21 tab. 4.

Petrie et Todd primum tantum vocabulum legerunt; Westwood olim ita legerat

drosten | *irevoret* | *ett for* | *cus*

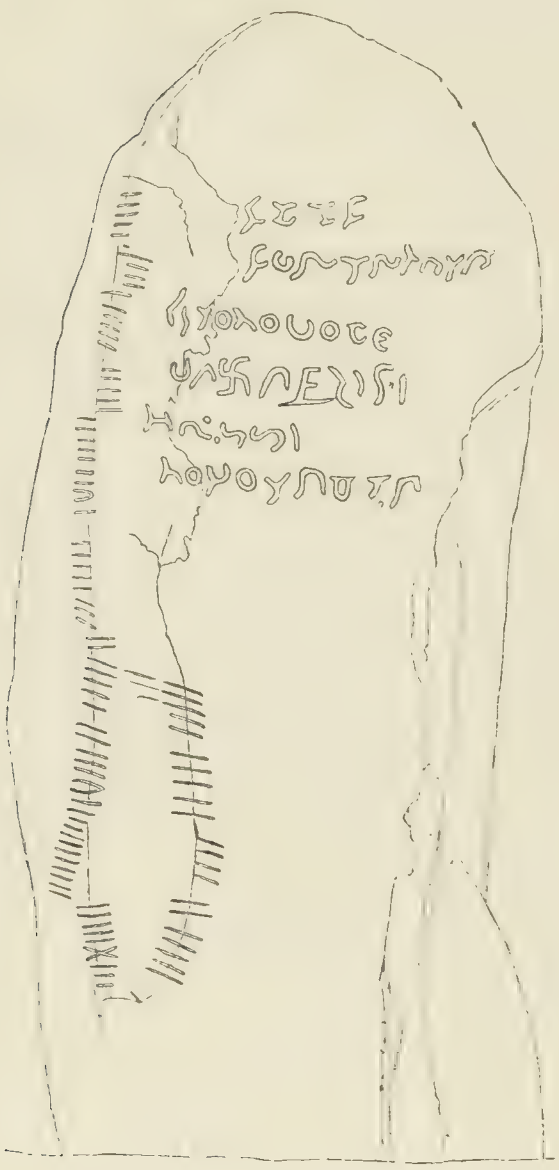
Skene ita legit *drosten* | *ipeuoret* | *elt forcus*; I. Y. Simpson apud Stuartum Picticam esse affirmavit et tribuit anno fere p. C. 729; Carr hariolatur talia proponens:

cinosten | *ipe-tiofnet* | *eglæd n'* :· | *cuth*

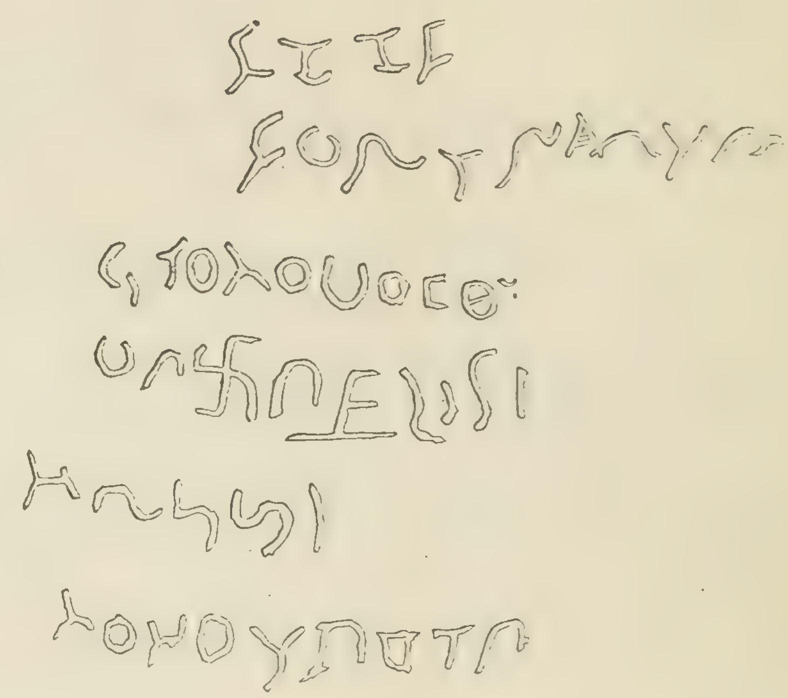
I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 5, 1874 p. 248 veram lectionem invenit et significare putat *Drosten, Ipeuoret ett Forcus* (*Fergus*). *Ipeuoret* idem existimat esse atque *Impeuoret,* quocum confert Ambivaretos Caesaris.

213 In *Newton, Aberdeenshire, parish of Culsalmond, district of Garioch,* prope domum Alexandri Gordon, extat cippus rudis altus p. 6, latus infra p. 2, supra p. 1 dig. 8. In latere litterae Celticae extant.

a



b



Pinkerton *inquiry into the history of Scotland* 1, 1814 p. XIII; Ioh. Stuart Archaeologia Scotica 2, 1823 p. 314 tab. 19 fig. 1. 2; Wilson *prehistoric annals of Scotland* p. 505; D. Mill in *Cambridge meeting of the British Association* (1862) *notices and abstracts* p. 147; Stuart *sculptured stones of Scotland* 1, 1856 p. 1 tab. 1 (inde *Association journal* 17, 1861 p. 304); Alex. Thomson *proceedings of the society of antiquaries of Scotland* 5, 1865 p. 224 ss.; W. F. Skene ibidem p. 289 ss.; R. Carr ibidem 7, 1870 p. 11 ss. tab. 2 et 3.

Mill litteras putat fuisse Punicas; Thom. Wright initium ita legit: *hic iacet Constantinus*; Simonides Graecam, presbyter quidam Romanus a Thomsone sententiam rogatus Gallicam, Davis Carthaginiensem, Ceriani Palmyrenicam iudicaverunt, alii aliis gentibus linguisve adscripserunt. Scriptura videtur esse cursiva depravata ex tali, qualis est tituli n. 212. Skene ita legit

duud | *darurtnun* | *nguoroaonth* | *aege jesse ei* ....

et litteras Celticas significare ait

ad | *ddarot nun* | *ngorrmaonn* | *eage josa ei*

Carr ita interpretatur

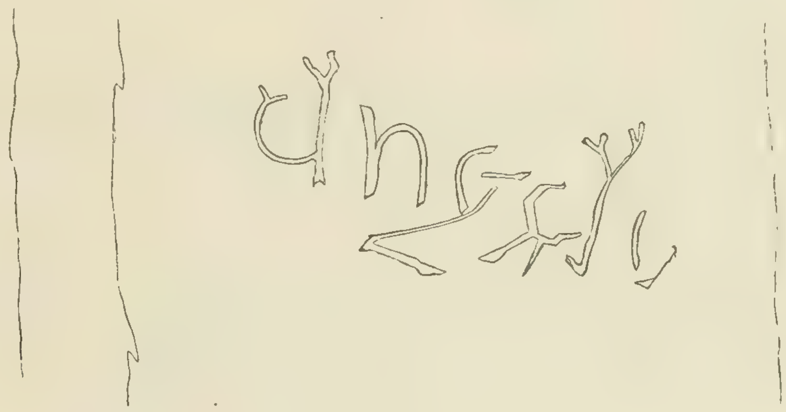
œtlyœ | *guwyrcuyth* | *stono-wooth* | *ur-gucelisi* | *thussi* | *novo-ydutr*

vertitque sic: *Aethelae incidunt in saxo rythmum sermone hoc antiquo Celtico, neptes!*

Stokes in litteris ad Ernestum Kuhn hanc proposuit lectionem parum probabilem et ipsam

f c c f | *Fortrenus Digolovoce|us* 卐 *Nesi filius Siloqounni r(equiescit).*

214 In insula parva *Papa Stronsay* (ex numero *Orkney* insularum minimarum una) ex fundamentis aediculae quae fuit S. Nicolai prodiit lapis nunc servatus apud *Mr. Heddle, of Milsetter.* Lapis similis generis dicitur esse atque fissiles; altus dig. circiter 18, latus 4.



Stuart *sculptured stones of Scotland* 1 p. 14 tab. 42. Legere litteras nemini adhuc cessit.

XVII. INSTRVMENTI DOMESTICI INSCRIPTIONES.

215 *Llanbeblic, Caernarvonshire,* in lamina aurea.

ΑΔΩΝΑΙ ΕΛΩΑΙ ΕΛΛΙΩΝΙΑΩ

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. 3, 1848 p. 362 memorat tantum; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 40.

Est ex noto abraxarum genere.

216 *Riseley, Derbyshire,* vas argenteum (*a silver dish or salver*) anaglyphis variis ornatum, quae venationes aprorum cet. repraesentant. Ubi servetur nescio. Inscriptum est in parte postica

EXSVPERIVS EPISCOPVS ECCLESIAE BOGIENSI DEDIT

Stukeley *silver plate found in Derbyshire* (1736 4.). Inde reliqui Goughs Camden 2 p. 420; Glover *Derbyshire* 1 p. 255; Britton *beauties* 3 p. 391; Bateman *vestiges* p. 157.

Stukeleius cogitavit de *Bayeux* Galliae, cum Exuperius aliquis episcopus fuerit Tolosae et in *Bayeux* a. p. C. 405, alii de *Bouges* Galliae; qualis fuerit ecclesia Bogiensis ignoro, sed etiamsi in Gallia fuit, tamen potest vas in Britannia, ubi inventum est, factum esse, ut in Galliam aveheretur.

---

217 Corstopiti (*Corbridge, Northumberland*) rep. est a. 1736 vasculum argenteum, quod periit. In margine sexies impressam habuit figuram hanc

☧

Goughs Camden 3 p. 509; Hodgson *history of Northumberland* 2, 3 p. 246 (Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 39); Bruce lapidarium n. 653 ex actis minutis societatis antiquariorum Londiniensis. Inde ego C. I. L. VII 1350*a* (p. 313).

218 Eburaci in effossionibus a. 1872 reperta sunt fragmenta regulae aeneae, in quorum uno extare

☧

I. Raine catal. mus. Ebur. (ed. VI a. 1875) p. 97 *h* affirmat.

219 In vasculo stanneo, de cuius origine non constat, praeterquam quod certo Britannicum est, non externae originis, inscriptum est signum

☧

A. Way in epistula scripta m. Februario a. 1870.

220 Massae plumbi albi (*pewter, tin, Zinn*), formae ovalis, repertae Londinii in fluvio Tamesi prope *Battersea-bridge*; servantur in museo Britannico. Altera longa est dig. 7, lata 4, pondo paene unciarum 44; altera longa est digitos $8\frac{1}{2}$, lata $4\frac{1}{2}$, pondo unciarum $110\frac{3}{4}$.

a



b



Syagrius

Contuli.

a A. W. Franks apud Albertum Way *archaeol. journal* 16, 1859 p. 88, *proceedings of the society of antiquaries of London* ser. II 2, 1863 p. 235 cf. 3, 1865 p. 93, *archaeol. journal* 21, 1864 p. 169; A. Way *archaeol. journal* 23, 1869 p. 68 ubi etiam *b* primum edita est ex lectione Augusti W. Franks. Ex his ego C. I. L. VII 1221; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 40.

In *b* titulus bis impressus est, ita ut alter alterum medium obtegeret; lectionem veram Franks sagaciter investigavit. Sigillum christianum in *a* fortasse legendum est

spes [*in*] *Chr*(*isto*)

In altero distinguuntur

A et Ω

consolita.

Franks mentionem fecit Afranii Syagrii consulis a. 382; potest autem etiam indicatus esse homo aliquis cognominis.

221 In tessera rotunda ex plumbo (*a leaden bull*), rep. in *Whitby, Yorkshire.*

+	+
BONI	ARCHI
FATII	DIAC
+	+

D. H. Haigh *the monasteries of S. Heiu* cet. p. 23 ss., qui Ioh. Bapt. de Rossi opinionem de hoc sigillo ab amico quodam acceptam addit, qua is probabiliter statui confirmat, quod Bonifatius hic tempore S. Wilfridi, qui obiit a. 709, creditur vixisse.

---

222 In annulo aureo reperto in *Brancaster (Norfolk), upon which are engraved two rude heads, and above and beneath them the words*

VIVAS

capita duo

IN DEO

S. Woodward Archaeologia 23, 1831 p. 361 (inde C. I. L. VII 1307).

---

223 In annulo aureo reperto ante a. 1786 Callevae (*Silchester*); *the hoop is formed into several squares, in the uppermost of which is a head, rudely engraved, with the letters*

VENVS

in Roman capitals round it; and in the several other compartments the following inscription

SE|NI|CIA|NE | VI|VAS | IN | DE

Lord Arden Archaeologia 8, 1787 p. 449 (inde Goughs Camden 1 p. 205; A. I. Kempe *gent. mag.* ser. nova 1, 1833 p. 124 et Archaeologia 27, 1838 p. 417; C. I. L. VII 1305).

---

223 *a* Annulus caelatus (operis eius quod *Niello* dicunt Itali) rep. *in the parish of Laverstock, Hampshire.* Servatur Londinii in museo Britannico.

† EΙΗΕLVVLF

Ethelvulf

A. Way *archaeol. journal* 2, 1845 p. 163.

---

224 Annulus aureus repertus in campo inter *Aberford* et *Sherburn, Tadcaster, Yorkshire.* Servavit Dunelmi Guil. Greenwell canonicus; nunc est Londinii apud Aug. W. Franks. Inscriptum est in facie externa supra agni imaginem

A D

in parte interiore

EA
ÐELSVIÐ
REGNA

Eathelsvith reg(i)na

Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 4, 1873 p. 304; A. W. Franks *proceedings of the society of antiquaries* ser. II 6, 1875 p. 306 s.

Litterae singulares significant *agnus dei.*

Aethelswith regina Merciae, soror Aelfredi Magni, obiit a. 889. Sepulta est Papiae in Italia; annulus hic videtur oblatus esse ecclesiae alicui ibique nomen reginae insculptum. Ceterum N ita formatum est, ut possit etiam pro I et N contignatis haberi.

---

225 Annulus tam aequalis eius, quem dedi n. 224, ut visus sit ab eodem opifice factus esse, repertus est prope *Driffith, Yorkshire, W. R.* Pars media deest; circa eam scriptum extat

ECCE AGNVS DEI

Guil. Greenwell Dunelmensis mecum communicavit.

---

226 Londinii reperta est acus aerea, cuius caput discus parvus est nummi alicuius Constantini typum imitatus rudi admodum opere; adiectum est crucis signum cruci Graecae simile.

C. R. Smith *Roman London* p. 128 ligno incisam dat (idem puto *catalogue of the museum of London antiquities* p. 63; inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 40).

---

227 Una cum tegulis Romanis inscriptis, quae repertae sunt prope *Chedworth, Gloucestershire,* in parietinis villae rusticae vetustae atque servantur Cirencestriae in museo (C. I. L. VII 1236. 1237) prodierunt etiam tegulae inscriptae litteris

I H S

S. Lysons *our British ancestors* (Oxon. 1865) p. 76 (inde fortasse Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 40, qui videntur cogitavisse de tegulis signo christiano signatis, quas ibi non prodiisse sciscitanti mihi rescripsit H. M. Scarth); H. M. Scarth et I. W. Grover *assoc. journal* 23, 1867 p. 102 ss. 226. 228 tab. 10.

Litterae hae tegulis inscriptae si revera Christi nomen designant, vix videntur vetusto tempori tribui posse.

---

228 In lucerna argillacea musei Aelianensis (*Newcastle-upon-Tyne*).

☧

Descripsi. C. I. L. VII 1330, 27.

Signa praeterea etiam alia christiana in vasculis argillaceis in Britannia repertis extare tradunt Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 39; mihi quae certo christiana dici possint praeter haec quae supra recensui innotuerunt nulla.

TITVLI RELIQVIARVM SANCTI CVTHBERTI.

229 Dunelmi in ecclesia cathedrali a. 1827 sepulcrum sancti Cuthberti episcopi Lindisfarnensis (a. 685—688) apertum est summa cum cura atque repertae sunt in eo optime servatae res omnes, quas intro conlocatas esse testati sunt testes coaevi et fide omnino digni.

a In sarcophago interiore querno imagines incisae erant Christi et sanctorum apostolorumque, quarum supersunt tredecim his adscriptis nominibus:

	IOHANNIΣ	*Iohannis*
	. . . KVΣ	*Marcus*
	THOMAΣ	*Thomas*
	ANDREAΣ	*Andreas*
5	MATHEΣ	*Matheus*
	ƆDVΣ	. . *dus?* (an [*episc*]*opus?*)
	Σ MIƐH . . .	*S. Michael*
	PA . . .	*Paulus*
	. . ϒ ϒ̄Ɛ̄ϒ̄	*Ih*(*e*)*s*(*us*) *s*(*an*)*c*(*tu*)*s*
10	Σ̄Ɛ̄Σ̄	*S*(*an*)*c*(*tu*)*s* [*Oswaldus?*]
	IAƐ	*Iacobus*
	LVƐAΣ	*Lucas*
	. . . . ƆPVΣ	[*S. Cuthbertus? episc*]*opus*

b Inerat in sarcophago altare parvum ligneum, cuius faciem lammina tenuis argentea tegit; ornata est lammina cruce, quam cingit circulus inscriptus litteris alte caelatis, non incisis. Ex titulo circuli eius supersunt litterae hae

. . . . ΓVA · EƐ · ERA . . . . . .

Extra circulum aliae litterae inscriptae erant, quarum supersunt hae tantum

OH . . . . . .

In parte altaris postica item tecta lammina argentea, in qua effigies apostoli alicuius videtur fuisse, servatae sunt hae tantum litterae Graecae

P . . . . OΣ et . . . . Σ

P[*etr*]*os* aut *P*(*aul*)*os* (*apostolo*)*s*

Lignum altaris priusquam argento tectum est et ipsum erat pro altari; incisae enim in eo sunt litterae hae

IN HONOR et Σ PETRV
† †

in honor(*em*) . . . . . *S. Petru*(*s*)

c In stola sancti serica et auro picta media agni imago est adscriptis litteris his

AGNV . . . D̄I *agnu*[*s*] *dei*

in latere utroque prophetarum imagines erant; quo vero ordine illae se exceperint non potuit diiudicari. Adscripti eis sunt tituli superstites hi ita, ut ab utraque imaginum parte stent,

	EΣAIAΣ	*Esaias* [*propheta*]
	. . . . MIAΣ PROPHET	*Ieremias prophet*(*a*)
	DANIEL PROPHETA	*Daniel propheta*
	AMOΣ PROPHETA	*Amos propheta*
5	ABDIA	*Abdia* [*propheta*]
	OΣE PROPHETA	*Ose*(*a*) *propheta*
	IOHEL PRPHETΔ *sic*	*Iohel pr*(*o*)*pheta*
	ABAƐVƐ	*Abacuc* (*propheta*)
	IONAΣ PROPHE . . Λ	*Ionas prophe*[*t*]*a*
10	ZAΣHA . . Λ	*Za*[*c*]*ha*[*ri*]*a*[*s propheta*]
	. . . . . PROPETA *sic*	. . . . . *prop*[*h*]*eta*
	NAVVM PROPHETA	*Na*[*h*]*um propheta*

In fronte ima duae imagines erant ita inscriptae

IOHANNES EVG–	*Iohannes ev(an)g(elista)*
THOMAS APOST	*Thomas apost(olus)*

Et in parte harum imaginum postica

ÆLFFLÆD FIERI PRECEPIT	*Aelfflaed fieri precepit*	p. C. 905—915
PIO EPISCOPO FRIÐESTANO	*pio episcopo Frithestano*	

d In manipulo (longo illo dig. $32\frac{1}{4}$, lato dig. $2\frac{1}{2}$) medio manus est, cui litterae appictae sunt hae

DEXTERA D̄I	*dextera dei*

Infra ab altero latere sese excipiunt imagines cum titulis his

SCS GREGORIVS PAP–	*S(an)c(tu)s Gregorius pap(a)*
PETRVS DIACONVS	*Petrus diaconus*
IOHANNES B̄	*Iohannes b(aptista)*

ab altero

SCS SYXTVS EPISCP̄	*S(an)c(tu)s Syxtus episc(o)p(us)*
LAVRENTIVS DIACONVS	*Laurentius diaconus*
IACOBVS APO	*Iacobus apo(stolus)*

In parte ima postica

ÆLFFLÆD FIERI PRECEPIT	*ut supra*
PIO EPISCOPO FRIÐESTANO	

Iac. Raine *Saint Cuthbert: with an account of the state in which his remains were found upon the opening of his tomb in Durham cathedral in the year MDCCCXXVII.* Dunelmi 1828 4. p. 183 ss. cum tabulis I ad VIII.

Titulum *b* ita legit Raine Ο · ΑΓΙΑ · ET · ERASTE *ὦ ἁγία et ἐραστή*, non recte; nam observavit mihi Guil. Greenwell Dunelmensis non ΓΙΑ · ET legi in lammina sed ΓVA · EC. Quid significent litterae nemodum explicuit.

c d Aelfflaed regina uxor Eduardi regis, filii Alfredi, quae mortua est ante a. 916, *Frithestano,* qui episcopus Wincestriae creatus est a. 905 atque obiit a. 932, vestimenta haec fieri iusserat fere inter annos 905 et 915, quae Athelstanus rex, filius Eduardi spurius, cum a. 934 in Northumbriam venisset, Sancto Cuthberto obtulit; ut Raine exposuit p. 207 ss. cf. p. 50 ss.

APPENDIX.

I. TITVLI FALSO PRO CHRISTIANIS HABITI.

1* Lapis dictus *Maen y Morinnion* (i. e. petra virginis) extat prope *Brecon, in the middle of the Roman road, about ¼ mile from the farm house* Llwyd. Ibidem, *not far from the farm house of Y Gaer,* prope *Llandefaelog* Rhys.

homo stans *mulier stans*

. . . . M

A'LANCDN///IV:///ET

CONIVNX EIVS H *s.* EST

.... *coniunx eius h(ic) [s(ita)] est*

Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden 2 p. 706. 834 memorat tantum, non adscripsit; I. Strange Archaeologia 1, 1779 p. 294 ss. in tab. (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 102 tab. 5 fig. 2; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 630); Jones *Brecknockshire* 2, 1 p. 103 ss. tab. 6 fig. 2; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 4, 1853 p. 351, 1; ex his ego C. I. L. VII 152 (Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 3, 1872 p. 385 a me edoctus Romanam esse agnovit); I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 9.

Ultimus tantum versus planus est maximam partem; unde eum legerunt omnes fere aequaliter. V. 2 *Alancina civis* legisse Henricum Thomas, *late of Slwch,* testatur Jones; is pleniorem dat quam Strange et ita fere, ut exhibui supra. Anaglyphum et tituli versus ultimus monumentum Romanum esse saeculi fere secundi exeuntis extra omnem ponunt dubitationem.

2* *Caerphilly castle, Glamorganshire,* in gradu scalae, quae olim ibi erat in turri rotunda, deinde servabatur Oxonii in museo Ashmoleano, ubi num adhuc extet ignoro. Signa, quibus lapis tectus est, falso videntur pro litteris habita esse aut Romanis aut Graecis aut Britannicis.

LLLL MIHT TTR SLII+I I—WLHJ *et similia*

Ed. Llwyd *philosophical transactions* 27, 1710—1712 p. 500 ss. qui haec addit: *'J must confess J am not fully satisfied whether it were ever designed for reading or for some kind of antique ornament; but rather incline to the latter. The stone was not designed for a step, there being none of the same kind in the whole staircase. The marks were mostly worn out by treading; and it is possible they might be once more uniform, and some few mistakes may have happened in the copying it as it is. J have sent the stone to the Museum at Oxford, where the curious may be satisfied. Were it the old Celtic character, which Caesar says was like the Greek, 'twere a noble discovery. But J fear our ancestors (if ever they had any writing) have left us none upon stones'.*

3* In *Llanio Isaf, Cardiganshire,* extant lapides centuriales castelli alicuius Romani, quorum unus ita inscriptus est

O VERIONI

[ɔ *(centuria)*] *Verioni(s)*

Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 644 (inde Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 323; Goughs Camden 3 p. 158); ex his ego C. I. L. VII 149; Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 2, 1871 p. 263 christianum putabat. Centurialem esse perspexit I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 4. Ceterum conferantur etiam supra n. 38 143.

4* *About 2¾ miles from Fishguard, Haverfordwest (Pembrokeshire), near some houses called Dwr Bach, is a stone which Westwood thought would turn out to have oghams on it. We could not make out any letters on the stone, though it had plenty of marks on it — in fact to many to have any meaning. Afterwards we saw a good many like it, and it was assured to us by a farmer that these marks were all made by the harrow when the stones lay in the fields not as yet disturbed. Probably he was right.*

I. Rhys *inscribed stones of Wales* p. 6.

5* Iscae (*Caerleon, Monmouthshire*) extat fragmentum tituli sepulcralis, cui palmae ramulus insculptus est.

C. I. L. VII 134.

Propter palmae signum falso pro christiano habitum est (Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 39).

6* Aquae Sulis (*Bath*).

Titulus C. I. L. VII 58 falso a nonnullis ad homines christianos pertinuisse creditur.

I. Mac Caul *Britanno-Roman inscriptions* (1863) p. 181 s.; Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 39.

7* Prope *Horkstow, Lincolnshire*, in parietinis villae rusticae Romanae saeculo proximo exeunte pavimenta tessellata detecta sunt complura operis splendidi; in uno eorum anguli quattuor capitibus ornati videntur fuisse iuvenum (fortasse quattuor anni tempora sunt), quorum duo supersunt. Iuxta apposita sunt ornamenta crucis Graecae formam fortasse casu tantum imitata ✠

S. Lysons reliquiae Britannico-Romanae I p. 2 tab. 3 et 6 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 40).

Extant similia quaedam operis tessellati ornamenta, e. c. Londinii (C. R. Smith *Roman London* p. 56 tab. 11) et in *Harpole, Northamptonshire* (Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 39), quae omnia enumerare nihil attinet.

8* Vindobalae ad vallum Hadriani (*Rutchester*) ara Romana reperta est, servata illa nunc in museo Aelianensi (*Newcastle-upon-Tyne*), quam propter signa quaedam tempore recenti ei insculpta pro christiana habuerunt.

C. I. L. VII 544*a*; Bruce lapidarium septentrionale p. 41 n. 61.

9* Petrianis (*Cambeckfort*) in statione per lineam valli lapis repertus est rudis, longus p. 2 dig. 2, altus p. 1 dig. 2. Inscriptum est litteris vix antiquis omnino

SOB DEO /⟩VDED

Carlisle Archaeologia 11, 1794 p. 67 tab. 5 fig. 14; Hutchinson *Cumberland* 1 p. 118 tab. 2 fig. 13; Bruce lapidarium septentrionale n. 466 (ex his C. I. L. VII 11*).

ΛVDEO Carl., DODED Hutch., ᴗODEP Bruce.

Interpretatus est Carlisle ita *sub deo rubeo*; mihi potius visum est esse *sob deo audeo*. Bruce christianam putavit saeculi fortasse quinti; mihi multo videtur recentior esse.

12* *Cambridge*, lammina aenea quae inventa est in sarcophago reperto *in the Castle yard.*

K I · I ᴗ I I I Y I ' I δ X X
Φ Φ Φ Φ I · I ·

Gentleman's magazine 55, 1785 p. 763 tab. 2 fig. 6 (inde C. I. L. VII 3*), ubi ita explicatur: *Kat Omyat died anno Christi 416.*

13* Eburaci in effossionibus institutis ad viae ferreae stationem novam extruendam in sarcophago Romano lapideo rudis operis reperta est tessera ossea oblonga, perforata a parte dextra, longa circiter dig. 5, lata $1\frac{1}{2}$. Servatur in museo Eburacensi; inscriptum est litteris saeculi fortasse tertii ineuntis

DOMINE VICTOR
VINCAS FELIX

I. Kenrick misit imaginem photographam; I. Raine edidit in catalogo musei Eburacensis (ed. VI 1875) p. 94*j*.

Minime christianam esse, ut fuerunt qui putarent, apparet; Felix potest gladiator fuisse, cui tessera victoriam auguratur in Victoris nomine ludens. Domini appellatio eo tempore communis iam facta erat, ut post alios nuper demonstravit Ludov. Friedlaender (*Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* I[3] p. 356 ss.).

10* Massa plumbi albi, longa dig. $16\frac{1}{4}$, alta 8, pondo librarum Anglicarum 26, reperta in *Trereife, Cornwall*, nunc in *Penzance* in museo; in ea impressa est *a supposed mercantile mark, made up of a cross with various additions, and of three Greek letters*

ε ι s ȵ☧

A. Way *archaeological journal* 23, 1866 p. 284 (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 699).

Inscriptio massae fortasse vetustae si ipsa vetusta omnino est, certa ratione vix videtur explicari posse.

11* Londinii, in *Mark lane Mr. Stockley* circa a. 1715 in fundamentis domus, quam possedit *Mr. Wolley*, tegulam repperit, latam dig. 4, longam $5\frac{1}{2}$, crassam $2\frac{1}{4}$, anaglypho ornatam Samsonis, qui vulpes in Philistaeorum agros impellit. Servabatur tum in museo societatis Regiae in *Fleet-street*; extetne adhuc et ubi ignoro.

Bagford *letter relating to the antiquity of London* in Hearnii praefatione ad Lelandi collectanea I (1715) p. LXX (inde Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 40 qui videntur pro genuina habere). Imago a Bagfordo addita opus saeculi XVI esse clare demonstrat.

14* Vinoviae (*Binchester, Durham*) prodiit ansa amphorae, servata nunc in museo Aelianensi (*Newcastle-upon-Tyne*), quae ita inscripta est

VR † FI

C. R. Smith collectanea antiqua 1, 1848 tab. 50 (inde C. I. L. VII 1331, 124); Bruce lapidarium septentrionale p. 374 n. 723.

Propter crucem christianae originis habita est, male; interpretatio tituli integre servati incerta est, crucem non esse christianam certum.

II. TITVLI ALIQVOT RECENTIORES.

15* *Llanbabo, Anglesey,* in ecclesia. Litteris saeculi XIII aut XIV. Litterae sunt alte extantes; mensura non indicatur.

hic iacit Pabo post Pryd-corpors-te-prima

Rowlands Mona antiqua ed. II p. 158 (inde Archaeol. Cambr. 3, 1848 p. 219; cf. Haddan et Stubbs 1 p. 165).

Pabonem illum 'postem Britanniae' vixisse ferunt saeculo sexto ineunte; sed lapidem multo esse recentiorem omnes conveniunt.

16* *Llanegwest Abbey, Denbighshire.*

Ad adam dms fecit hoc opus pace beata quiescat amen m. d. . . .

Pennant 1 p. 371 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 214); I. Rhys non vidit.

Indicatur in fine annus MD . . . .

17* *Voelas, Denbighshire.*

Ego Ioh de Tin : Dyleu Kuheli lenaw Tford cudoi Braechi Koed Emris Leweli op priceps hic hu[matus sum . . .]

Ed. Llwyd in Gibsons Camden p. 686 (inde Goughs Camden 3 p. 210) cui descripsit Griffith Jones, ludimagister in *Llanrwst.*

Saeculi fortasse decimi septimi.

18* In *the vicarage of Little Hereford,* prope *Ludlow,* 3 *miles from Tenbury, Herefordshire.* Lapis hominis armati effigiem exhibet; infra scriptum est

† h(ic) iacet. thomas

Westwood Archaeol. Cambr. ser. nova 2, 1851 p. 228.

Videtur esse saeculi tertii decimi vel etiam recentior.

19* In *Stafford* nuper reperta.

Orm vocatur qui me condidit

D. H. Haigh misit ectypum.

Litterarum formae videntur pertinere ad saeculum duodecimum tertiumve decimum.

20* In *Wensley, Yorkshire, North Riding,* prope *Hangwest* ad flumen *Ure,* in ecclesiae vestibulo (*the vestry*); dicitur repertus esse in curte ecclesiae. Altus est dig. 15½, latus 9. Infra crucem angulatam, cui paene adhaerent aves duae supra, infra quadrupedes duo, anaglyphi omnia operis, scriptum est litteris quas dicunt Saxonicis item in altum elatis, non incisis nomen

Donfrid

Goughs Camden 3 p. 334 tab. 17 fig. 4; Whitaker *Richmondshire* 1 (1823) p. 371; D. H. Haigh *association journal* I 1846 p. 196.

III. MONVMENTA QVAEDAM CALEDONICA.

Litterae Celticae extant in monumentis Caledonicis hisce recentioribus:

21* In cippo servato in *Scoonie, in Fife*

(Stuart *sculptured stones of Scotland* II p. 6 tab. 12);

22* in altero, qui extat in *Logie, in the Garioch*

(Stuart I p. 4 tab. 3. 4 fig. 2);

23* in tertio in *Golspie, in Sutherland* servato

(Stuart I p. 12 tab. 34).

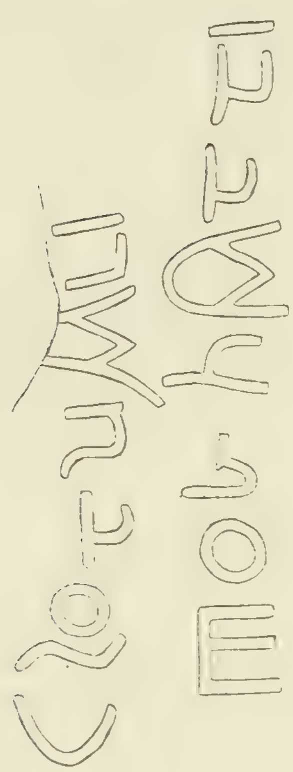
24* Praeterea litterae olim extabant, nunc vero non distinguuntur, in cippo quodam anaglyphis in regione ea solitis ornato, qui repertus est dum vetus ecclesia in *Fordoun, Kinkardineshire, in the Meaths*, diruitur, nunc autem conlocatus ad portam aediculae S. Palladii in curte ecclesiae Fordunensis

(Ioh. Stuart Archaeologia Scotica II 1822 p. 317 tab. 5 [inde Wilson *prehistoric annals of Scotland* p. 505], *sculptured stones of Scotland* I p. 20 tab. 67).

Omisi, ut par est, cruces inscriptas aevi recentioris, id est saeculorum decimi quarti et decimi quinti, quales extant in *Inverary* (Stuart *sculptured stones of Scotland* 2 p. 22 tab. 31), *Kilchoman* (Stuart 2 p. 23 tab. 34), *Oransay* (Stuart 2 p. 25 tab. 38. 39), Ionae (Stuart 2 p. 27 tab. 47), *Soroby* (Stuart 2 p. 28 tab. 53), *Kilkerran* (Stuart 2 p. 29 tab. 55) et alibi; sed iuvabit recentissima haec comparare cum vetustioribus, cum demonstrent formas antiquitus traditas diutissime esse servatas.

ADDITAMENTA.

230 (Inserenda post n. 1). *Phillack (within a mile of Hayle), Cornwall*, in coemeterio ecclesiae. Litterae sunt altae m. 0,08.

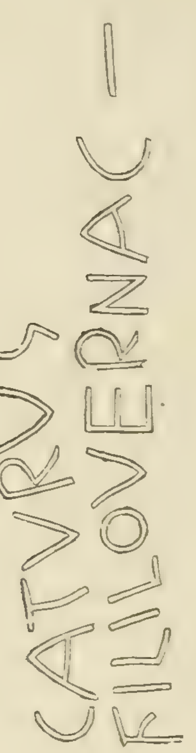


Clotuali Morhatti ?

Ectypum misit I. Rhys, qui edidit Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 6, 1875 p. 365; ex ectypo imago haec fluxit.

Tertium alterius versus elementum *r* esse Rhys adnotat, non *g*, quamquam ei litterae similius mihi videtur; lineam enim transverse positam aliquanto longiorem esse, similesque nominum formas, veluti *Morhatho*, *Morhaitho* alibi repperiri.

231 (Inserenda post n. 86). *In the porch of Merthyr Church, about three miles from Caermarthen, Caermarthenshire.* Litterae sunt altae m. 0,08.

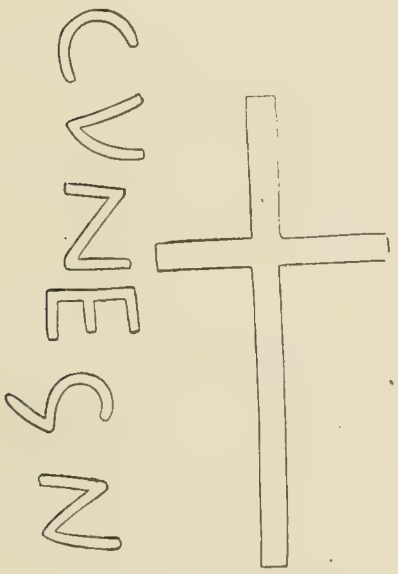


Caturug[*i*] *fili Lovernaci*

Ectypum misit I. Rhys, qui edidit Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 6, 1875 p. 359.

V. 1 extr. I transverse conlocatam Rhys sibi visus est deprehendere; ectypum eam non indicat.

232 (Inserenda post n. 87). *Traws mawr, Caermarthenshire,* cippus litteris inscriptis altis circiter m. 0,06.

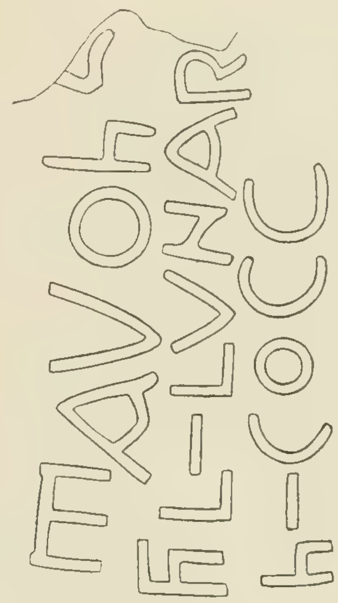


Cunegni

I. Rhys misit ectypum, ex quo imago haec delineata est ediditque Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 6, 1875 p. 359.

Crux in latere est; in fine – (I iacentem) observavit Rhys, quam ectypum non exhibet.

233 (Inserenda post n. 88). *Llanboidy, Caermarthenshire,* in pariete ecclesiae, litteris quae similes sunt Hibernosaxonicis, altis circiter m. 0,09. Lapis supra fractus.



Mavoh .... fili Lunar[c]hi Cocci

Ectypum misit I. Rhys, qui edidit Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 6, 1875 p. 360.

Post COCC in fine I litteram iacentem clare apparere in lapide I. Rhys mihi nuper scripsit.

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234 (Inserenda post n. 88). *Llanboidy, Caermarthenshire,* in curte ecclesiae, litteris multo vetustioribus quam tituli praecedentis.

TVM . . .

I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 6, 1875 p. 361 qui una cum Worthington Smith ex pluribus litteris evanidis camerae obscurae adiumento has tantum legit e *tumulo* vocabulo fortasse residuas.

Ad n. 2. RIALOBRAN–, i. e. *Rialobrani,* non RIALOBRAN, ut exhibet imago mea, in lapide esse, Rhys affirmat.

Ad n. 16. Post titulum impressum duorum virorum sive lectiones sive restitutiones factae ad lapidem ad me perlatae sunt Iohannis Rhys et Jagonis; sunt autem hae.

Rhys:

+ ÆLƷELÐ 7 ƷENEREÐ–TEI
POHTEÞYSNE///YVIVE///
FO ÆLPYNESS QL 7 FO HEY

Jago:

+ ÆLSELÐ 7 ƷENEREÐ
POHTE ÞYSNE SYBSTEL SEL
FORÆLPYNEYSSOUL 7FOR HEY

Ad n. 17. In textu scribendum potius erat

Magarii

Ad n. 33. Scribe *Patristow* (s. *Patricio*).

Ad n. 41. I. Rhys Archaeol. Cambr. ser. IV 6, 1875 p. 370 ita affirmat legendum esse

+ Gurci
+ Bledrus

Alteram enim crucem quamvis minorem tamen perspicuam esse.

Ad n. 59. Prope *Gelly gaer, Glamorganshire, on a Maen Hir.*

VIA FRONTI

Stephen Archaeologia Cambr. ser. nov. 4, 1853 p. 317.

Sero intellexi eundem titulum significari atque is est, quem supra dedi n. 59.

Ad n. 79. Lege *Bryn Keffneithan* (pro *Keffnerthan*).

Ad n. 87. Ectypum huius quoque lapidis Rhys misit, quod imaginem, quam dedi, satis accuratam esse probat.

Ad n. 105. Legendum est fortasse ſ IO///ANNE, i. e. *s(anctus) Io[h]anne(s)*.

Ad n. 106. Exhibet etiam G. Stephens *old-northern Runic monuments* 1 p. 58.

In titulo capitis VIII (p. 40 ante n. 112) addendum (propter n. 125):

Accedit Montgomeryshire.

Ad n. 114. Excidit in imagine mea, ut I. Rhys observavit lapide inspecto, elementorum Celticorum unum a latere sinistro, si superne incipis computando, quintum, incisura simplex (*a notch*).

Ad n. 120. Scribe (ut n. 118. 119) *Llandewi Brewi*.

Ad n. 134. Rectius conlocanda erat post n. 130.

Ad n. 154. MACCVĪ fortasse solvendum est in *Maccui*.

Ad n. 171. *Guthlacus presbyter* dedi in textu priores secutus; neque vero intellego cur locum habere non possit quod imago exhibet: *Guthlacus habet*.

Ad n. 175. Mensuram accuratam adhuc desidero.

In fine textus scribe *Sin[uit?* .....] pro eo quod dedi *Sinuit* ....

Ad n. 202. *Billingham* errore Northumbriae tribui, cum sit palatinatus Dunelmensis (*Durham*).

Ad n. 223. Memorare potui in adnotatione, sed omisi in textu consulto, propterea quod inscriptum est Anglosaxonice tantum, non Latine, Aelfredi regis ornamentum celebre aureum operis caelati, quod *king Alfred's jewel* solet nominari. Repertum est illud a. 1693 prope abbatiam *Athelney, Somersetshire*; servatur Oxonii in museo Ashmoleano. Inscriptum ei est

† AELFRED MEC HEHT GEVVRCAN

Editum est post alios multos addita imagine accurata ab Alberto Way *archaeological journal* 2, 1846 p. 164.

Ad n. 225. Annulus nunc servatus apud *Mr. Welby*, repertus est in *Driffield, Yorkshire, E. R.*

INDICES.

* *significat lectionem incertam esse*

I. REGIONES. LOCI cet.

AEDIFICIA SACRA, ARAE, CRVCES cet.

II. TEMPORA.

III. DEVS, SANCTI cet.

IV. HONORES ET OFFICIA ECCLESIAE cet.

V. REGES.

VI. MVNERA, OFFICIA, CONDICIONES HOMINVM cet.

VII. NOMINA VIRORVM ET MVLIERVM.

LITTERIS MAIORIBVS indicantur homines dignitatis celsioris, veluti sancti, principes, episcopi. *v.* indicat viros, *m.* mulieres.

VIII. CARMINA.

IX. FORMVLAE.

X. GRAMMATICA.

XI. LITTERARVM ALIQVOT FORMAE SINGVLARES.

XII. SCRIPTVRAE CONPENDIA.

XIII. SIGNA CHRISTIANA.

XIV. CELTICA.

XV. ANGLOSAXONICA.

XVI. GRAECA.

NOMINA LOCORVM QVIBVS TITVLI REPERTI SVNT EXTANTVE.

ADDITAMENTA

AD

INSCRIPTIONES HISPANIAE CHRISTIANAS

(BEROLINI APVD GEORGIVM REIMERVM MDCCCLXXI).

Communis est syllogarum epigraphicarum sors, ut plenae esse nunquam possint continuisque indigeant supplementis. Quae cum ad titulorum paganorum corpora soleant nunc iam certo tempore certoque loco conligi atque proponi, christianorum, si urbanos exceperis ab homine quodam excellente singulari cura cultos, minus commoda condicio est. Itaque cum ad syllogen inscriptionum Hispanarum, quae ad aevum christianum pertinent, per hoc quinquennium succreverit additamentorum messis quamvis non magna, sed non spernenda tamen, cumque praeterea liber ille nanctus sit iudices duos tam doctos quam benevolos, Gallum alterum Edmondum Le Blant, alterum Britannum Iohannem Wordsworth, quorum uterque ad meam operam emendandam quaedam protulit utilia, Germani autem homines nonnulli in singulas aliquot res inquisiverint cum fructu, visum est hoc loco data occasione fruendum esse, ut cum harum rerum curiosis communicarentur quae nova illis accesserunt quaeque meliora de eis nunc possunt proferri.

Itaque de aerae Hispanicae origine quam ego in suspenso relinquendam duxi quaestio instituta est ab Ioh. Hellero (in Heinrici de Sybel annalibus historicis vol. 31 a. 1874 p. 13 ss.) atque ad eum finem perducta, ut statuatur originem aerae eius repetendam esse a cyclo quodam paschali annorum octoginta quattuor, cuius initium una cum initio cycli Alexandrini, qui fuit annorum nonaginta quinque, inciderit in annum a. C. trigesimum octavum. Qui apud scriptores, veluti apud Prosperum, memorantur cycli incipiunt ab anno p. C. 46; cyclus igitur integer unus huic praecessit apud Hispanos. Annus autem trigesimus octavus visus est propterea electus esse, quia alius nullus extat propior ab eo anno, quo Christus natus est, in quem principium cycli occidentalis orientalisque quadret. Auctor vero conputationis eius non sine acumine institutae ignoratur. Cum desint testimonia diserta, solutio haec quaestionis diu ac multum versatae ultra probabilitatem perduci nequit; praestat autem, quamvis et ipsa dubitationi obnoxia, prioribus omnibus.

De nominibus originis Germanicae, quae tituli a me editi continent, egit E. Förstemann (*altdeutsche Namen aus Spanien* in Adalberti Kuhn *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* vol. XX 1872 p. 433 ss.).

Quae ad titulos singulos vel explicandos vel corrigendos conlegi, ea infra posui ordinem geographicum duplicem, quem institui, secutus; secundum eundem etiam novi tituli inserentur.

1 (Inserenda post n. 18). Conimbricae (*Condeixa a velha*) in fundamentis aediculae sanctissimi sacramenti rep. a. 1873. Servat Michael Osorio Cabral e Castro, *par do reino*.

SERENIA
NVS FAMV
LVS DI VIXIT
ANVS IIII ET
5 REQV... IN PA
C... VIII KL... DE
CEMBRES E
RA DLXXVIIII

aera 579
p. C. 541

Serenianus famulus d(e)i vixit anus IIII et requ(iescit) in pac[e] VIII k(a)l(endas) Decembres era DLXXVIIII

Ex ephemeride *o Conimbricense* d. 24 m. Maii a. 1873 misit Ioachimus de Vasconcellos et ectypum promisit.

Ad n. 76. De Leovigildo et Hermenegildo regibus commentatus est nuper Franciscus Görres (*über die Anfänge des Königs der Westgothen Leovigild* in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* vol. XII 1872 p. 591 ss. cf. vol. XIII 1873 p. 633 ss.; *über den Aufstand und das Martyrium Hermenegilds* in *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie* 1873 p. 1 ss.; *Hermenegilds Stellung zum Katholicismus* ibidem p. 533 ss.).

Ad n. 115. V. 10 supplendum esse *trinitatis indivise* monuerunt Edm. Le Blant (in actis instituti Francogallici *journal des savants* a. 1873 p. 312. 355 ss.) et Ioh. Wordsworth (in ephemeridibus Oxoniensibus *the Academy* a. 1872 p. 156 ss.).

Ad n. 123. *Cava saxa* carminis inconditi, quae in aliis quoque carminibus sepulcralibus redeunt (veluti n. 130. 239), poteram referre ad exemplar Ovidianum amorum III 6, 45

nec te praetereo, qui per cava saxa volutans
Tiburis Argei pomifera arva rigas.

Ad n. 125. Vv. 4 et 5 ita explicuit Wordsworthius, ut

teque ingestantes possident caelum

verba posita esse coniceret pro *et te gestantes*, adhibito conposito eo tempore non infrequenti.

V. 7 idem *Sina*, quod intellegi nequit, corruptum putat ex *Sion*, *paradisum Sion* ex confusione quadam scriptoris ortum ratus.

Ad n. 126. Martyres quinque Cordubenses Acisclum Zoilum Faustum Ianuarium Martialem coniunctos indicari etiam apud Prudentium περὶ στεφάνων 4, 19 s.

Corduba Acisclum dabit et Zoëllum
tresque coronas

adnotat Wordsworthius.

Idem eiusdem tituli v. 9 ss. legendum proposuit

Leocritiae et Perfecti

qui martyres fuissent Cordubenses celebrati diebus XV. Martii et XVIII. Aprilis. Sed longe differunt haec nomina a litteris, quas ipse vidi in lapide.

Ad n. 135. Titulum hunc ad Veremundum Suevorum regem eius temporis aliunde non notum referendum esse contendit Franciscus Görres (*ein Suevenkönig Veremund* in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* vol. XIV 1874 p. 405 ss.).

Ad n. 142. Initium carminis barbari ita distinguendum proposuit Wordsworthius probabiliter:

Haec tenet [u]rna tu[u]m venerand(um) corpus Vincenti abbatis,
Set tua(m) sacra(m) tenet anima(m) caeleste, sacerdos,
Regnum, mutasti in melius cum gaudia vite.
Martiris exempla signat, quod membra sacrata
5 *Demonstrante deo vatis hic repperit index.*

V. 4 *exempla* fortasse positum pro *exemplar* putat idem; ut sententia evadat haec: vates martyris exempla signat (i. e. designat, celebrat), quia hic demonstrante deo membra sacrata repperit. Deinde sic distinguit:

Sic simul officium finis vitamque removit,
Sp(iritu)s adveniens d(omi)ni quo tempore sanctus
In regionem piam v[e]xit animamque locabit,

i. e. quo tempore spiritus sanctus domini animam (martyris) in regionem (observa accusativi terminationem post *m* elisam correptam) piam vexit locavitque ibi.

Ad n. 149. Titulum insignem adhuc servatum in *Cangas de Onis* indagavit Aurelianus Fernandez Guerra textumque eius emendatum edidit in libro alieni in universum argumenti, qui inscribitur *el libro de Santoña* (Matriti MDCCCLXXII 8.; continet enim narrationem de conlegio S. Iohannis Baptistae in oppido illo orae Cantabricae condito a cive bene merito Iohanne Emanuele *de Manzanedo y Gonzales*, senatore regni Hispanici) p. 41 et 108 misitque mihi imaginem accurate a se ipso delineatam versuum quinque ultimorum. Quantum a vero distet textus a Morale, Carvallo, Risco propositus inde apparebit; est autem genuina lectio haec:

resurgit ex preceptis divinis hec macina sacra;
opere exiguo comtum fidelibus votis
perspicue clareat oc templum, obtutibus sacris
demonstrans figuraliter signaculum alme crucis.
5 *sit XPo placens ec aula sub crucis tropheo sacrata,*
quam famulus Fafeila sic condidit fide promta
cum Froiliuba coniuge ac suorum prolium pignera nata,
quibus XPe tuis muneribus pro hoc sit gratia plena,
ac post uius vite decursum preveniat misericordia larga.
10 *hic vate Astemo sacrata sunt altaria Cristo*
diei revoluti temporis annis CCC
seculi etate porrecta per hordenem sexta
[*ex*]*currente era septingentesima septagesima quin* aera 775
taque p. C. 737

V. 10 Vates Astemus (ita *Astemo*, non *Astemio* clare legi adfirmat Guerra), qui annis CCCLXII antea, si recte interpretor numeros vv. 11. 12 celatos potius artificiosis quas adamabant homines illi verborum ambagibus quam indicatos, i. e., si ab aerae anno conputaveris, aera 415, p. C. 377, altaria ibi dicitur consecrasse, quis fuerit ignoratur. Guerra quem ad modum ad a. p. C. 262 pervenerit conputando non liquet; videtur autem intellexisse annum trecentesimum sextae aetatis saeculorum, quam a Christo nato incipientem statuerunt Hispani eius temporis. Quod si recte posuit, ducimur ad aerae Hispanae annum 475, p. C. 437; fortasse vere. Quae Wordsworthius proposuerat ad versum hunc emendandum corruunt, postquam lectio emendatior edita est.

V. 13 in. traditur . . \CVRRENTE; inde supplevi.

Ceterum quae Guerra in libro illo exposuit de Cantabriae veteris limitibus, oppidis, historia, et addita mappa accurate ab ipso delineata inlustravit, ea dolemus in angulo illo litterarum a nullo fere, cuius talia scire interest, inviso delitescere potius quam publici iuris facta esse.

Ad n. 175. Fugerat me sanctum illum Babilam (s. Babylam) episcopum aliquem Antiochiae esse in historia ecclesiae notum. Etiam reliqui tituli *b* sancti noti sunt; v. 7 ss. ita supplendi sunt: *s*(*an*)*c*(*t*)*or*(*um*) *F*[*austi Ianua*]*ri et Martial*[*is, sep*|*te*]*m dormientes in Ef*[*eso*], *Gervasi et Protasi*; v. 13 *s*(*an*)*c*(*t*)*or*(*um*) *Ferre*[*olorum*] e. q. s.

Ad n. 181. Melius ita edidit

† *in* N*ome* DNI VITAL*is*
EPS · CONSECRAVIT O Θ Θ
HANC BASELICAM

ex schedis Martini de Ambel y Bernard, qui descripsit a. 1657 Aurelianus Fernandez-Guerra *discursos en la recepcion de Rada* p. 145, qui Vitalem episcopum putat fuisse Eliocrocensem.

---

2 (Inserenda post n. 181). Mensa altaris marmorea, reperta a. 1626 prope *Cehegin*, $\frac{1}{4}$ *leuga hacia oriente*, in ripa sinistra *Quípar* fluminis ad radices montis *cabeza de la Muela*, in parietinis aedificii vetusti. Titulus supra in quattuor lateribus mensae inscriptus extat hic

1 † N^o^ Δ^o^ ACRVSMINVS
2 BIGASTRENS ECCLESIE EPS
3 SACRAVIT ANC BASELICAM
4 SCI VINCENTII · ANNO · III · PONTIFICAVS
SV

In no(*mine*) *do*(*mini*) *Acrusminus Bigastrensis ecclesie ep*(*iscopu*)*s sacravit anc baselicam s*(*an*)*c*(*t*)*i Vincentii anno III pontificatus sui*

Aurelianus Fernandez-Guerra *antiguedades del cerro de los santos en termino de Montealegre* (*discursos leidos ante la Real Academia de la Historia en la recepcion pública del señor D. Juan de Dios de la Rada y Delgado el dia 27 de Junio de 1875*; Matriti 1875 fol.) p. 145 ex schedis eiusdem Martini de Ambel y Bernard, exscriptam ab illo a. 1657, ex quibus titulum n. 181 emendatum proposuit ibidem.

Episcopus Bigastrensis hic Acrusminus (?) aliunde non magis notus est, quam Vitalis tituli n. 180, quem Eliocrocae sedem habuisse existimat Guerra propterea quod *Cehegin* ad sedem illam pertinuisse sibi persuasit.

3 (Inserenda ante n. 193). Matriti in bibliotheca olim, nunc in museo archaeologico (*seccion de antiguedades clásicas*); signum militare, ut credunt, aereum, altum m. 0,16.

Equus gradiens, sella et freno ornatus;
in basi supra palum inscriptum est:

VIVA ☧

viva(*s*) *XP*(*iste*)

F. Fulgosio *museo español de antiguedades* vol. 3, 1873 p. 96.

Videtur genuinum esse; pertinebat fortasse ad instrumentum aliquod usus domestici, nam militare signum vix potest tam fuisse exiguum.

Ad n. 196. Tegula eodem titulo ter inscripta in lateribus prodiit etiam in *Casariche*, ut mihi indicavit Berlanga amicus Malacitanus.

Ad n. 204. Monogramma KIRIω (i. e. *κυρίῳ*) significare putat Wordsworthius collato n. 149 v. 10; ut annuli titulus fuerit

Aloiosae (i. e. *Aloiose*) *vivas in kiriω*

---

4 (Inserenda post n. 216). In territorio Lucenensi (*de Lucena*) iuxta fines territorii *de Puente Jenil*, in praedio dicto *del Chato*, quod ad hoc territorium pertinet in situ dicto *Molino de Castillo Azul*, reperta est a. 1874 tabula marmorea alta m. 0,59, lata 0,32, crassa 0,10, inscripta hoc titulo

✝ Hoc, nepos, loco tenetur maximi viri
Atana quem prisca vocabant saecula ildum
Sinde patre genitus miro in Beatia rure.
Iohannes Eximius ex fonte vocatus,
5 sapiens benignus quin etiam ore modestus,
florens eclesia decenter mente quieta,
catolicus strenuus preclarus mente qui fuit
alumnus ortodoxus legitime abtus,
ethereis iungatur sorte beata locatus,
10 cum Xristo regnet pium quem coluit d(eu)m.
Explebit cursum octabo idus Agustas,
sexden(u)m et septem etatis vite peragens,
nungentesima sex decies vel tria sub era — aera 963
e — p. C. 925

Aurelianus Fernandez-Guerra *antiguedades del cerro de los santos* p. 152 cui ectypum misit Antonius de Aguilar y Cano (*de Puente Jenil*).

Textus proponitur minusculis tantum litteris; litteras tituli fortasse ex more eius temporis ligatas multifariam recte sine dubio legit editor plerumque, si exceperis v. 8, de quo dubito. Ceterum Iohannes hic Eximius primum Atanahildus dictus et Beatia (i. e. Viatia) oriundus aliunde notus vixisse fertur annis p. C. 859—925.

Ad n. 219. V. 2 INAVLA conpositum esse ut *inatrium, incurtis, indamnum,* quae a simplicibus significatione non differant, Wordsworthius adnotat, quanquam exempla eius vocabuli alia non habet quae proferat. Voluit igitur fortasse poeta haec fere dicere: aula ecclesiae adhuc personat eloquentia quamvis mortui.

5 (Inserenda post n. 228). Prope Cordubam repertus est a. 1870 *en el Haza de los Aguijones cerca de la estacion del ferro-carril* titulus hic servatus Cordubae apud Ludovicum Ramirez y de las Casas Deza.

HIC REQVIESCVNT		*hic requiescunt membra Salvati crismatis uncta era millena vigesima LXXV evos q(u)i vixit*
MEMBRA SALVATI		
CRISMATIS VNCTA		
ERA MILLENA^{XX}	aera 1020	
5 L^{XXV} EVOS $^{i}_{q}$ VIXIT	p. C. 982	

Fidelis Fita *museo Español de antiguedades* 4 (1875) p. 637.

Ad n. 230*e* (p. 120). Supplementum tale proposuit Wordsworthius:

da pacem, domine, in diebus nostris, quia non est alius
qui pu[gnet pro nobis nisi tu, deus noster]

Ad n. 239. Initium ita distinxit idem Wordsworthius:

en, quem cernis, cava saxa teget compago sacra (pro *compaginem sacram*)
presulis Auri

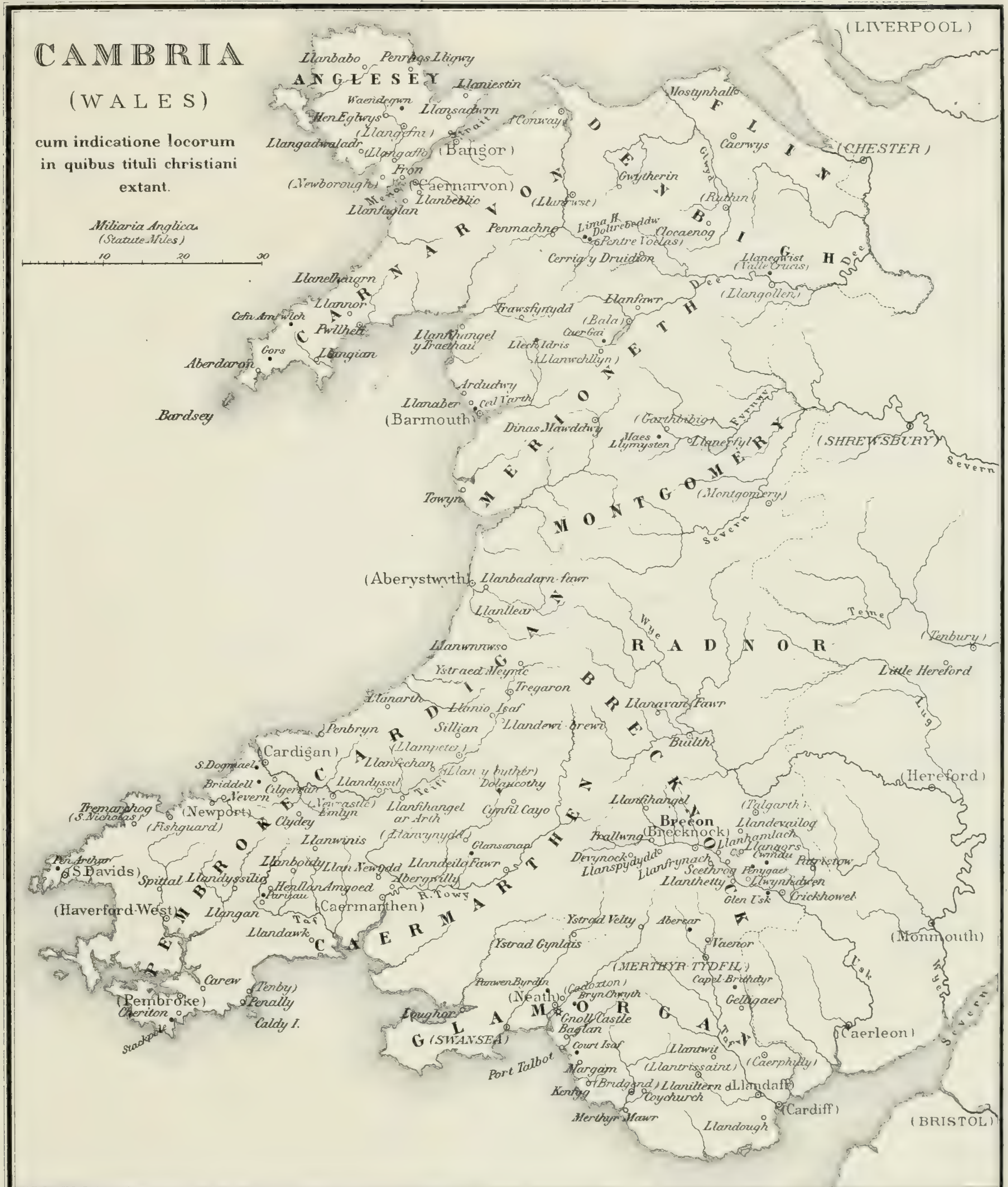
i. e. episcopi Auriensis (*Orense*).

Ad n. 13*. Genuinum esse titulum et adhuc extare Nieblae Aurelianus Fernandez-Guerra mihi adfirmavit in litteris.

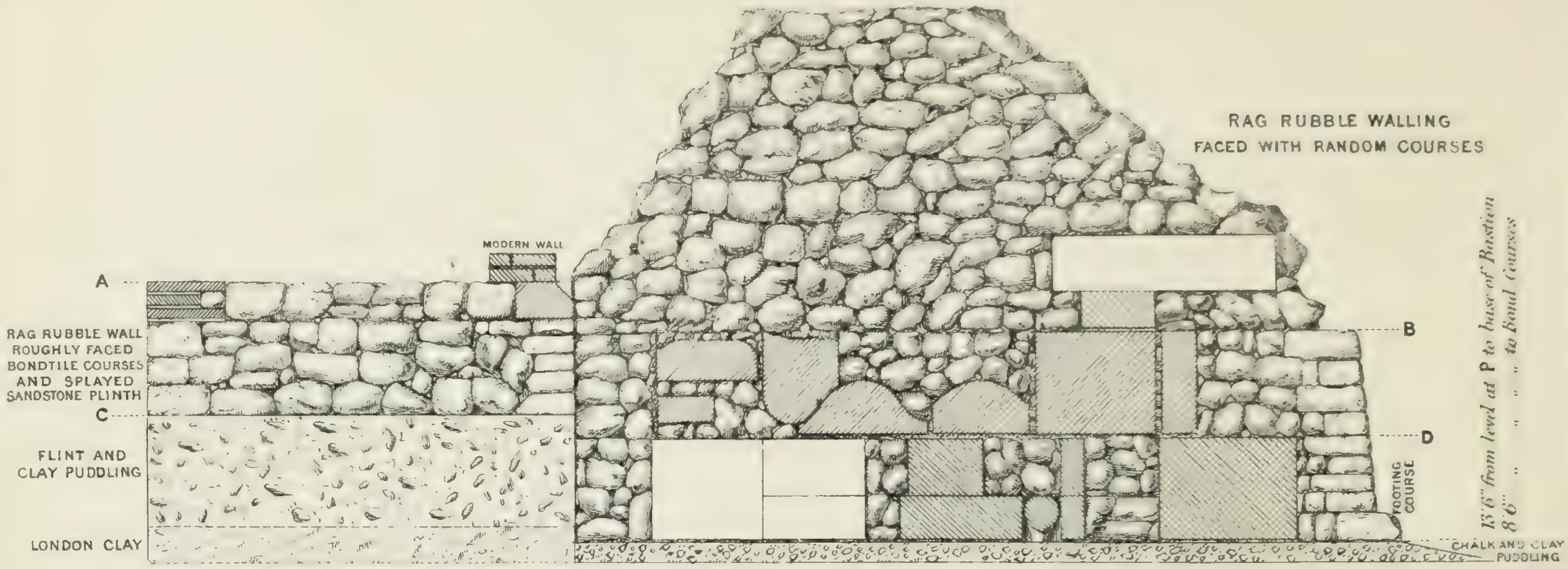
Ad n. 73*. Iniuria fortasse suspectos habui titulos portarum Toletanarum.

FORMIS ACADEMICIS (G. Vogt).


BRITANNIA
cum indicatione locorum
in quibus tituli christiani extant.
Miliaria Anglica
(Statute Miles)
10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
Orkney Is
Papa Stronsay
CALEDONIA
Golspie
SCOTLAND
Newton
Garioch
Logie
(Aberdeen)
(Stonehaven)
Fordoun
S. Vigeans
(Arbroath)
(Perth)
Scoonie
Stirling
(Linlithgow)
(Cramond)
(Dumbarton)
Duntocher
Kirkliston
Carlowrie
(EDINBURGH)
(GLASGOW)
Peebles
Tweed
Yarrow
Selkirk
Friars Carse
(Dumfries)
Northumberland
Rutchester
(Newcastle)
Cambeckford
Hexham
Corbridge
Tyne
Jarrow
Monk Wearmouth
(Brampton)
(Carlisle)
Durham
Hartlepool
Kirkmadrine
Isle of Whithorn
Binchester
Billingham
Gretabridge
Tees
(Whitby)
Ravenhill
Hackness
(Scarborough)
(Richmond)
Kirkdale
Old Byland
Ellston
Wensley
(Hebmsley)
Man
(Douglas)
Kirksanton
Yorkshire
Ripon
Great Driffield
Aldborough
York
Ilkley
Heslaugh
Tadcaster
(Leeds)
Sherburn
(Hull)
Dewsbury
Ouse
Horkstow
Humber
(LIVERPOOL)
Llanbabo
Anglesey
Llansadwrn
Llangadwaladr
Caerhyn
Gwytherin
Caernarvon
(Chester)
Llanelhaiarn
Clocaenog
Llanfawr
Pwllheli
Llanfihangel
Llangollen
Aberdaron
Llanaber
Dinas Mawddwy
Lincoln
Trent
(Nottingham)
Riseley
(Stafford)
(Derby)
Towyn
Llanerfyl
(Shrewsbury)
(Spalding)
S. Gutlacs Cross
Brancaster
Norfolk
Crowland
Aberystwyth
Llanllear
Little Hereford
Haddenham
Tregaron
Llanarth
Cardigan
Nevern
Llanwinio
Spittal
Llandyssilio
(Carmarthen)
Llandyssil
Brecon
(Hereford)
(Cambridge)
Llanthetty
(Gloucester)
(Northleach)
Merthyr Tydfil
Penally
Neath
Cheriton
Loughor
Gelligaer
Port Talbot
Llanilltern
Kenfig
Merthyr Mawr
(Cardiff)
(BRISTOL)
(Bath)
Chedworth
Thames
(LONDON)
Laverstock
Whitchurch
Reading
Silchester
Battersea Bridge
Kent
Barming
Hants
Devon
Dorset
Sussex
Bixhopstone
Lanteglos
Stowford
(Exeter)
Frampton
Tavistock
Lustleigh
(Dorchester)
Wareham
Padstow
S. Columb
Lanivet
(PLYMOUTH)
Bowdon
C. Cornwall
Hayle
Castledour
Yealmpton
Penwith
Tregony
Mawgan
Cornwall
(Scilly Is)


CAMBRIA
(WALES)
cum indicatione locorum in quibus tituli christiani extant.
Miliaria Anglica (Statute Miles)
10 20 30
ANGLESEY
CARNARVON
DENBIGH
FLINT
MERIONETH
MONTGOMERY
CARDIGAN
RADNOR
BRECKNOCK
PEMBROKE
CAERMARTHEN
GLAMORGAN
(LIVERPOOL)
(CHESTER)
(SHREWSBURY)
(Hereford)
(Monmouth)
(BRISTOL)
Llanbabo
Penrhos Lligwy
Llaniestin
Llangadwaladr
(Bangor)
(Caernarvon)
Llanfaglan
Mostynhall
Caerwys
Gwytherin
Penmachno
Cerrig y Druidion
(Llangollen)
Llanelhaearn
Pwllheli
Aberdaron
Bardsey
Llanaber
(Barmouth)
Towyn
Dinas Mawddwy
(Montgomery)
(Aberystwyth)
Llanbadarn fawr
Llanllear
Llanwnnws
Ystrad Meyric
Tregaron
Llanarth
Penbryn
(Cardigan)
Llandewi brewi
Llanavan Fawr
Builth
Little Hereford
(Tenbury)
(Newport)
(Fishguard)
(S. Davids)
(Haverford-West)
(Caermarthen)
Llanfihangel ar Arth
Cynfil Cayo
Llandeilo Fawr
Brecon
(Brecknock)
Crickhowel
Ystrad Velty
Ystrad Gynlais
(MERTHYR TYDFIL)
(Neath)
(SWANSEA)
Port Talbot
Margam
Kenfig
Merthyr Mawr
Llandough
(Cardiff)
Llandaff
(Caerleon)
Carew
(Tenby)
Penally
Caldy I.
(Pembroke)
Cheriton
Severn
Wye
Teme
Usk

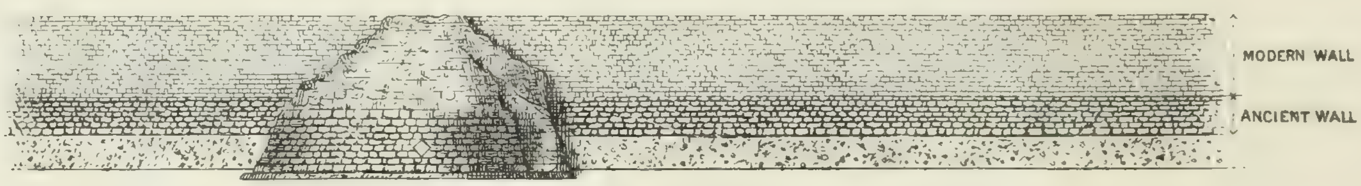

CORNWALL et DEVON
DEVON
CORNWALL
(EXETER)
Stowford
Worthyvale
(Camelford)
Launceston
Lanteglos
Tawistock
Padstow
Wadebridge
(Bodmin)
S. Neots
Lanivet
S. Columb Minor
(Lostwithiel)
S. Blazey
(Fowey)
Castledour
(PLYMOUTH)
Fardle
Yealmpton
Bowden
(Truro)
S. Clements
Tregony
Phillack
Hayle
Gulval
Roseworthy
S. Hilary
(Penzance)
(Helstone)
Mawgan
Cape Cornwall
S. Just in Penwith
Lanyon



SECTION OF BASTION AND WALL ON LINE E.F. SHEWING MASONRY

Scale of Section

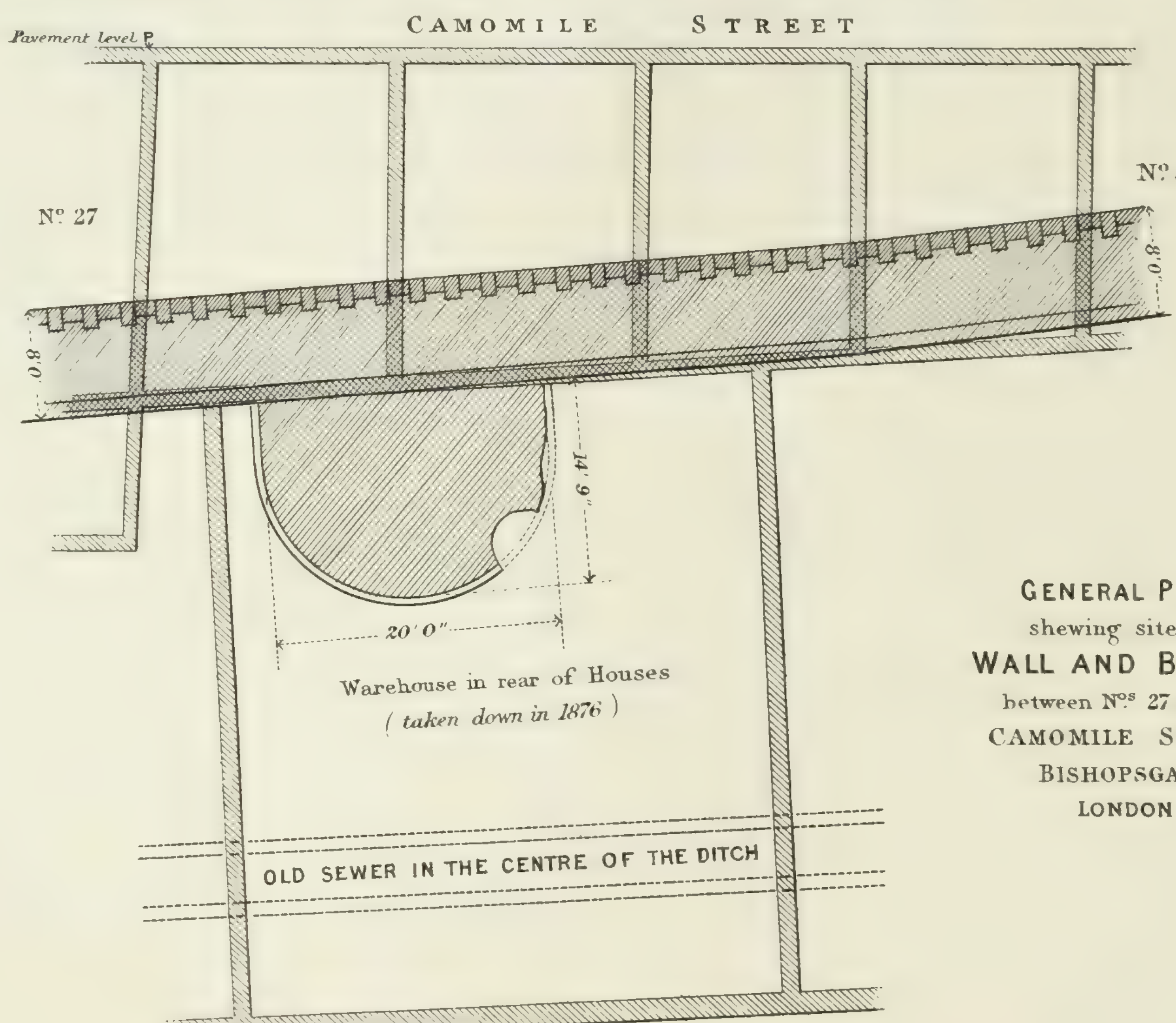
5 4 3 2 1 0 5 10 15 20 Feet



ELEVATION OF WALL AND BASTION

Scale of Elevation and Plan.

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Feet



GENERAL PLAN
shewing site of
WALL AND BASTION
between Nºs 27 and 33
CAMOMILE STREET
BISHOPSGATE
LONDON

J P. & W R Emslie, London.

ON A

BASTION OF LONDON WALL,

OR,

EXCAVATIONS

IN

CAMOMILE STREET, BISHOPSGATE.

BY

JOHN EDWARD PRICE, F.S.A. M.R.S.L.



WESTMINSTER:
PRINTED BY J. B. NICHOLS AND SONS,
25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

1880.

PREFACE.

After an interval of nearly four years I am enabled to lay before the Corporation of the City of London, and the Members of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, an illustrated description of the Roman Antiquities found in Camomile Street, Bishopsgate, and recently arranged for inspection in the Museum at Guildhall.

That so long a period should have elapsed since the discovery of these relics and the issue of the present publication requires, I think, a word of explanation. The demands of other avocations on time and leisure have in a measure delayed the work, but the chief hindrance to its completion has been created by the objects themselves. They are all of a novel character, in many cases unique, and incapable of proper illustration by a simple reference to kindred remains preserved in any of the public or private collections of Great Britain. The statue of the Signifer and the group of the Lion and its victim are (so far as a lengthened search has enabled me to ascertain) both novel accessions to City discoveries. In each case points for inquiry have been suggested which rendered a prolonged investigation necessary, and reference not only to the Antiquarian treasures of this country, but to the more varied and extensive collections preserved in the museums of the Continent.

It is matter for congratulation that objects of such interest should have been found under conditions so favourable for their preservation as those which have been provided by the liberality of the Corporation.

The facility so generously afforded by the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne for the repetition of Dr. Bruce's illustrations connected with the worship of Mithras, has enabled me to institute comparison between our isolated City example and the numerous figures of Lions preserved in the North of England. It is for future discoverers to determine whether such groups are to be associated with this Eastern myth; if so decided, London now supplies an illustration of its presence in the later days of the Roman occupation. I have however endeavoured to avoid distinct expressions of opinion upon this and other doubtful subjects, thinking it better to collect as far as possible all needful evidence, and to leave it to those interested in points of detail to assist in future investigation, and correct or substantiate as opportunity permits.

An agreeable duty remains, viz., to record my obligations to those who by their co-operation have assisted me in the work. To my friends Mr. H. C. Coote, F.S.A., Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., and Mr. Alfred White, F.S.A., I am much indebted for ever ready help; to the Rev. J. C. Bruce, M.A., to Dr. Hübner of Berlin, R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., the Rev. H. M. Scarth, M.A., W. T. Watkin, Esq., the Rev. J. Raine, M.A., the Rev. W. Greenwell, M.A., Mr. George Joslin, W. H. Overall, F.S.A.; to Mr. Henry Hodge, and the Council of the Kent Archæological Society, my thanks are also due.

JOHN EDWARD PRICE.

ALBION ROAD,
STOKE NEWINGTON,
1 *August*, 1880.

ON A BASTION OF LONDON WALL.

It has been the privilege of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society to be associated with the Corporation of the City of London in the investigation of the more important discoveries of local antiquities that have occurred within the last few years. The Roman tessellated pavement from Bucklersbury, of which it published a description nearly nine years ago, is now carefully preserved at Guildhall. The unique collection of Romano-British relics discovered when erecting the buildings of the National Safe Deposit Company at Walbrook has, thanks to the liberality of the Directors of the Company and the Metropolitan Board of Works, also found a home among the magnificent collections belonging to the Corporation. A third discovery, equal in interest, and of a peculiar character, has since been made in Camomile Street, Bishopsgate. The investigations made have been the result of concerted action undertaken by the Library Committee of the Corporation of London and the Council of our Society, and the valuable objects found have recently been arranged for public inspection in the museum at Guildhall.

In the autumn of 1876 the Rev. J. J. Kenworthy, M.A. of Clapton, called upon Mr. W. H. Overall, F.S.A. Librarian to the Corporation, and informed him that certain architectural fragments had been found in Camomile Street while removing the foundations of what proved to be one of the bastions attached to the City Wall. Subsequently an announcement of the discovery appeared in The Times in a letter from Mr. E. T. Loftus Brock, F.S.A. Secretary to the British Archæological Association. At Mr. Overall's suggestion I took the earliest opportunity of visiting the excavations on behalf of the Society; the fragments were still upon the site—they comprised some massive sculptures, a figure of a lion carved from oolitic stone, and in bold relief, portions of cornices, and other objects. A careful examination at once revealed that, though sufficient had been cleared for the requirements of the buildings about to be erected, there lay buried beneath the surface a considerable portion of the foundation of the ancient bastion. It was therefore suggested to W. C. Banks, Esq. the Architect, that the Council of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society should defray the expenses

necessary for a complete investigation of the site, if he would give the requisite permission for the excavation to be renewed. To this he assented; some two or three men were deputed to the task, under the personal superintendence of his assistant, Mr. Henry Hodge. This gentleman gave every attention to the work, which daily increased in interest, until nearly a month had elapsed ere the whole of this very curious structure could be excavated and removed. The labour undertaken proved to be more formidable than was at first imagined; upwards of fifty massive fragments of sculptured stone had to be extricated before the maiden soil was reached; many of these were of considerable weight, and it was with great difficulty they could be dislodged from the position into which they had been tightly wedged and fitted. All with carvings or mouldings upon them were carefully preserved, but others, being simply squared blocks of stone devoid of ornament, were broken up upon the site, and used for filling up the cavities caused by the removal of the others. The discovery having proved to be of more than ordinary interest, Mr. Overall at once brought it to the notice of Reginald Hanson, Esq. M.A. F.S.A. then Chairman of the Library Committee, and suggested that application should be made to the Architect, W. C. Banks, Esq. for the presentation of the objects to the museum. To this Mr. Banks, on behalf of Mrs. Colley, the freeholder, cordially assented, and received a vote of thanks from the Library Committee.

On completion of the works the Library Committee, through their chairman Mr. Hanson, brought the matter to the notice of the Court of Common Council, on the 7th December, 1876, in an exhaustive Report, from which the following is extracted:—

"Early in the month of September the Librarian directed my attention and that of the Council of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society to the discovery of one of the bastions of Old London Wall, while excavating for new buildings in Camomile Street, Bishopsgate. He suggested the desirability of an application being made to the Architect, W. C. Banks, Esq. for the presentation to the museum of the Corporation of any antiquities that might be found during the progress of the works. I at once assented on behalf of the Committee, and Mr. Banks most graciously complied with the request. At about twelve feet from the level of the street, and just below the base of the more modern structure of the bastion, the figure of a lion with other fragments of ancient sculpture were discovered. These were all of such interest that the Council of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society applied for permission to continue the excavations to the London clay; the permission was given, and every assistance and facility afforded by Mr. Banks. The works proceeded under the personal direction and superintendence of John E. Price, Esq. F.S.A. Honorary Secretary to the Society, and the result has been the discovery, for the first time, of a large number of most interesting fragments relating to the buildings of Roman London. The remains most likely formed parts of an ancient building or buildings of considerable size which may have stood in the line of the highway, which leading from this—one of the entrances to Roman London—proceeded to the great cemetery at Norton Folgate: these structures having probably fallen into ruins served at a later date

as a quarry for the builders of the time, and provided materials for the erection of the bastions attached to this portion of the City wall.

"Among the sculptured stones will be found parts of cornices, friezes, spandrils, fragments of Corinthian capitals, bases of columns, and a large variery of architectural details as employed in building. Statuary is not unrepresented: there is the life-size figure in hard oolitic stone of a Roman warrior clad in fine military costume and wearing the characteristic legionary sword. A lion seizing its prey. The head of a negro, which, from its size, has doubtless served to decorate a building at a considerable elevation. Upon one of the stones is a nude figure entire, armed or bearing the attributes of one of the divinities of classic times. There are also many other curious fragments, of which I have not time to offer a description.

"This discovery therefore is unique in interest; so little being known of the architectural character of the buildings which once adorned the once important city of Londinium, so little of their dimensions or extent, and comparatively nothing of the ornamentation or statuary with which they were decorated, that any accession of materials in this respect must be of considerable value. Our museum is essentially one of a local character, and the fortunate circumstance of the entire series of these objects falling into the possession of the Corporation invests the discovery with increased interest. A similar find at Bath some years ago enabled the antiquaries of that city to produce a pictorial restoration of more than one building of which they had found but a small part. The Society is anxious to treat these remains in a similar way; plans, drawings, &c., are in progress, and it would be only too willing to furnish copies to the members of the Corporation, but their funds are inadequate for the purpose. I would therefore suggest for the consideration of the Committee that we should ask the Court of Common Council to contribute the sum of 45*l.* towards the illustration of these relics. It will be in the recollection of the Committee that upon its recommendation in 1869 the Court contributed the sum of 135*l.* towards illustrating the Roman pavement found in Bucklersbury, and the Committee arranged with the Society for 300 copies of their description of that and similar pavements found in London.

"The expenses incurred in removing these remains, some of them very large blocks, to the museum amount to 45*l.*, which I would also suggest that we ask the Court to pay, and further that the sum of 45*l.* be placed at the disposal of the Committee to prepare the relics for exhibition in the museum."

This report was unanimously approved and referred back for execution to the Library Committee. The Council of the Society at once responded to the generous offer of the Corporation, and the result is the present publication. As already mentioned the objects have recently been arranged in the Museum, under the direction of Mr. Overall.

Before attempting a description of the bastion or the interesting sculptures of which it was composed I propose to refer to the few and imperfect scraps of information which history has preserved in relation to London Wall. This is desirable for two reasons: First, because the published reports which have appeared of our discoveries speak of both the bastion and the wall as belonging to Roman times, while, as I venture to think, the evidence goes far to prove that the former was an addition, erected, if not as late as the middle ages, at a time long subsequent to the occupation by the Romans, and that the wall itself must no longer be assigned to a period so remote. Secondly, because so little now remains of the old wall for future investigation. What there was has

been nearly all pulled down within the last thirty years; here and there a fragment may still be seen serving as the foundation for modern buildings, and owing its preservation to its own solidity, and the trouble and expense which would attend its removal rather than to any interest attached to it as a relic of civic history. So completely has the wall been destroyed, that only by careful study of the boundaries of wards and parishes, compared with the notes and records collected by observers at the time, is it possible to secure a faithful description of its former appearance and extent. In the Corporation records there are numerous references to reconstruction and repair, and so frequently do these appear that it would seem as though but little of the original fabric could have existed, even in mediæval times. That the Roman city was so protected is more than probable. It was the practice of the Romans thus to inclose their towns and cities, and London would be no exception to the rule; but the extensive and irregular line of wall which surrounded our City in the middle ages, and the foundations of which were carefully examined and surveyed at the time of the Great Fire of 1666, can hardly be identified with that erected by the Roman Government prior to the close of its occupation in the fifth century. The wall, as we know it, must belong to a later period. It may, indeed, have been erected at any time prior to the coming of the Normans. The Saxons are said not to have fortified by inclosure; they, however, kept existing walls in repair, and rebuilt or added to them as necessity required. The wall which encircled Roman London could not have remained intact, unaltered, and unchanged for six long centuries, and, presuming additions or extensions to be necessary, whence came the engineers and architects, and what models did they copy? The work would be that of the settled colonists, the practice of whose trades, arts, and manufactures would flourish as heretofore unaffected by the change of government. To all intents and purposes the work might be Roman, though executed under Saxon rule. In an illuminated MS. preserved in the British Museum, which is said to belong to the latter end of the Anglo-Saxon period, there are several pictures of walled towns; the general appearance of the walls, the supporting towers, the gates, and other details, are essentially Roman in their character. In speaking of such illustrations the late Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A. remarks that they were either copied from much more ancient drawings of such objects or were representations of the walls as they were still seen. The latter explanation is probably correct, for there can be no reason why the artist of those days should seek for earlier representations when the places themselves were familiar and at hand.

That the inhabitants of fortified cities were in no way relieved of their responsibilities under the Saxon domination can be easily proved. An interesting work has recently appeared from the pen of my esteemed friend Mr. H. C. Coote, F.S.A. entitled "The Romans of Britain."* It exhaustively deals with the non-extinction of Roman laws and institutions, and abounds in illustrations which are as apt as they ought to be convincing. In treating of the obligations imposed by imperial law upon the Roman colonists, he refers at length to those incurred by the possession or transfer of land. Under these obligations the *possessor* within the territory of any given *civitas* was bound to contribute, according to the extent of the acreage which he had under cultivation, to the repair of the bridges upon the leading lines of road; and of those same lines of road within the territory; and also of the *walls* and *bastions* of the *civitas* itself. He was further required, in respect of the same land, to find recruits for the imperial armies, and to receive and subsist the emperor and his attendants when they made a progress through the province.

These responsibilities appear to have been unaltered by the withdrawal of the legions, for we find them continued, unchanged but in name, into Anglo-Saxon times. They became respectively, *burhbot, brycgbot,* and *fyrd*—necessities which, says Mr. Coote, "were general and common burdens, to which all the hidage of the shire contributed. To discharge the burden of the burhbot, the landowner was bound to find labour and material to reinstate the walls and bastions of the chief town of his own shire. Under the obligation of the brycgbot, the hidage of each county was bound to repair or rebuild the bridges connected with the high roads of the country, and also to repair those roads themselves. To discharge the burden of the fyrd, the landlord was bound to find soldiers to serve in the king's army if required."

In a recent paper published by the Society, I have ventured upon other illustrations in proof of the late erection of the City wall—viz., the vast extent of the area enclosed, the numerous burials which have from time to time been discovered within the line,† and the circumstance that the form of construction selected for

* Romans of Britain, by H. C. Coote, F.S.A. page 244.

† In addition to the cemetery on the site of St. Paul's, burials have been observed at Bow Lane and Queen Street, Cheapside. In Cornhill, to the north of Lombard Street, there was a place of sepulture. Indications of burials were found in the year 1863 at St. Dunstan's Hill. Urns containing burnt bones have recently been discovered in excavations consequent on the removal of Carpenters' Hall in London Wall, associated with coins of Trajan and Hadrian. In Dr. Woodward's letter to Sir Christopher Wren the writer describes interments in connection with a tessellated pavement on the City side of the wall in Camomile Street. Urns were found containing ashes and burnt bones, a lachrymatory of blue glass, and a coin of

the wall is one of the latest that can in any way be associated with the Roman period. It may be difficult in Britain to determine the precise age of Roman masonry, but much assistance may be derived from a comparison with those buildings in Rome which, from tile-stamps and inscriptions, are known to be of a particular date. An ashlar facing of stone and tile, inclosing a mass of concrete rubble, was a style of building unusual in Rome until the fourth century.* It may there be recognised in the circus of Maxentius and Romulus, A.D. 310, and in the towers and gateways erected in the days of Honorius, A.D. 400. The circus is the most perfect one remaining in or near Rome. It was long called by other names, but was identified by an inscription found on the spot by Canina, during excavations on the Via Appia.† These respective structures both mark decadence in the art of building and afford a striking contrast to the beautiful masonry and brickwork of earlier times. With few exceptions, this rough description of work is that which prevails not alone in Britain but throughout Germany and France. In the more ancient of the Italian cities it is conspicuous by its absence. In this country it is all but universal, and in comparing works still standing at Colchester, Verulam, York, Lincoln, Porchester,

Antoninus Pius. The burials beneath the pavement show them to be of earlier date, and that the site was extramural at the time of deposition. Within the last few months a coped stone of a marble tomb has been discovered near to the west door of St. Helen's church, Bishopsgate; associated with it was a coin of Constantine Junior, A.D. 317-340. This is now in the museum at Guildhall. It is not yet proved whether this interesting relic is a memorial of an interment on the site, or whether the marble fragment had been simply brought to the spot as building material; future excavation can alone determine this, but the discovery is worthy of record. All these sites are within the present line of wall, and, to a great extent, they circumscribe the limits of the ancient city. The law of the Twelve Tables did not allow of burial either within the walls, or even in the space known as the Pomærium. "Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito," writes Cicero. In the reign of Hadrian it was enacted that any one found guilty of burying a body within the city would be fined 40 aurei—about 30*l.* There were doubtless attempts to evade the law, but it nevertheless held good for centuries after the introduction of Christianity. It was confirmed by succeeding emperors, and it is not until long after the time of Constantine that a recognised change is recorded. Transactions of London and Middlesex Archæological Society, vol. x. pp. 403—424.

* The Emplecton of Vitruvius: walls constructed of two faces of masonry filled in with cement, which cement consisted of pounded bricks or tiles, rough stones or flints, and lime well incorporated. In good descriptions of work there were sometimes layers of cross-stones, *diatoni*, placed at intervals in regular courses, and of sufficient size to extend through the entire thickness of the wall from side to side, and so act as girders to bind the whole together. In inferior work, and where these binding courses were dispensed with, *diamicton* was the term employed; in other respects its character was the same. Vide L'Architettura di M. Vitruvio Pollione in Napoli, ed. 1758, lib. viii. A similar style of building is referred to by Pliny the Younger in one of his letters to the Emperor Trajan, 10—48. Writing of the Theatre of Nicæa, he speaks of the walls giving way because they had been filled in without hewn stones in the middle and without a band of brickwork, "quia sine cæmento farcti nec testaceo opere præcincti."

† See Archæology of Rome, by J. H. Parker, F.S.A., part ix.

Pevensey, Richborough, Lymne, Leicester, Silchester, Wroxeter, and elsewhere, it will be observed that while the materials selected are those locally accessible, the form and style adopted is uniform throughout. It is, however, not met with at Chester, where the walls are of high antiquity, or north of York, and finds no illustration in the great wall of Hadrian or in the few examples of Roman work which have been found in Scotland. Its absence in Rome is one of the most striking features of interest connected with the four walls which have in turn inclosed that city. It is nowhere represented, and the effect is the more singular because in most other matters there is no such marked distinction. The construction of the villas, the roofing-tiles, mosaic pavements, hypocausts, and the frescoes, sculpture, pottery, and glass, coins, metal work, with matters of minor detail, are all one and the same. The museums abound in objects whose distinguishing features at once identify them as the products of the same unvarying industry and skill, whether found at Herculaneum and Pompeii, or in this far distant province, at London or at York.

It is on record that in the reign of Alfred, 872-901, important additions were made to the fortifications of the City, much of the wall may therefore have been erected at this time. In the reign of Stephen, 1135-1153, portions had fallen into a ruinous condition, for in a confirmatory grant of this reign to the Franciscans when erecting their new church and offices, as the canons of St. Martin's-le-Grand, in their possessions without Cripplegate, they obtained permission to make use of certain stones of the Wall of London which had fallen down and encumbered the highway running through their land.* In the year 1257 the walls were substantially repaired by King Henry III.; they were "sore decayed," writes Stowe, "and destitute of towers"; the cost was met by tolls and customs granted by the Crown. Murage was the tax imposed upon the citizens for such purpose; it was a toll levied upon all carts and horses plying within the City, as was "pavage" for the repairing of roads, and "pontage" for the privilege of passing over or beneath the bridges subject to civic jurisdiction.†

The traditions which cling to the City Gates afford but slight assistance in dealing with the date of the wall; such as they are, they refer us to Saxon times. To the early City there were probably four principal entrances. Stowe speaks of these as being Aldgate for the east, Aldersgate for the north, Ludgate for the west, and the Bridgegate over the river of Thames for the south; but "of later

* Historical Notices of the Collegiate Church and Sanctuary of St. Martin's-le-Grand, by A. J. Kempe, F.S.A. page 64.

† Liber Albus, 117, 126.

times for the ease of citizens and passengers divers other gates and posterns have been made."* The limits thus defined are however quite inapplicable to the first Roman settlement, modern researches having shown that the Londinium of the Empire is to be looked for to the east of Walbrook, occupying a comparatively small space, within the limits of which no discoveries of sepulchral remains have as yet been recorded. This inclosure included the wards of Tower, Billingsgate, Bridge, Dowgate, Langbourn, Candlewick, Walbrook, and a small portion only of what is now Bishopsgate Street Within. By degrees one city became superseded by another, a gradual growth, resembling that of Rome, ever on the increase, branching out in all directions, until tracts of country once sacred to the rites of sepulture became of necessity inclosed and appropriated to the public use. Under Roman legislation there were special privileges and protection accorded to land once used for burial, but, if necessity required, it could by a special edict be alienated from its original possessors and devoted to the service of the state. Indications of Roman villas which have from time to time been observed in Crosby Square, Threadneedle Street, and the immediate neighbourhood of Bishopsgate, show from their proximity to the surface that they once formed part of the suburbs of Roman London. The same observations will apply to the tessellated pavements found in Cheapside and Paternoster Row, whereas in the inclosure above referred to, the whole district is seen to have been densely populated, and a long period of occupation finds illustration in the fact that, while the Roman level is attained at a depth of some fifteen or sixteen feet from the surface, in many places it extends to nearly thirty.

Of the gates mentioned by Stowe, Aldgate and Bridgegate possess the highest claims to antiquity, the others belong to the later extensions of the city. From the etymology of the first, either the existence of a former structure is implied † or that new names were given to the gates at the extension of the walls. The "Old Gate" must have been so called in order to give it a marked distinction from the others. Stowe says that in a charter of King Edgar to the Knights of

* Stowe's Survey of London, edited by W. J. Thoms, Esq. F.S.A. page 11. This valuable edition has been selected for this and all subsequent quotations.

† In extending the limits of their cities the Romans did not necessarily destroy the earlier gates. Illustrations occur in Rome where they have been suffered to remain. Varro mentions three in the Pomærium. The Porta Lavernale, according to Nardini, was built instead of the Porta Trigemina, "*restando la Trigemina in piedi inutile* come da Vittore e da Rufo ci si dimostra," tom. i. p. 97. Some of the gates of Servius Tullius are believed to have survived the Empire, preserving their existence, though converted into other buildings.

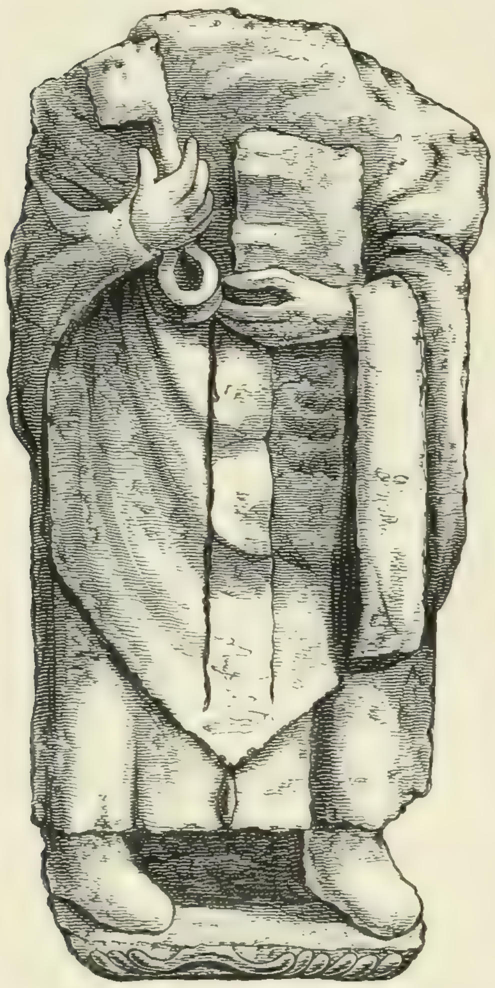
Knighten Guild * it is spoken of as Aeldgate; its antiquity therefore was recognised in the tenth century. It formed the principal exit from the city for passengers to Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, prior to the erection of Bishopsgate. Bridgegate was situate at London Bridge, naturally of high antiquity as defining the connecting link between the City and Roman Southwark. Fitzstephen writing of a later age speaks of there being seven gates; these are enumerated in an ordinance for the custody of the City gates of the reign of Edward I., and are mentioned as Ludgate et Newgate, Aldridesgate, Crepelgate, Bissopesgate, Alegate, and Porta Pontis. It will be observed that Newgate is here connected with Ludgate; its name not only shows it to be a later erection than the others, but the fact is significant that it stands alone in the list as not attached to a ward bearing the same name. Bishopsgate, so closely associated with the recent discoveries, is said to have been built by a Bishop of London, Erkenwald, son of Offa, King of the East Saxons, for the convenience of passengers towards the east.† There appears to be no authority for this save an ancient tradition, but, if the erection of Bishopsgate be assigned to the Saxon period, there arises an important reason why the wall adjoining it should belong to a period equally late. Had the wall been standing when the gate was constructed an opening would have been required through masonry eight feet or more in thickness, and with foundations extending to the maiden soil; that no such formidable work ever covered the present thoroughfare is more than probable. In the course of excavations required for the construction of a new sewer for the Great Eastern Railway in the year 1872, extending from the end of Gracechurch Street to the end of Norton Folgate, shafts were sunk at intervals, and an accurate survey of the ground was made. A plan showing the character of the soil throughout the entire line was kindly prepared for me by Mr. F. A. Burt, under whose superintendence the sewer was constructed. Near to the site of Bishopsgate a shaft was sunk to a considerable depth. No indication appeared of any previous excavations which would

* A corporation originating in combinations which resulted from Roman influence. Our civic guilds and trade corporations have descended from the Collegia of the Empire. The Guild of Knights or *cniahta gealdan* are mentioned in a defaced charter of the seventh century. In Domesday reference is made to a guild of clerks possessing house property in Canterbury; *see* Thorpe's Laws, vol. i. p. 112, vol. ii. p. 246. Ellis's Introduction to Domesday. Coote's Romans of Britain, p. 410.

† Erkenwald or Erkenwold, Bishop of London, son of Offa, King of the East Saxons, consecrated A.D. 675. He founded the monasteries of Chertsey and Barking, at the latter of which he died about the year 685. Newcourt says, there were great struggles after his death as to the possession of his body; he was, however, afterwards buried in his own cathedral church of St. Paul's, *circ.* 1140. Stowe says he died in 697. See Dugdale's History of St. Paul's. Also Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 358.

have been at once apparent had any such diggings been made either in Wormwood Street * on the west, or in Camomile Street on the east. This shaft was twenty feet in diameter and over fifty feet deep : nearly seven feet of made ground first appeared, next a similar thicknesss of loam, and upwards of seventeen feet of sand and gravel, and then the natural London clay. If any important structure had ever traversed the highway some trace of the foundations would, probably, have been seen. It may therefore fairly be assumed that Bishopsgate was constructed at the same period as the wall.

That good reason existed in the fourteenth century for the tradition that the erection of the gate was due to a Bishop of London is to be found in the circumstance that in the reign of Edward I., A.D. 1300, the bishop was obliged to keep the hinges in good repair, seeing that from every cart laden with wood



he was entitled to one stick as it entered the gate.† In the year 1470 it was rebuilt by the Hanse Merchants, who had covenanted with Henry III. that they and their successors should keep the gate in repair. Over the gate were placed two figures; that upon the south side was stone and representing a bishop with a mitre on his head, a long beard, sunken eyes, and what has been described by the historians a mortified face; this was presumed to represent St. Erkenwald; upon the north side was another figure of an ecclesiastic with a smooth face, his right hand in the attitude of benediction, in his left a crosier. This was thought to represent William the Norman. It was accompanied by two other figures of stone, supposed to represent King Alfred and his son-in-law Eldred, Earl of Mercia.

In some excavations in the year 1826, for the purpose of laying out what is now Liverpool Street, a singular statue of white marble was discovered. It was mutilated, the head being missing; it measured about three feet six inches in height, and, as seen by the illustration,‡ was the figure

* In Wormwood Street the Roman level is very shallow, not deeper than five or six feet, and there are few indications of any disturbance of the soil ; there is next loam ; and gravel at a depth of seventeen to twenty feet.

† Corporation Records. Letter Book C. &c. xlvii.

‡ From a drawing by the late T. Fisher, published in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xcvi. p. 209.

of an ecclesiastic in his sacerdotal vestments, viz. the alb and chasuble with the maniple hanging over the left arm. In the right hand there appears a key, and in the left a book. It has been described as resting upon a slab and as being of coarse workmanship, and is thought to have been one of the statues which once adorned the ancient gate. There is however but little authority for this; the gate was demolished in the year 1731, and rebuilt at the expense of the Corporation, and it is difficult to see how this curious fragment should have been buried at some distance from the building, to be again recovered after the lapse of nearly a hundred years. It is quite as probable that it was a late memorial of the extensive Roman cemetery which occupied this site.

"In the 17 Edward IV." says Stowe, "Ralph Joceline, Mayor, caused part of the wall about the City of London to be repaired: to wit, betwixt Aldgate and Aldersgate. He also caused Moorfields to be searched for clay, and brick thereof to be made and burnt there; he likewise caused chalk to be brought out of Kent, and to be burnt into lime in the same Moorfield for more furtherance of the work. Then the Skinners, to begin in the east, made that part of the wall betwixt Aldgate and Bevis Marks, towards Bishopsgate, as may appear by their arms in three places fixed there; the Mayor, with his Company of the Drapers, made all that part betwixt Bishopsgate and Allhallows church, and from Allhallows towards the postern called Moorgate. A great part of the same wall was repaired by the executors of Sir John Crosby, late Alderman, as may appear by his arms in two places there fixed, and other companies repaired the rest of the wall to the postern of Cripplegate; the Goldsmiths repaired from Cripplegate towards Aldersgate, and then the work ceased."

London Wall commenced at the Tower, that fortress being detached and external to the City, coinciding in this respect with Chester, where the castle was without the city until Saxon times, when it was inclosed within the boundaries by Ethelfleda, daughter of King Alfred. From the Tower it ran northward to the east end of Leadenhall Street, bending towards the north-west until, reaching the north end of Bishopsgate Street Within, it ran westward by Cripplegate to Aldersgate, next to Newgate, and thence by the eastern bank of the Fleet river to Castle Baynard by the Thames. This fortress, doubtless, is of Roman origin. In later days its proprietor held the ward which bears its name on a tenure similar to that enjoyed by the possessor of the ward of Tower to the east of Roman London.

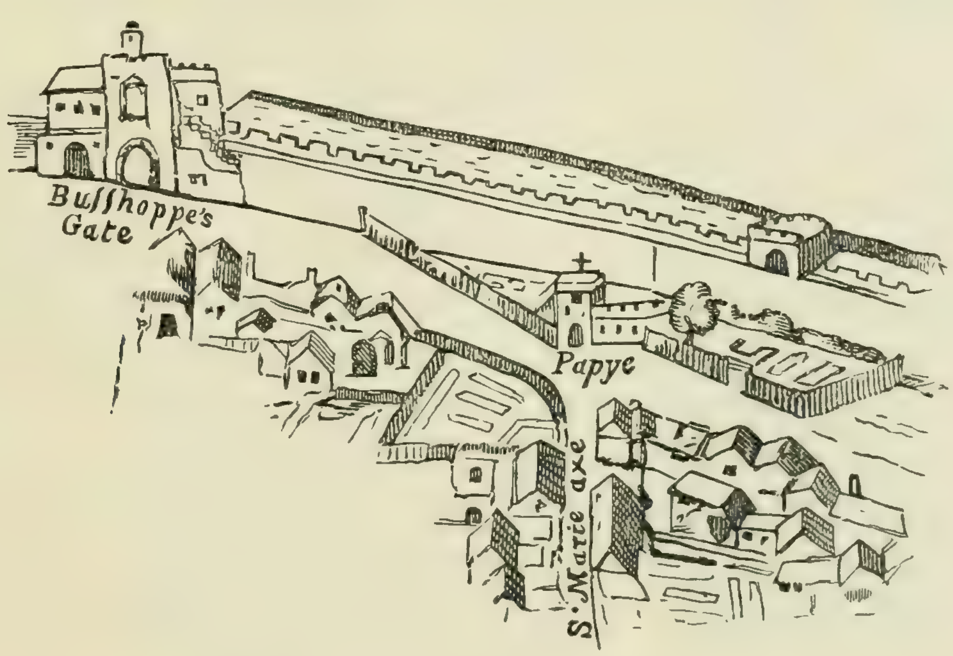
That the wall was continued along the river bank is probable from the references which occur in the Chronicles of FitzStephen. Writing in the reign of

Henry II. he speaks of it as having in his day been long since subverted through the ebbing and flowing of the fish-abounding Thames. Indications of this wall have been observed, and in it illustrations of Roman workmanship. It was the discovery of its foundations, some years ago, that led Mr. Roach Smith to the opinion that the ancient city was inclosed by a mural defence on the river-side as well as on the others. "The workmen," writes Mr. Smith, "employed in excavating for sewerage in Upper Thames Street, advanced without impediment from Blackfriars to the foot of Lambeth Hill, where they were obstructed by the remains of a wall of extraordinary strength, which formed an angle at Lambeth Hill and Thames Street. Under this wall the contractor for the sewer was obliged to excavate to the depth of about 20 feet, and the consequent labour and delay afforded me an opportunity for examining the construction and course of the wall. The upper part was generally met with at the depth of about 9 feet from the level of the present street, and 6 feet from that which marks the period of the Great Fire of London; and, as the sewer was constructed to the depth of 20 feet, 8 feet of the wall in height had to be removed. In thickness it measured from 8 to 10 feet. It was built upon oaken piles, over which was laid a stratum of chalk and stones; and upon this a course of hewn sandstones, each measuring from 3 to 4 feet by 2 and 2½ feet, cemented with the well-known compound of quicklime, sand, and *pounded tile*. Upon this solid substructure was laid the body of the wall, formed of ragstone, flint, and lime, bonded at intervals with courses of plain and curved-edged tiles. This wall continued, with occasional breaks, where at some remote time it had been broken down, from Lambeth Hill as far as Queenhithe. On a previous occasion I had noticed a wall precisely similar in character in Thames Street, opposite Queen Street.

"One of the most remarkable features of this southern wall was the circumstance of many of the large stones which formed the lower part being sculptured and ornamented with mouldings, denoting their use in the friezes or entablatures of edifices at some period antecedent to the construction of the wall. Fragments of sculptured marble which had also decorated buildings, and parts of the foliage and trellis-work of an altar or tomb, of good workmanship, had also been used as building material. In this respect the walls resemble those of many of the ancient towns on the Continent, which were partly built out of the ruins of public edifices, of broken altars, sepulchral monuments, and such materials, proving their comparatively late origin, and showing that even the ancients did not at all times respect the memorials of their ancestors and predecessors, and that our modern vandalism sprang from an old stock."

In some recent correspondence Mr. Smith tells me of his examination of the walls of many of the Roman towns in France, and how impressed he was with the very similar coincidence in the wall of London. "The interesting sculptures from Sens were taken from the town wall, and others from Dijon and Bordeaux. At Bourges and Perigueux the remains of temples and other public edifices, columns, pilasters, friezes, entablatures, and of large and decorated sepulchral monuments, altars, &c., which have been taken out of the walls, constitute mainly the museums of those towns. As those in London, they point to periods of overthrow and of restoration, of a wide destruction of the towns and of a rebuilding of the walls. One of the most extraordinary and extensive collections of ancient monuments used for building the city walls occurred at Narbonne, when the Roman walls in the time of Francis I. were pulled down and the present walls erected; the tasteful architect saved the sculptures and inscribed stones and placed them high out of harm's way in the new walls, where they have been saved but never fully examined and published."

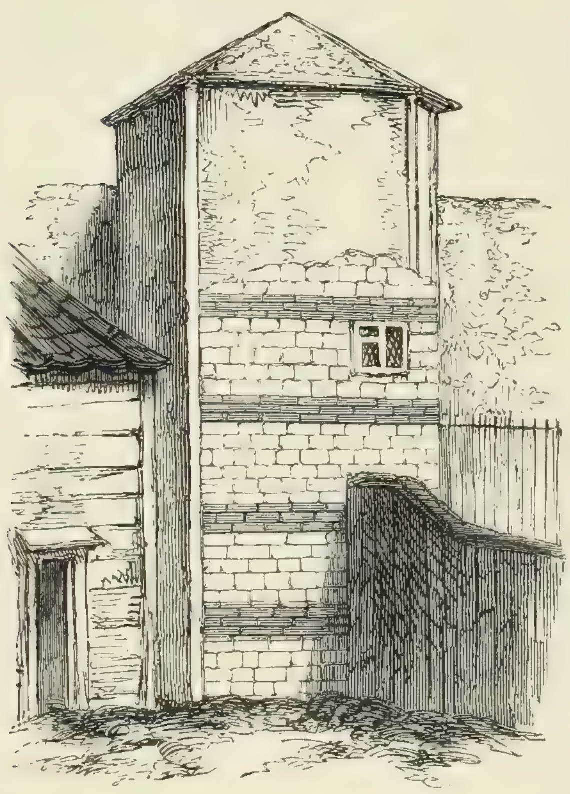
In addition to his mention of the southern wall, Fitzstephen records how upon the north the wall was well towered with due distance between the towers; such of the towers and bastions as were standing in the reign of Queen Elizabeth are figured on the well-known map ascribed to Ralph Agas, and, though accuracy in delineation of such details would not be expected in this quaint old plan of



London, yet we may consider the position and general outline of those selected for illustration to be tolerably accurate. They are mostly circular, but sometimes square, the latter being probably those adapted to the requirements of

habitation. With one exception, to be presently noticed, the positions as figured by Agas essentially agree with those on subsequent plans; for example, with that in the possession of the Corporation of the City of London, prepared, at the time of the Great Fire of 1666, by the sworn surveyors Messrs. Ogilby and Morgan. On this plan the first bastion from the Tower is shown as looking out upon the Minories, situate at the end of Chain Alley, leading towards Woodruff Lane and on to Crutched Friars. This was about 750 feet from the external wall of the Tower; between this and Aldgate were two others, the second about 150 feet from the first, and the third 400 feet from that and 250 feet from Aldgate. The bastion at Cripplegate is also shown, and two in Monkwell Street about 150 feet apart, then one at Christ's Hospital, and another 100 feet westwards near to the corner of Giltspur Street at the top of Pincock Alley and 100 feet from Newgate. From thence to the river no towers or bastions are shown upon the plan.

At the time this survey was taken it would appear that only three bastions were in existence between Aldgate and Bishopsgate, but in Agas's map, while no tower or buttress is indicated in connection with that portion of the wall extending from Moorgate to Bishopsgate, between the latter and Aldgate no less than four substantial embattled structures are portrayed. In passing down what is now Camomile Street all these bastions as seen upon the map appear to the right of St. Mary Axe, an ancient way, and one of the boundaries of Aldgate Ward. Our illustration from Agas shows the position of Bishopsgate, and its relation to the first of these semicircular structures connected with this portion of the wall. Allowing for probable inaccuracies in drawing and perspective, this may represent the identical bastion the foundations of which have been now discovered.



Camomile Street led to the church of St. Augustine, united in later times with that of Allhallows-on-the-Wall, and to a religious house and garden known as the Hospital of Le Papey or Pappey. The site lately occupied by the bastion adjoined the burial-ground attached to this establishment. A large number of carved fragments of stone, many bearing upon them indications of gilt and colour and all of mediæval date, were found

among the rubbish, and it is not improbable that they may have belonged either to the Pappey Chapel or some of the buildings connected with the hospital.

In Richard Newcourt's Map of London, published in the year 1658, two towers or bastions are seen standing between Newgate and Aldersgate; that near to St. Giles Cripplegate is also shown, but none appear between Bishopsgate and Aldgate, and one only between the latter and the Tower. The discrepancies between the plan and that of Ogilby's, some ten years later, is probably due to the circumstance that the latter was a ground-plan showing what had existed previous to the Fire of 1666, while the former, as a birdseye view of the city, simply indicates the towers then standing, with their battlements, and not those the foundations of which were probably only in existence.

Maitland, in his History of London, speaks of the towers as having been fifteen in number, and gives a description of one standing in his time at the end of Gravel Lane to the west of Houndsditch. This was sketched by Gough in the year 1763, and has since been illustrated by Mr. Roach Smith in his "Roman London." I am indebted to Mr. Smith for the loan of the woodcut; it shows the tower as square, and resembling those still to be seen at Richborough in Kent, and other places. Of the towers at Richborough those at the corners are round, while the two situated at each of the side-walls are square. They were built separate from the wall as were those at Lymne. At Burgh Castle all the towers are round. At Caerwent the walls are supported by buttresses and towers, solid and pentagonal in form; like our bastion, they were built against the wall but not into it. At York and Aldborough the square buttresses appear to have been small hollow towers. One of the best illustrations of such a tower is still standing at Rome; it is attached to the great wall of Aurelian, is quite perfect, and is situate between the Porta Pinciana, a work of the Emperor Honorius, and the more modern gateway known as Porta Salaria. Such towers were solid at the base, hollow in the centre, and united to the main wall at the top. They usually contained a room with windows or loopholes for watchers. In the wall of Aurelian a corridor runs from one tower to the other; this was the sentinel's walk, constructed within the thickness of the wall. The tower at Houndsditch, says Maitland, was inhabited by a baker, and the door thereof within the wall is in Shoemaker Row, fronting the passage into Duke's Place. Mr. Fairholt's illustration indicates the chamber in the tower with a window occupying the position of the loophole of earlier times. Maitland further records that at a distance of eighty paces from the tower, in a south-easterly direction towards Aldgate, he discovered another of like construction, but far more beautiful than the former.

On the occasion of a fire on Ludgate Hill, in May, 1792, portions of an ancient barbican or watch-tower were discovered. This belonged to a later wall, and had served as foundations for buildings erected subsequently to the Great Fire of 1666. It projected fourteen feet north from the wall into the City Ditch, and measured twenty-two feet from the upper stone of its ruins to the top. It consisted of lumps of stone of different sizes; some of the largest were roughly squared. These were all "goggled" together and filled in with slush of hot lime, which cemented them so strongly that the workmen who took parts of them down were obliged to drive in wedges to get them asunder, their pickaxes being turned or blunted at almost every stroke. The corner stones were all chopped nearly square, of two sizes, and placed alternately. Part of this structure was about eight feet thick, the usual width of the City Wall. Mr. J. T. Smith,* who records the discovery, remarks that portions of it were of much ruder workmanship than others; masonry, he says, it can hardly be called. It consisted of large and small stones of irregular forms together with quantities of chalk and flints. The only bricks employed in this part of London Wall were evidently modern, and worked upon its south side as a neater boundary of part of Stonecutter Alley, which leads westerly from the Broadway to the crescent formerly called Fleet Ditch. From thence it continued southerly to the tower ordered to be erected by Edward I. which must have stood upon or near the spot now occupied by the east half of Chatham Place, situate at the foot of Blackfriars Bridge. In Hollar's view of London appears a delineation of this tower. It was doubtless constructed, as before-mentioned, in the reign of Edward I., for there exists the order issued by that monarch to the citizens for the erection of a new wall to run from Ludgate westward behind the houses in Fleet Ditch, and then south as far as the Thames, at the head of which was to be built a tower for the reception of his Majesty. Edward II., hearing that portions of this new wall were unfinished, issued a royal mandate in the year 1310 to the mayor and corporation enjoining them to use the utmost despatch in completing the same.

The basement of this tower was met with some forty years ago, when altering the Milton club-house on Ludgate Hill. It proved to be of solid masonry, about twenty feet wide by thirteen feet deep.

One of the best decriptions of the wall is that by Dr. Woodward in the year 1707. This I am induced to quote at length, from the circumstance that the portion described happens to be that which marks the site of the present discoveries; and also for the purpose of comparing his description with a very accurate report by the late Mr. Devonshire Saull, F.S.A. of an examination of the

* Ancient Topography of London. J. T. Smith, 1815.

wall when exposed in the course of excavation for the erection of the French Protestant church at the east end of Bull and Mouth Street, Aldersgate, in 1841.

"The City Wall," writes Dr. Woodward, "being upon this occasion, to make way for these new buildings, broke up and beat to pieces from Bishopsgate onwards south-east, as far as they extend, an opportunity was given of observing the fabric and composition of it. From the foundation, which lay eight feet below the present surface, quite up to the top, which was in all near ten feet, it was compiled alternately of layers of broad flat bricks and of ragstone. The bricks lay in double range; and, each brick being but one inch and three-tenths in thickness, the whole layer, with the mortar interposed, exceeded not three inches. The layers of stone were not quite two feet thick of our measure. It was probable they were intended for two of the Roman, their rule being somewhat shorter than ours. To this height the workmanship was after the Roman manner; and there were the remains of the ancient wall supposed to be built by Constantine the Great. In this it was very observable that the mortar was, as usually in the Roman work, so very firm and hard that the stone itself as easily broke and gave way as that. It was thus far, from the foundation upwards, nine feet in thickness. And a little lower," he adds, "the broad thin bricks above mentioned were all of Roman make, and of the very sort we learn from Pliny that were in common use among the Romans, being in length a foot and a half of their standard, and in breadth a foot. Measuring some of these very carefully, I found them seventeen inches and four-tenths in length, eleven inches and six-tenths in breadth, and one inch and three-tenths in thickness of our measure. The old wall having been demolished, as hath been intimated above, was afterwards repaired again, and carried up of the same thickness to eight or nine feet in height, or, if higher, there was no more of that work now standing. All this was apparently additional, and of a make later than the other part underneath it. That was levelled at top and brought to a plane in order to the raising this new work upon it. The outside, or that towards the suburbs, was faced with a coarse sort of stone, not compiled with any great care or skill, nor disposed into a regular method, but on the inside there appeared more marks of workmanship and art. At the bottom were five layers composed of squares of flint and of freestone; though they were not so in all parts, yet in some the squares were near equal, about five inches diameter, and ranged in a quincunx order. Over these were a layer of brick, then of hewn freestone, and so alternately brick and stone to the top. There were of the bricks in all six layers, each consisting only of a double course, except that which lay above, and in which there were four courses of bricks where the layer was entire. These bricks were of the shape of those now

in use, but much larger, being near eleven inches in length, five in breadth, and somewhat above two and a-half in thickness. Of the stone there were five layers, and each of equal thickness in all parts for its whole length. The highest and lowest of these were somewhat above a foot in thickness, the three middle layers each five inches, so that the whole height of this additional work was near nine feet. As to the interior parts, or the main bulk of the wall, it was made up of pieces of rubble stone, with a few bricks of the same sort as those used in the inner facing of the wall, laid uncertainly, as they happened to come to hand, and not in any stated method. There was not one of the broad thin bricks, mentioned above, in all this part, nor was the mortar here near so hard as in that below, but from the description may be easily collected, that this part, when first made and entire, with so various and orderly a disposition of materials, flint-stone and bricks, could but carry a very elegant and handsome aspect. Whether this was done at the expense of the barons in the reign of King John, or of the citizens in the reign of King Henry III. or of King Richard II. or at what other time, I cannot take upon me to ascertain from accounts so defective and obscure as are those which at this day remain of this affair. Upon the additional work now described was raised a wall wholly of brick; only that, it terminating in battlements, these are topped with copings of stone. It was two feet four inches in thickness, and somewhat above eight feet in height. The bricks of this are of the same module and size with those of the part underneath. How long they had been in use is uncertain."

In the description given by Mr. Saull, the author advances the opinion that the whole of the City Wall belonged to one period, that it was erected in accordance with a uniform plan consistent with the practice of the Roman architects, that the materials were brought to the spot and the tile prepared and the excavations dug previous to their commencing the work; hence the regularity of the plan, uniformity of execution, and the massiveness of structure. On the 10th February, 1842, he communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of London a description of the foundations then recently discovered near Aldersgate. He writes:—"The portion of wall exposed to view ran east and west, and its continuation under the present pavement indicates the exact spot where stood the entrance into the City in this direction, this being the northern gate, until about a century ago, when Aldersgate, which had sustained material damage in the Great Fire of 1666, was taken down. At the depth of 11½ feet from the present surface, immediately resting on a loamy clay, was found a layer of angular flintstones as a basement; these, no doubt, were closely rammed down. This mass is now infiltrated by an unctuous brown clay, probably the effects of percolation

from the circumjacent earth; these flints are continued to the height of 1 foot 6 inches; above which are placed layers of angular uncut stones imbedded in grouting or mortar used by the Romans in the construction of buildings intended to be permanent. This stone is chiefly the Kentish ragstone or green sandstone of geologists, abundant in the neighbourhood of Maidstone, interspersed with dark brown ferruginous sandstone, an upper division of the same geological series; this portion extends in height 4 feet 6 inches, and is covered by two courses of tiles laid horizontally; these tiles are 1½ inch in thickness, and about 18 inches by 12 inches square; they are imbedded in the same kind of mortar or grouting which has been mentioned. Above these tiles is another portion of wall constructed of the ragstone, only extending in height 2 feet 6 inches; over this are two courses of tiles, surmounted by another course of Kentish ragstone, the pieces of which it is composed being smaller in size than those below, but constructed in a similar manner and terminating 18 inches under the present pavement. This foundation wall is about 10 feet in height, and gradually becomes narrower in the different ascending stages, the flint basement being 9½ feet in width, the first division of the wall above the flints 9 feet, the next part above the tiles 7 feet, the next stage decreasing, until at the present level it is only 6 feet in width." In this description by Mr. Saull no reference is made to the facing of the wall; the squared blocks being absent on either side probably accounts for the difference in the width, which is usually about 8 feet. About four years ago excavations were in progress at the other end of Bull and Mouth Street, and the City Wall was again disclosed. Some 70 or 80 feet of it was uncovered, and this differed but little in structure from the portion described by Mr. Saull. Through the kindness of the late Mr. Thomas Renton, Surveyor to Christ's Hospital, I had the opportunity of inspecting the wall as it was removed. It was his opinion that the fabric altogether was of a later date than the Roman age. The blocks of chalk and ragstone had been embedded with but little care in badly-made mortar, very different from that usually found in Roman masonry. The lime, he told me, appeared to have been thrown in in splashes, and with but little mixture with the sand, which had clearly been obtained from the locality.*

* A portion of the Wall still exists beneath the foundations of buildings belonging to Messrs. Tylor and Son of Newgate Street. It was discovered a few years since in the course of excavations for their premises in Warwick Lane, and is one of the few pieces which retains the facing-stones. It adjoined the ancient hostelry known as the Oxford Arms, now pulled down. With a creditable desire to preserve a portion of the structure the wall was not all removed, but Messrs. Tylor had sufficient soil cleared from its foundations to afford future access to what remained, and the interesting relic can still be seen by means of a trap-door placed within their premises. It, however, possesses no peculiarities to distinguish it from

Comparing these descriptions it is obvious that the fashion adopted in the construction was in each case uniform and consistent with one regular preconceived plan. There is no distinctive difference. All essential details, even to actual measurements, harmonise throughout, whether the portion referred to marks the eastern or western boundary of the City. It has been our practice to ascribe the western extension to a later period, and claim for the mural remains in the east of London a high antiquity, but in the presence of more extended observation, with inscriptions still absent, and history altogether silent as to date, this uniformity and regularity can but point to one period, and that extremely late, if not, as already suggested, subsequent to the Roman occupation of the city.

In April, 1844, in the course of excavations to the east of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, the workmen came across the foundations of the wall. They were about 15 feet from the surface, and of the usual strength and width. A short time previous another portion was exposed at a similar depth, near Duke Street, Houndsditch. It appeared to have crossed the lower end of Houndsditch, and ran beneath the burial-ground of St. Botolph's.

As recently as 1852, a large portion of London Wall, to the height of 30 feet, was to be seen at the back of Trinity Square, Tower Hill. This fragment is still standing, but has of late years been hidden from view by the erection of extensive buildings. A record of a careful examination of its construction has been preserved by Mr. Roach Smith in his Illustrations of Roman London. The description agrees with that of other portions along the line; the foundation of clay and flints, then some 12 inches of concrete and boulders, next the row of large stones, then the smaller blocks neatly worked and cut, and the binding-course of three rows of red tiles as recently seen at Camomile Street. An account of this portion of the wall also appears in the eighth volume of the Journal of the British Archæological Association, by A. H. Burkitt, Esq. F.S.A.; he speaks of blocks of fine red sandstone, each beveled off at the sides and projecting from the rest of the work. The occurrence of these stones, he writes, is peculiar, as in no other portion of the wall has that same sort of stone been used, as well as from the fact of their having been derived from a quarry at some distance from that of the stone used in the other parts of the building. The entire range of these extended

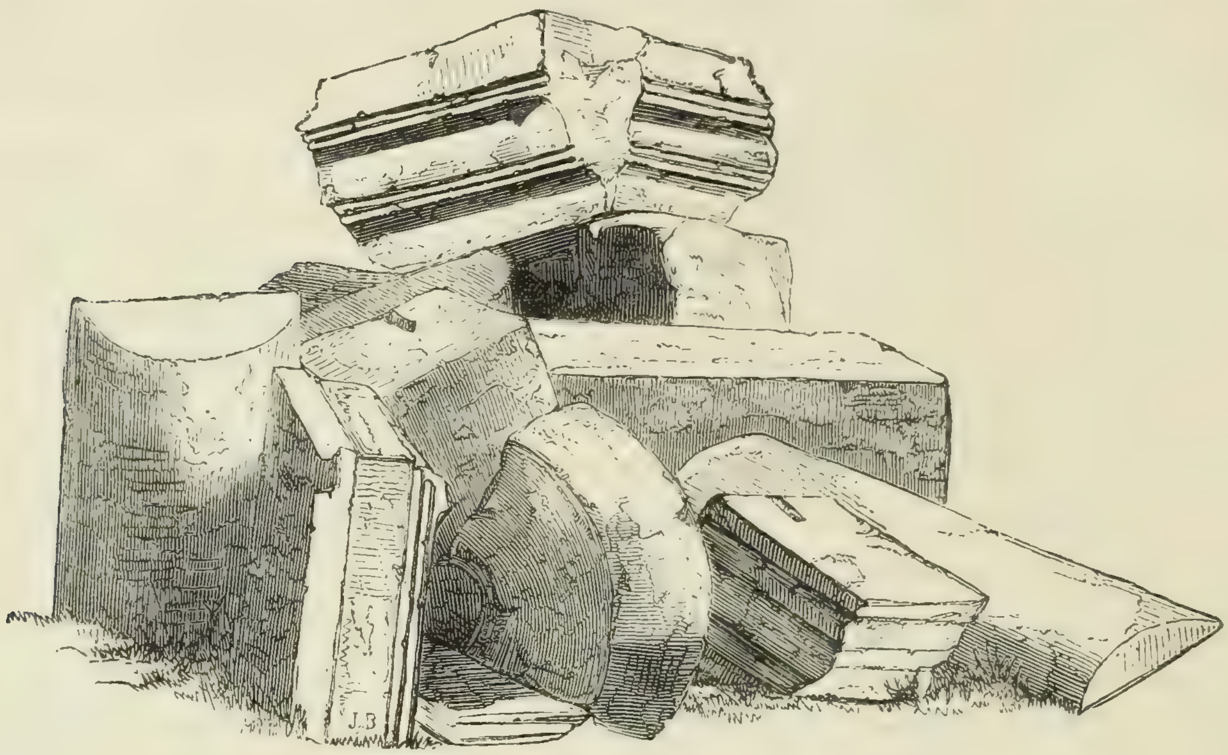
portions elsewhere described. Its perfect condition enabled me to obtain accurate measurements and to note the method of construction. Its first appearance was at a short distance from the surface-level of the yard at the rear of Newgate, and its height was altogether about 8 feet. At a distance of 1 foot 2 inches from the ground-level were three rows of the red bonding-tiles, each 1½ inch in thickness, with wide mortar-joints; next, a space of rubble and Kentish rag, and then two more rows of tiles of like thickness to the others. Above them, a space of 3 feet 2 inches led to the level of the broken surface. A piece about 4 feet long, in which the facing-stones remain, is now preserved.

to thirty in number, the sizes varying from one to two feet in length and eleven inches in thickness.

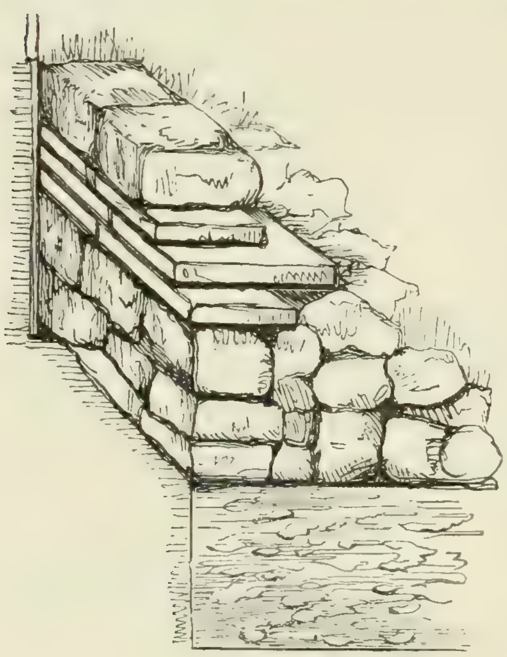
This record is interesting, and the more so because our recent excavations have illustrated the objects of these "blocks of sandstone," and shown how thoroughly uniform was the plan pursued in the construction of the wall.

They represent a course of ironstone blocks so laid as to form a "plinth" or a plain projecting faee at the base of the wall and just above the ground. This plinth we found in Camomile Street to be continuous in its course. It yet exists at the south-western end of that part of the wall which still lies buried in this thoroughfare and serves as a foundation for existing buildings. The blocks measured from twelve inches to three feet in length, in this respect agreeing with dimensions recorded by Mr. Burkitt. Such a plinth is no unusual occurrence. It may be observed in the City Wall at Carlisle. It is generally believed that the border city was unwalled in Roman times, and it is the opinion of Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., who has paid much attention to the subject, that the wall, portions of which yet remain, was constructed early in the twelfth century. It contains numerous fragments of stone of Roman date, re-used as building material. Against the wall at Tower Hill there stood a buttress or bastion erected in later times—perhaps as late as the middle ages—at a period when memorials of a bygone age, long protected by superstitious reverence, became the prey of architects and builders. This structure, like that now cleared away, was entirely composed of materials collected through the destruction of ancient monuments; no less than forty cart-loads of sculptured stones were removed, which varied in size from two to five superficial feet; several were even larger, and comprised for the most part sepulchral memorials, fragments of tombs, and inscriptions, mouldings of varied patterns, pilasters and capitals, blocks of oolitic stone coated with plaster, on which were described devices and letters in a red colour, portions of quern-stones, &c., &c. The annexed illustration, kindly lent by the proprietors of The Builder, in which journal a report of the discovery was published at the time, will give an idea of the nature of the objects found and provide material for comparison with the discoveries before us. It will hereafter be observed that many of the stones figured are identical in character with the massive blocks which made up the bastion in Camomile Street, and this selection, coupled with the nature of the objects deposited, points to one period for the erection of both structures. That some superstition or ceremonial was to be observed in the selection is rendered probable from the circumstance of a quern or millstone of Rhenish lava being associated with the sculptures in both cases.

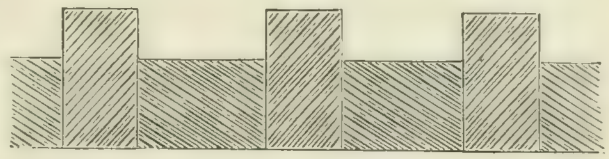
In Dr. Woodward's description he makes no mention of the face of the wall which the present excavations have afforded us the opportunity of seeing, nor is there any note of the nature of the foundation upon which a structure so massive was erected. We found this to have been a bed of flints and clay, forming a kind



of concrete without lime, and it was two or three feet above this foundation that the actual work appeared. The length of the wall was upwards of sixty feet, and was first observed at a depth of from ten to twelve feet below the level of the road. The space comprised the site of four houses, and the buildings now removed are doubtless those referred to by the Doctor as about to be erected. Their basements had been constructed on the wall, and when destroyed we observed that the kitchens and sculleries had been paved with the tiles which had been taken from it. In many cases there were pieces only, as though broken in removal, and the whole afterwards grouted together to form a level surface. The width of the wall was a little over eight feet, and the method of its construction is similar to that described by Dr. Woodward. Its inside face appeared to have been of more careful workmanship than the outer, though both seemed to present a finished appearance of irregular coursed ragstone work.



The arrangement of the bricks or bonding-tiles is shown by the annexed woodcut. The portion drawn measured two feet six inches in height exclusive of the foundation, and the space occupied by the first course of tiles was seven inches; the mortar joints between them being wide and significant of late work. The perfect tiles which we had an opportunity of measuring were of the usual size, about eighteen inches



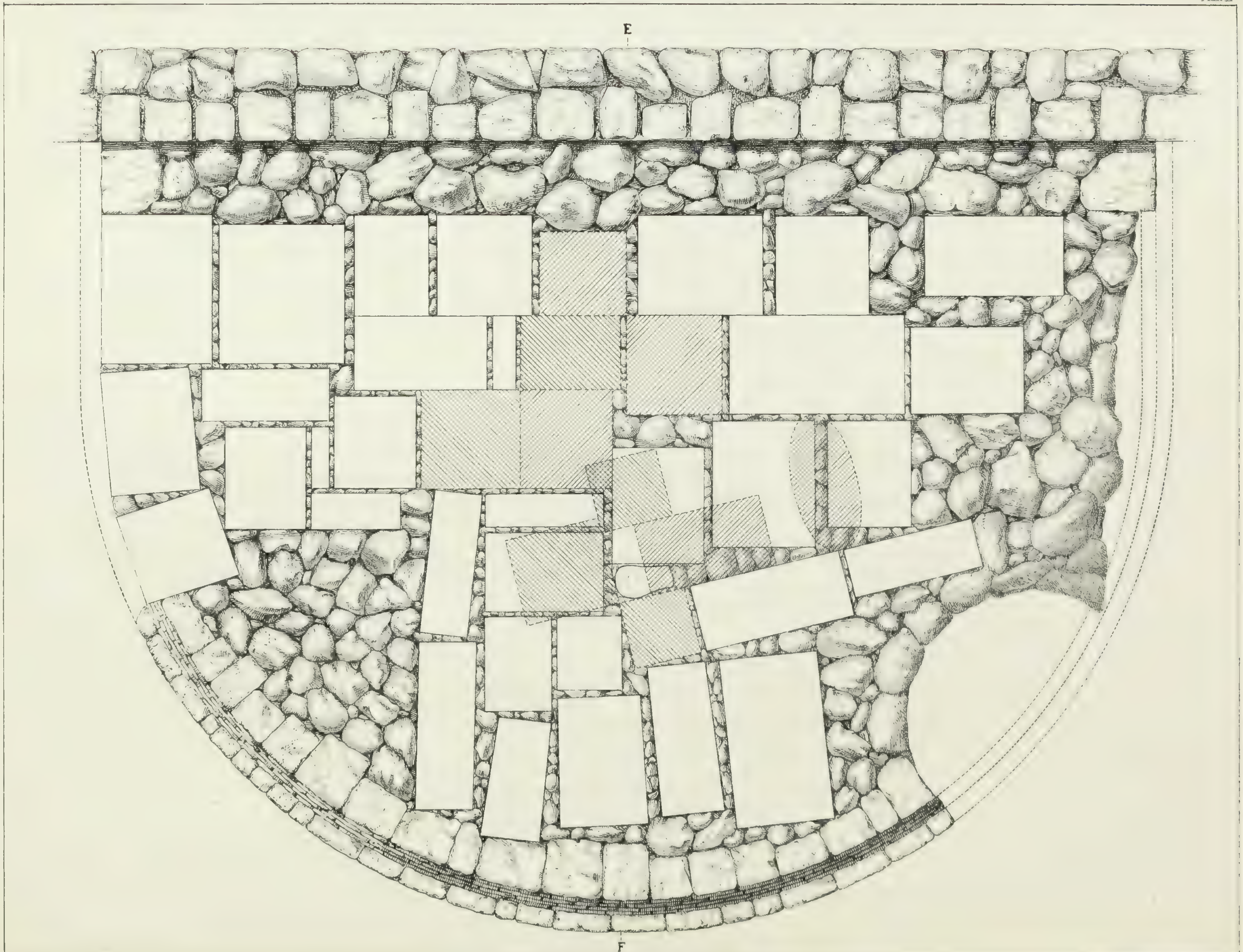
by twelve and one inch and three-eighths thick. The method of laying them was that technically known as "header and stretcher," or Flemish bond.

In Plate I. there is shown a general plan of the site, together with elevation and sections both of the bastion and the wall. These are drawn to scale, and such descriptive details added as we were enabled to verify during the progress of the works. The bastion was nearly twenty feet in diameter; it rested upon the natural soil of London clay, which had been simply levelled by compressing together masses of chalk into the clay, for a thickness which varied from two to three inches. With the exception of huge blocks of oolite and green sandstone, which formed the nucleus of the structure, the stone employed in building was the familiar Kentish ragstone rubble, with a facing in random courses of the same material. The size of the blocks of which this facing was composed varied from three to eight and a half inches thick and from five to fourteen inches long. The extrados of the bastion is shown in the illustration which forms our frontispiece, and this portion, to a great extent, remains intact under the basement floor of the new buildings, together with masses of masonry which was neither safe nor desirable to remove. In the section a sharp line may be observed indicating the relation of the bastion to the wall. That they were erected at different periods is proved by the presence of the ironstone plinth which ran behind the bastion without interruption along the face of the main wall. The plinth or wall-face at this spot appears to mark the boundary of the property, as it does of the wards of Bishopsgate Within and Bishopsgate Without. We were unable to ascertain whether a similar plinth had been carried along the external face of the bastion in order to harmonise with the general design, for the foundations of the latter did not appear until we were below what would have been the level of the line. In one place a portion of the bastion had been cut away in order to construct a well in comparatively recent times. Though shown to be of later date than the erection of the wall, and separated from it in places by an intervening space filled in with rubble, there were yet signs that the masonry of the bastion had been toothed or chased into the wall for the purpose of acquiring solidity and strength.

Though carefully looked for, neither in the wall nor in the bastion could there be found any specimen of Roman brick or mortar, that is to say, *in situ*, and forming part of the construction. Several pieces of both were forthcoming unattached, and thrown in as building material. Masses of the *opus Signinum*,* the red-coloured mortar so significant of Roman work, were collected, with much of it still adhering to large pieces of tile. This mortar varies in appearance, but is all alike as to the nature of the ingredients of which it is composed, viz., pounded brick or tile, with a large preponderance of lime. In some cases these masses of Roman mortar would have but the characteristics of concrete, in others it was so finely made as to impart to the whole the well-known salmon-coloured tint. Such mortar can never be mistaken ; it tells at once of Roman origin ; but though plentiful in fragments, in no single instance that came within our observation had any been used either by the builders of the bastion or the wall. The fragments were pieces originally belonging to more ancient structures, and had simply been employed as wedges, and for purposes of filling-in. It was, however, at the foundation of the structure that evidence appeared of the post-Roman date to which the erection of the bastion must be assigned. Beneath the lowest bed of stone, and near to the centre of the structure, a portion of green glazed pottery was found. It was merely the handle of a pitcher, but the ware, to say nothing of the glaze with which it was coated, was sufficient to indicate that neither the pottery nor the bastion beneath which it was found could be attributed to the Roman age. It is, however, but fair to mention that the presence of such green-glazed earthenware is not always decisive evidence as to date. While the fabrication of this description of pottery was the rule in Norman and early English times, it is known to have been in use at a much earlier period. In the Kircherian Museum of the Collegio Romano at Rome I noticed many earthenware lamps of high antiquity coated with this peculiar vitreous glaze. In the collections also at the Louvre there are examples of green-glazed pottery from Tarsus, in Cilicia. Our own country, too, is not wanting in illustrations. The Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, in his "Eburacum," remarks how with undoubted remains of Roman earthenware he frequently found

* See C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historiæ, liber xxxv. 47. Quid non excogitavit ars ? fractis testis utendo sic, ut firmius durent tusis calce addita quæ vocant Signina, quo genere etiam pavimenta excogitavit. The *opus Signinum* took its name from Signina, in Italy, celebrated for its tiles. It was largely employed in the aqueducts at Rome. Illustrations of its use appear also in buildings discovered both on the Cælian and Esquiline Hills. A similar cement is still used in modern Italy, under the name of "coccio pisto."

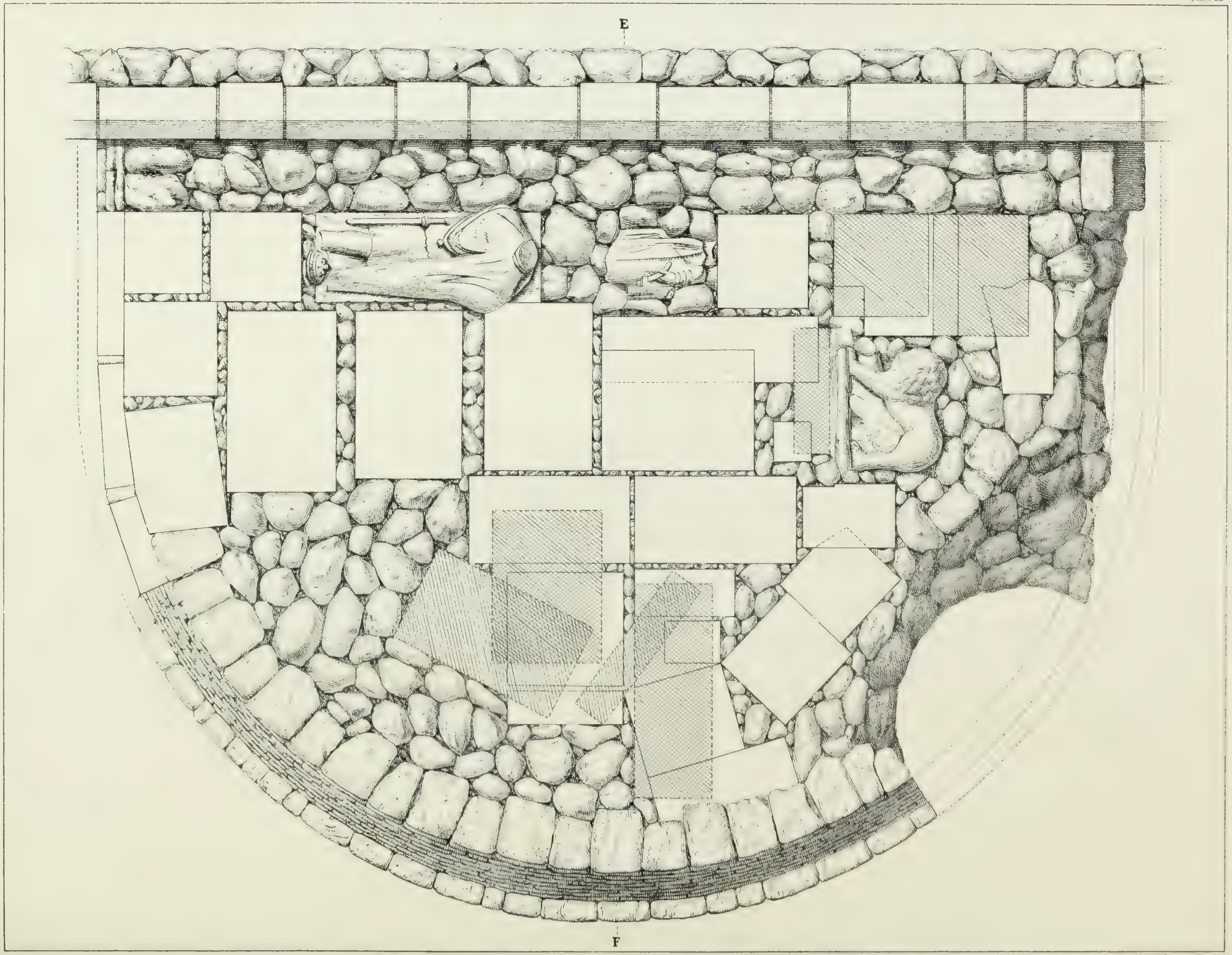
Plate II



J.P.&W.R. Emslie, London.

PLAN OF BASTION AND WALL AT C.D. SHEWING LOWER COURSES

Plate 21



J.P.A.W.R. Emslie, London.

PLAN OF BASTION AND WALL AT A.B. SHEWING UPPER COURSES

fragments and entire vessels of a coarse description, generally of a yellowish white clay with a strong glaze of various shades of green. He states that at Carlisle, fifteen feet below the surface, and beneath several fragments of Samian ware, were discovered two such ancient pitchers, which inclined him to regard them as the work of Roman potters. In his "Pottery and Porcelain" Mr. Chaffers describes a water-pitcher with mottled green glaze on the upper part. This was ten inches high, and was discovered at a depth of twelve to fourteen feet in Queen Street, Cheapside, in the year 1842.* Vessels of this particular form are represented in an illuminated MS. of the eleventh century, where servants are taking pitchers from the cupboard, filling them with water, and carrying it to the Saviour to be changed into wine at the marriage at Cana.† Similar pottery has been found in the pits at Ewell in Surrey and at Colchester in Essex.

In Plate II. we have a section of the bastion and an illustration of the manner in which the stones were laid. The main wall is seen at E, and the intervening filling-in of rubble between it and the first row of stones is also shown; the massive character of the latter in proportion to the diameter of the structure is at once apparent. They were in no way injured, and considerable attention had evidently been given both to their general arrangement and the method by which they had been wedged and fitted into their respective situations, the intention being to produce by weight and size a solid mass of masonry of considerable strength. Altogether there were between forty and fifty blocks, in addition to the figure of a lion in bold relief, the head of a human figure of colossal size, and a broken statue of a Roman soldier. The position selected for these more important objects is well defined in Plate III. which has been copied from Mr. Hodges's drawing taken at the time. If the builders of the bastion had been desirous of saving such precious relics from destruction they could hardly have devised better means for their preservation. The figure of the lion appears to have been most carefully fitted into the position assigned to it, as does the statue of the soldier, which was in three or four pieces. The head had been broken off at the neck and was found placed, may be purposely, between the ankles. With the exception of these fragments it has of course been impossible to show in the sections the carving or ornamentation as seen on the different blocks of stone, they are therefore purposely left white in the drawing; those that are shaded are merely so distinguished in order to indicate where certain blocks have been placed above others. Those possessing any interest from the work upon them have been separately engraved, and will be referred to in due

* Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain, page 29.

† Cotton MSS. Nero, C. iv.

course. As previously mentioned, they comprised fluted pilasters, shafts of half-columns, portions of canopies, cornices, door-jambs, and other objects. They were mostly of oolite, a stone favoured by the Romans, others belonged to the lower green-sand formation. The former may have been brought to London from Bath, Northamptonshire, Rutland, or Portland, the others probably from Kent. Both abound in fossils, and the actual beds could doubtless be ascertained, but it would by no means follow that quarries worked in the present day are necessarily those whence the Romans extracted their materials. Professor Tennant, F.G.S., to whom I submitted specimens for examination, informs me, for example, that some of the carvings in Westminster Abbey have been wrought on stone procured from beds long since exhausted or unworked. It is impossible, therefore, to offer any explanation as to the locality whence the stones were derived. The work upon them, however, was strictly local, for in some cases the carvings were unfinished. In one the outlines only had been commenced upon the stone; in another, the mason's work appeared so sharp and new that it would seem to have but recently left the workman's hand. No mortar appeared on any except in places where masses of concrete had been wedged between the blocks, as building material for the bastion. There were lewis-holes* on many, on others places for iron cramps; in some instances portions of the latter were still remaining in the stone, fastened in position with lead, as is the practice in the present day. Some of the stones were deeply grooved. On others there appeared cavities at the angles, which from being filled up with iron and lead inclined us to the opinion that certain of the stones had once formed part of a gate or doorway. There were indications of socket and pivot, with grooves and holes for bars. Such illustrations are by no means uncommon among the *débris* of Roman buildings. Writing of the antiquities of Jublains, in France, Mr. Roach Smith describes the *castrum*, and, speaking of the defences, remarks, that the south-east room attached to the *castellum* was constructed of massive stones, and had been closed by a door of equal strength, with three bars dropping into deeply-cut grooves upon the side.† In the eighth volume of the Journal of the British Archæological Association there is an illustration of one of the basement stories of one of the gates discovered at the station of Borrowbridge in the North of England. It shows the socket-hole into which the iron bolt of the gate turned, and that portion of the

* Formed just as they are at the present day. The machine for the purpose was said to take its name from Louis XIV. of France, to whom the invention was attributed. We see, however, that this contrivance for raising large masses of stone is one of extreme antiquity.

† Collectanea Antiqua, vol. iii. p. cxi.

structure which had been cut away to prevent the gate opening or shutting too far.* Similar remains were observed by Mr. H. Glasford Potter at Birdoswald, the Amboglanna of the Romans. In his interesting papers descriptive of this fortress he mentions that immediately behind the pillars or *antepagmenta* of the gate were such holes or sockets in the stones, in which the pivots or *cardines* of the gates had moved. He refers also to an interesting feature which may hereafter be useful for comparison. Speaking of the socket on the south side, he says, that the bottom formed an inclined plane with a deep groove at the lowest part, which was towards the outside of the gate. The effect of this arrangement would be that the gate, when opened, would rise a little from the ground, and when not held open would shut by its own gravity; the gate would then fall against a part of the threshold which rose two or three inches above the bottom of the gate when closed. A patent for this description of hinge was taken out as for a modern invention some few years since.

Upon the Houndsditch side we observed the black made-up soil defining the position of the old city ditch, as described by Stowe.† This, he writes, "compassed the wall of the city, and was begun to be made by the Londoners in the year 1211, and was finished in the year 1213, the fifteenth of King John. This ditch being then made of 200 feet broad caused no small hindrance to the Canons of the Holy Trinity, whose church stood near unto Aldgate, for that the said ditch passed through their ground from the Tower of London unto Bishopsgate. This ditch, being originally made for the defence of the city, was also long together carefully cleansed and maintained as need required, but now of late neglected, and forced either to a very narrow and the same a filthy channel, or altogether stopped up for gardens planted, and houses built thereon even to the very wall, and in many places upon both ditch and wall houses to be built, to what danger to the city I leave to wider consideration, and can but wish that reformation might be had." We had no means of ascertaining any fact of interest in connection with the ditch; Mr. Brock traced it to a width of some sixty feet, and observes that it came quite up to the southern edge of Houndsditch.‡ If ever two hundred feet in width, as Stowe records, a large amount of earth must have been removed and cleared at the time of its formation. So vast a work would have revealed many indications of Roman sepulture, for the land reclaimed was part of that which centuries before had belonged to the ancient cemetery, and, if we may assume the bastion to have been erected about the period when repairs

* British Archæological Journal, vol. viii. p. 35.

† Lib. Dunstable. Lib. Trinitat.

‡ See Journal of British Archæological Association, vol. xxxii. p. 492.

and additions to the wall are known to have been progressing, the presence of the sculptures found in its foundations may be easily accounted for.

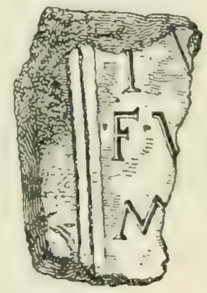
Of these objects, the most interesting is that of the statue of a Roman soldier. This is shown by the annexed illustration prepared from a photograph taken at the time of the discovery. It is seen as inclosed in a recess or niche, which is not only indicated by the portion of stone which rises above the left shoulder but by the debased Corinthian pilaster which appears on the same side; this, with an arched or semi-circular canopy connecting the two, was probably repeated on the other. To the right of this pilaster there is a hole or cavity in the side, doubtless cut for the insertion of an iron cramp or bar to keep the monument in position. The statue is of oolite, is in high relief, and boldly cut. It represents a man apparently in the prime of life and attired in costume indicative of his order. So rarely do we meet with any representation of the human form among the ruins of Roman London that the discovery of a figure so finely chiselled is an event which calls for more than a passing notice. That our city—noted in the days of Tacitus for its merchants and its trade—should be embellished by statues of men once distinguished in its service is only natural, and it is possible that this figure, whether as a sepulchral monument or as attached to a public building, may commemorate an individual once noted for his military career, but who on retiring from the service became as a civilian a personage equal in importance, and attached, may be, to the magistracy of Londinium. On such a supposition we can explain the association there is between the details of the costume, both military and civilian, which have shortly to be considered. Such association is not confined to Roman monuments. It may be observed in those belonging to medieval times. The effigy of Alderman Sir John Crosby of 1475, in our own church of Great St. Helens, is attired in such a fashion. On the sepulchral brass of Sir William Harper, in St. Paul's church, Bedford, date 1573, the knight is represented in full armour, but over it appears the Alderman's gown. The effigies of Sir Thomas Rowe, Lord Mayor 1567, Sir Henry Rowe, Lord Mayor 1607, formerly in Hackney church, may be also given as illustrations.

The figure measures, from the crown of the head to where the right leg has been broken off, say, four feet three inches. Allowing some eight inches for the foot, and assuming other proportions of the human figure, the statue would be rather over five feet high. The length of the face is about seven inches and a quarter. The full width of the monument is three feet six. That a portrait has been intended is evidenced by the details exhibited; the heavy head, closely cropped hair, the depression in the temples, thinness of the cheeks, and projecting



ROMAN SCULPTURE, CAMOMILE STREET, BISHOPSGATE.

eyes, together with the nose, which, though broken and injured, was clearly wide instead of thin, are all indications of an attempt at portraiture. The peculiar rigid stare gives to the features generally a fixed and unpleasant, not to say repulsive, expression ; this probably would be lessened were the figure seen from a distance, as may have originally been intended. There is nothing to indicate that any inscription once formed part of the monument, but one probably existed either above or below the figure; a fragment of the same description of oolitic stone being found, upon which a few letters remain. It was associated with the other relics, but whether in any way connected with the statue it is impossible to say.



As regards the costume, its most interesting feature is the mantle or outer garment. This is probably a variety of the *pænula* or civilian's cloak, a dress worn over the tunic, and adapted more especially for long journeys or for use in cold or damp weather; one therefore which would be needed in this climate. It was usually made from cloth, sometimes of leather, and differed materially from the *paludamentum* or *sagum*, which were military garments made from similar though richer material, simply thrown across the body and fastened on the shoulder by a fibula or brooch. This article of dress was adopted by the Romans from the Gauls; at one time it had sleeves, but was divested of them on its introduction into Italy. The *pænula*, on the contrary, was a habit without sleeves, and belongs to a variety of garments known as *vestimenta clausa*, or close dresses. A true *pænula* was not unlike the modern South American poncho, circular in shape, and having but an orifice in the middle for the head to go through. It sometimes had a *cucullus* or hood, a form of cowl which, hanging below the neck, could be drawn up over the head, thus serving as a protection from the weather, reminding us of that which the monks of St. Basil and St. Anthony were commanded to wear, the hood or *capuche* identified with the Capuchin monks in the early part of the sixteenth century. On uncovering the head this accessory could be pushed backwards, simply exposing in front the natural folds which in sculpture may well be mistaken for an overlapping collar. This was the ordinary form, and has been considered to find modern illustration on early representations of the chasuble as preserved in the Catacombs of Rome.*

The addition of the hood is frequently referred to in the works of early writers. Juvenal † speaks of its use by the upper classes or for the purposes of

* Bosio, Roma Sotteranea, lib. iii. cap. xxxvii. peinture de la chambre du cimetière de Saint Marcellin.

† Juvenal, vi. 330.

disguise, but its appearance in statuary or frescoes is usually where the individual represented belonged to a class whose occupation involved exposure to the weather, it being under ordinary circumstances the fashion for the head to remain uncovered. The manufacture of such hoods gave rise to certain distinctive names, originating in the districts whence they were supplied; for example, the *Bardo cucullus* of Martial—*

> Gallia Santonico vestit te bardo cucullo,
> Cercopethecorum pænula nuper erat.

a variety emanating from a Gallic people, the Santones, a tribe occupying cities to the north of the Garonne; or, again, those more particularly from the Bardæi of Illyria, whence the name was probably derived. This appendage to the



pænula is shown in the above woodcut, copied from an early representation of Mercury in his quality of messenger.

* Martial, Ep. lib. xiv. cxxviii.

As an outer garment the *pænula* was made of serviceable material. This was usually a thick strong cloth, the *gausape* of Martial, or sometimes of leather, the *scortea* of the same author.* There were other forms, viz., the *lacerna* and the *byrrhus;* to each of which hoods could be attached. They bore a strong resemblance to the *pænula*, with which they have often been confused by modern writers. Montfaucon,† speaking of the *byrrhus*, compares it with the *lacerna*, adding that it took its name from a Greek word signifying something reddish, πυῤῥὸς, it being usually of a red colour. The term appears to have originated the Italian word for cap, *beretta.* Its application in later days has been more especially to cape, head-covering, or cowl. The *lacerna* was a dress of Gaulish origin. It was adopted by the Romans, but belongs to a later period than does the *pænula*, from which it differs in its being a loose and not a close-fitting cloak or mantle. It was not unlike the *chlamys* of the Greeks, which could be worn in many ways and represent very different characters. Mr. Rich in his valuable Dictionary‡ has engraved some examples from the Panathenaic frieze in the British Museum. In one case the mantle was passed round the back of the neck, and the two corners brought together in front of the throat, where they were joined by a buckle, clasp, or brooch, so that the gores might be turned back over the shoulders *demissa ex humeris*,§ and the middle or largest part would hang down behind as far as the knees; or a portion of the garment might be folded over and fastened sideways over the right shoulder by means of the fibula, so that, while the mantle completely enveloped the left arm, the right, as well as the whole side, remained uncovered; the four corners thus hung down on the same side, parallel to one another, two in front and two behind. Such an arrangement we subsequently find in the warrior's cloak, or *sagum*, of the Romans. The *lacerna* covered the body, but was open down the front, and only fastened at the throat. There were also other differences between it and the *pænula;* while the latter might be worn as a protection in bad weather, the former was of thinner material, and a costume appropriate for under cover. Thus, when the Emperor‖ was expected to be present at the theatre, white was considered to be the most becoming colour of the *lacernæ* to be worn.

> Amphitheatrali, nos commendamus ab usu,
> Cum teget algentes alba lacerna togas.¶

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* Martial, Ep. lib. xiv. 145 et 130.

† Montfaucon, L'Antiquité expliqué par les Figures, lib. iii. cap. vii.

‡ Page 154.

§ Æneid, 263.

‖ Suetonius, Claudius, vi.

¶ Martial, lib. xiv. cxxxvii.

Being loose, it could be worn over the *toga;* indeed, was sufficiently ample to cover any garment.

Representations of these dresses appear in the able essay of Bartholini on this subject.* This author is usually quoted by writers when treating of Roman costume, but generally with reserve as to the authenticity of the illustrations given. This is probably due to the scarcity of examples, and it is an interesting feature in the City discovery that the outer dress or cape worn by the soldier serves to substantiate as correct the definition of a *pænula* as given by Bartholini. The annexed woodcuts are copied from those published in the various editions of his



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

work, as is the figure of Mercury to which reference has been already made. The distinction which exists between the close-fitting coat and that which is open and simply fastened at the throat is clearly shown. In figure 1 we identify the *lacerna,* while in figure 2 we have a form of *pænula* which resembles that worn by our figure. In the City example the garment appears to have been buttoned or sewn across the chest, the seam extending about half way down. In figure 2

* Bartolus Bartholinus, De Penula, in Thesaurus Antiquatum Romanarum, Grævius, vol. vi.

there is no appearance of seam or button, the material being in one piece until the point of division, which enabled the wearer to pick up either or both of the flaps and throw them across the shoulders. It is possible that the studs or buttons may have been intended for ornaments only. This is in our case probable, because at the point of division there are indications of a cord or string so placed as to prevent the material from tearing or slitting upwards. In such a dress we note points of resemblance to the early body garment or overcoat known as the *armiclausa.* This was a military dress, and worn over the armour. An illustration exists among the bas-reliefs at the Louvre in Paris. It appears on a monument to Maccenius, a centurion of the tenth legion, and has been quoted as answering to the description of such a garment as preserved by Isidorus. It was a vestment with short sleeves divided in front, reaching to the knees, open before and behind, but closed upon the shoulders. "Armilausa vulgo vocata quod ante et retro divisa, atque aperta est, in armos tantum clausa quasi armiclausa." *

This word occurs in a collection of Latin and Anglo-Saxon glosses from a manuscript of the eleventh century. Such glosses were for the use of teachers in the medieval schools, who required assistance in explaining the old Latin words to their scholars of the Saxon race. It is here rendered *serce,* a shirt, and in a note by the late Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A., on the meaning of the word, he quotes as an illustration the *sagum,* or military cloak, open at the sides, but covering the back and breast. The explanation is hardly satisfactory, because the *sagum* was neither coat, cape, nor cloak, but a square or rectangular piece of cloth, which when off the figure could be spread out like a sheet, but when on was folded in two and fastened by a brooch, or tied in a knot on the top of the shoulder. The word is that used by Suetonius in his life of Otho, where one of the amusements of that emperor is said to have been running about in the night-time, seizing on any one he met, who was either too intoxicated or too feeble to resist, and toss him in a blanket, "Distento sago impositum in sublime jactare." The *armiclausa,* however, was close-fitting, and has more in common with the *pænula* worn by our figure than any other similar form of dress.† It is probable that the word has been used at different times for the description of garments widely dissimilar, but the resemblance between that worn by Maccenius and the City figure is both striking and curious. The name survived to the Middle Ages. In the Dictionary of John de Erlande, dating from the early part of the thirteenth century,‡ it is more properly defined as cloak, and so again in a

* Origen, lib. xix. cap. 22.

† See Note on the *Armilausa,* by M. E. Saglio, in Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines.

‡ Vocabularies from the Tenth to the Fifteenth Century, edited by Thomas Wright, F.S.A.

vocabulary of the fifteenth century. If, however, the studs or buttons indicate that the garment was to be so fastened we are reminded of a monument to a Pannonian soldier, which has been figured in an early work.* The figure is that of a centurion. He wears a coat, laced or buttoned across the chest by no less than nine fastenings. The garment is fitted also with short sleeves. The Pannonians are mentioned in one of the military diplomas of Trajan† as serving in Britain, but whether this peculiar form of dress may be viewed as part of their accustomed uniform I am as yet unable to ascertain.



Among the figures upon Trajan's Column there are a few interesting examples of civilian dress. The illustration selected explains more clearly than can any

* Muratori, Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum, tom. 2, p. DCCLXXV.

† See description of the Malpas Diploma, found in Cheshire in the year 1812, and now in the British Museum. It was issued in the year when Trajan held the "*tribunicia potestas*" for the seventh time, answering to A.D. 104. Lapidarium Septentrionale, by the Rev. J. C. Bruce, M.A. page 3. Few traces of the Pannonians have been found in Britain. Their country is now modern Hungary. They are mentioned in this diploma, and a record exists connected with the second cohort. Dr. Bruce writes: "In the Cawfields, Milecastle, the tombstone of a soldier of this cohort was found, and at Chesterholm the tombstone of a person described as a *Miles Pannonicus* was discovered."

description the way in which such garments were worn during the best period of Roman history. The group is taken from that portion of the column* which refers to the Second Dacian War entered upon by Trajan A.D. 104. The Emperor has landed at one of the important colonies on the banks of the Danube, and the scene is a triumphal procession through the city. It is full of life and action; on one side there are the legionaries including the lictors with their fasces. In the crowd are bearded colonists accompanied by their wives and children. The military are readily identified by the under tunic and the *sagum* or soldier's mantle. As a central figure, the Emperor is standing at an altar surrounded by all the preparations for an approaching sacrifice. On his left there is another crowd. Its members differ from the others in the absence of the military element. Here all are civilians and apparently officers of distinction. They are saluting the Emperor, and the social position they hold is signified by the presence of the scroll which each carries in the left hand. They may be senators, orators, or advocates, heads of colleges or surveyors,† or other important officials connected with the new colony. In the figure to the left we see how a portion of the cloak might be thrown across the shoulder without disturbing the remainder. In the third and fourth figures the partial division of the material is well defined, but neither in these figures nor in those recorded by Bartholini do we notice seam or buttons such as appear upon our City figure.

From the manner in which the drapery is disposed across the shoulders we may infer that the right arm of our soldier was uplifted, and that in his hand he grasped either spear or standard. This freeing of the arm exposes the tunic or undercoat beneath. The *tunica* was the principal underclothing of the Greeks and Romans, corresponding with the shirt or blouse of our own time. Its history,‡ writes Planché, "extends far beyond the time of the colonisation of these islands, and with the exception of the cloak or mantle was, in one form or other, the earliest article of apparel in the world." The ordinary form, such as that worn by the figure, was a simple frock or shirt made from woollen or linen cloth. It was girt about the waist, and reached nearly to the knees. Sleeves were sometimes added, short or long, according to the taste or inclination of the wearer, at times extending to the wrists, and ornamented by fringe or border. Such a

* See Plate 115 in Description des Bas Reliefs de la Colonne Trajane, par Gustave Arosa. Paris, 1872.

† Facing the title-page to the first volume of Lachmann's edition of the "Gromatici Veteres," Berlin. 1848-52, is a representation of a monument to an "Agrimensor," or Surveyor. The figure is seated, and holds in the left hand such a scroll as that to which I have referred. This work also contains the report of Balbus the Surveyor, who was associated with the expedition of Trajan into Dacia.

‡ Cyclopædia of Costume, by J. R. Planché, F.S.A. 1879, page 509.

fashion prevailed in the time of the Emperors. Julius Cæsar,* who, according to Suetonius, was somewhat particular in matters of dress, is said to have worn



such a tunic, girt about him loosely, and with sleeves fringed and bordered at the wrists, "ad manus fimbriatæ."

The short sleeves, as ordinarily worn, did not extend much below the arm-pit; they just covered the shoulders, leaving the arms bare, as seen by the woodcut, copied from one of the figures on Trajan's Column.

Illustrations of the tunic appear upon two of the statues which were found at Bedford Purlieus, in Northamptonshire, and preserved in the valuable collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford at Woburn.† Both figures have whips in their hands, emblematical, it may be presumed, of the occupation of the individuals they represent. They wear nothing but the tunic, which is girt beneath the breast similar to that described by Quintilian: ‡ "Cui lati clavi jus non erit, ita cingatur, ut tunicæ prioribus oris infra genua paullum, posterioribus ad medios poplites usque perveniat."

Though partially concealed by the folds of the tunic, the waistband, girdle, or *cinctorium,* is evidently present. The richness of its character is also indicated by the *phaleræ* or *bullæ* which ornament that portion which is visible. The crescent, which as a pendant or drop terminates the strap or girdle, is frequently found on Roman monuments associated with metal buttons or bosses, and is a further illustration of the rank and station of the individual represented. The belt, as worn, provided means for attaching the sword to the side by means of a loop affixed to the sheath. It differs from the baldric or *balteus,* which was passed across one shoulder and beneath the other; this was fastened by means of a buckle, which at times was enriched with studs or *bullæ* of gold or precious stones.

> "lato quam circumplectitur auro
> Balteus, et tereti subnectit fibula gemina." §

* Suetonius, in Vit. Jul. Cæs. 45.

† See Communication by the late Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, M.A. Archæologia, vol. xxxii.

‡ Quintilian, Instit. Orator. l. xi. 3.

§ Virgil, Æneid, lib. v. 312.

The *balteus*, often significant of inferior rank, occurs sometimes on sculptures where the inscriptions define the position and rank of the deceased, for example, on the figure of the centurion at Colchester, of which we have presently to speak. Here the sword is slung from such a belt, and hangs upon the left side. At the same time a smaller weapon is worn on the right thigh; this is suspended from the waist. The *cinctorium* is usually found represented on statues of superior officers, with the sword on the left side. Polybius,* speaking of the ordinary soldier, remarks that the sword, which he calls the Spanish sword, should be carried on the right side. It is formed, he says, not only for pushing with the point, but to make a falling stroke with either edge, and with singular effect, for the blade is remarkably strong and firm. The sword, as represented on the statue, is a good example of the *gladius*, or two-edged weapon. This was usually about twenty inches long; the swords worn by the cavalry were longer than those carried by the foot-soldiers. In our illustration the sheath or scabbard is well defined; indeed the same care and attention has been devoted by the sculptor to this as to other details of his work. Such were often made from thin wood, covered with a plating of bronze or silver, and at times were richly ornamented. One of the most beautiful examples of such work found in Britain is the legionary sword discovered some years since in the Thames, near Kew Bridge, and now in the possession of Thomas Layton, Esq. F.S.A. Upon this, associated with ornamental scrolls of foliage in a tasteful pattern, appears an illustration of Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf. In Mr. Roach Smith's Collectanea Antiqua a fine specimen has been figured. It was discovered near Mayence during excavations for the railway terminus at Cassel. It was of steel, and so oxidized that it could not be withdrawn from the sheath. This was twenty-four inches long, and at the widest part three inches and a quarter in width. It was made of wood plated with silver, the plating being almost perfect. It was bound round by two bands, to which were affixed rings for suspension to the belt. Upon the label, or upper portion of the sheath, was a group of figures, among whom appears a figure of Tiberius. Before the emperor is a youthful figure presenting an image of Victory. This, it is presumed, refers to Germanicus, whose military successes in Germany are so vividly recorded by Tacitus.† In the case before us no figure or ornament appears upon the scabbard; the label near the hilt is perfectly plain, and the handle of the sword is of a design which is well known. The circumstance of such a weapon hanging from the right side is, as before-mentioned, hardly consistent with the apparent rank of the officer. Whether

* Polybius, lib. vi.

† Collectanea Antiqua, vol. iv. p. 200.

another sword was suspended from the left, as with the Colchester centurion, it is impossible to say.* If its presence were necessary to define the rank and position of its owner, it would nevertheless be hidden from view by that portion of the cloak which covers the left side of the figure. Josephus, writing on the Roman military costume, with which he was familiar, observes that the infantry wore two swords, a long one in the right hand, and in the left a dagger a span long. Such dimensions, however, as the latter in no way apply to the weapon referred to, either in the statue from the City or that worn upon the right side by the Colchester centurion.

In representations of emperors or princes it is not unusual to find illustrations of both baldric and girdle, such as are worn by the centurion, richly ornamented with jewels and precious stones.† Such appear on the statue of Constantine at the Capitol at Rome, and may also be seen on the portrait of Honorius which appears on an ivory dyptich discovered at Aosta in the year 1833. Their use continued into the Middle Ages, and may be observed on many of our effigies and monumental brasses. Examples of such ornamented straps, which after girding the waist descend as that on our figure to the knees, appear on the monuments to Richard Willoughby, Chief Justice, 1329, in Willoughby church; Sir Simon de Felbrigge, Felbrigge church, Suffolk; Roger Atteleath, St. Margaret's church, Lynn, 1376, &c. The manufacture of belts and girdles made from leather, and decorated with studs and buckles, was an important one in England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In the left hand there appears a novel object. This is of exceptional interest, because it is due to the preservation in which it fortunately appears that I am enabled to offer any description of its meaning. When first discovered there was reason for the belief that this was no other than one of the small bags or coffers which are sometimes seen on Roman monuments, but when properly cleansed identification became easy, and in place of box or basket we could see that the sculptor had truthfully rendered a series of tablets such as were used by the ancients for writing purposes. In a clear light, the divisions between the *tabellæ* or leaves may be clearly seen. So fine, however, are the lines of separation, that, had time dealt less kindly with the monument, their characteristic features would have been destroyed, and we should certainly have been led to an erroneous conclusion. The tablets appear suspended by cords, fastened possibly to a strap,

* See post.

† In the Museum of Antiquities at Mayence is preserved a portion of a "courroie" or strap ornamented with buttons, as before described. "Bulla" is sometimes used in such a sense, viz. as "boutons," like heads of nails. Vide Lindenschmit, Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit, 11, 10, 4.

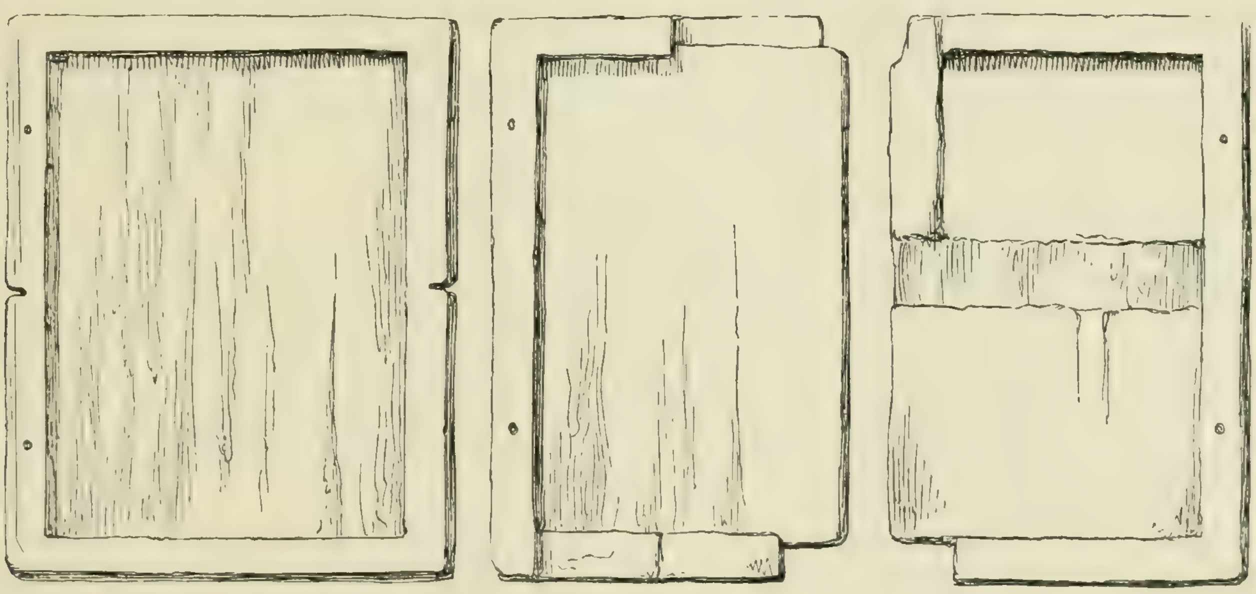
for it does not appear that the loops which may be seen above them are held by the fingers; on the contrary, the object which is visible between fore-finger and thumb has some resemblance to a band or strap, and indicates the method by which the tablets were attached. The latter are frequently spoken of as *ceræ* by the classic writers, from the circumstance that the mode of writing in their day was by a pointed instrument, or *stylus*, on a thin coating of wax laid on slabs or leaves of wood having a raised edge or margin, or sometimes a button or *umbilicus* in the centre, to prevent rubbing or friction between the leaves. A set of tablets would vary in number; there were the *ceræ duplices*, the *ceræ triplices*, and the *ceræ quintuplices*, where there were three central leaves in addition to the outside covers. Thus Martial—

> Tunc triplices nostros non vilia dona putabis,
> Cum se venturam scribet amica tibi.

And again,

> Cœde iuvencorum domini calet area felix,
> Quinquiplici cera, cum datur altus honos.*

At times the outer leaves or covers would be adorned with ivory carvings, jewels, or precious metals. Examples of *diptycha*, which in Imperial days newly-



appointed prætors and consuls were accustomed to exchange as presents, have been preserved.† From their perishable nature, few *tabellæ* have been found in London. Some specimens were exhumed from the large gravel-pit when

* Epigram, lib. xiv.—iv.-vi.

† Life of the Greeks and Romans, by E. Guhl and W. Köner. Translation of, by T. Hueffer, p. 530.

excavating in the year 1841 for the foundations of the new Royal Exchange. Some of these were found at a depth of thirty feet, and are now preserved in the British Museum and also at Guildhall. They retain the creases made by the strings used in binding them together. They have been figured by Mr. Roach Smith in his Illustrations of Roman London, and to him I am indebted for the loan of the illustration.*

Examples have been found at Pompeii; and at Herculaneum a wall-painting was discovered upon which was a representation of a lady with the *stylus* in one hand and the *tabellæ* in the other. In the museum at Sens, in France, some sculptures are preserved which were found under similar conditions to those from Camomile Street. They had been built up into the town-wall, and thus saved from destruction. Among them are many figures which serve to illustrate our City relics. Some have recently been published in "The Transactions of the Société Archéologique of Sens";† they comprise broken statues, portions of tombs, cornices, pilasters, altars, and other objects, many being of the highest interest for the illustrations they afford in connection with social and domestic life. Upon two at least among the sepulchral monuments appear examples of the *tabellæ*. On one, a cippus, appear the figures of husband and wife with hands clasped; in the left hand the man holds a strap, to which three tablets are attached, the *ceræ triplices*.‡ Upon a second cippus, representing a "*niche, à cintre surbaissé*," there are figures of three persons. One of them is holding by the left hand a set of tablets suspended by a triple cord.§ Many other

* Illustrations of Roman London, by Charles Roach Smith, p. 138.

† Musée Gallo-Romain de Sens, deuxième partie, p. xxix. 1869-70.

‡ Cippe funéraire de deux époux se donnant la main : on lit, sur la corniche, un reste d'inscription,

D. M. S V L A E. . . . M A T E R.

G nomme porte, par dessus ses deux tuniques, un manteau attaché sur l'épaule droite par une broche ou un bouton allongé, *sagum fibulatorium*. Les manches de sa tunique extérieure sont longues et collantes; elles descendent jusqu'au poignet, *tunica manicata*. De sa main gauche il soutient, à l'aide d'une courroie, des tablettes triples, *ceræ triplices*.

§ Cippe présentant une niche à cintre surbaissé, dans laquelle sont les statues de trois personnages. Celui de milieu est vêtu d'une tunique longue et d'un manteau à capuchon, *lacerna*, fendu par devant, et dont les deux pans sont rattachés par une patte à la hauteur du genou. pl. xxi. no. 1. Une autre patte rattache les bords de la manche gauche. Il tient dans sa main gauche un verre à boire. pl. xiv. no. 3, la statue de Regiola. Ses pieds sont chaussés de bottines dont les tiges sont ornés d'un bourrelet. A la jambe gauche, le bourrelet est inachevé et ferait penser à un pantalon, *braccæ*. Le personnage de gauche est vêtu d'une tunique descendant au-dessous du genou et pourvue de manches longues et larges. Il porte des bottines sans bourrelet. Celui de droit, vêtu d'une tunique plus longue, également à manches longues et larges, s'appuie sur un bâton, *baculus*, et porte dans sa main gauche des tablettes suspendues par un *triple cordon*.

examples may be quoted. "The use of the style and wooden tablets was continued through the Middle Ages down to a comparatively recent time, as may be exemplified by the versification of an anonymous writer of the fourteenth century:"

> Les uns se prennent à escrire
> De Greffes en tables de cire;
> Les autres suivent le coustume
> De fourmer lettres à la plume.

Their appearance on ancient monuments, as symbolical of the occupation or profession of the deceased, reminds us of those curious sepulchral effigies of the medieval notary or lawyer. There are examples of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, both in stone and brass, where the figures are seen with a girdle, from which are suspended both inkhorn and penners. In the presence of these tablets we may possibly learn something of the rank and profession of the individual represented. Their appearance on the monuments to civilians at Sens show that they have not necessarily a military significance. On the other hand we have the soldier's dress, a proof that the memorial is one of a military man. The selection, therefore, of this object must have been intentional, and for the purpose of placing upon record some important circumstance connected with the duties and career of the defunct. What this was can only be ascertained by reference to the writers of antiquity, and by comparing the monument with others of similar character. Explanation would have been less difficult had more certainty existed as to the object held by the right hand; the figure is clearly in a leaning posture, resting, as it were, on either spear or standard, but which it is impossible to say, and in the absence of any inscription no proof can be adduced. Such memorials, unfortunately, are of the greatest rarity in this country, but they are more plentiful on the Continent. In Italy, however, there is seldom anything of the kind discovered. In Rome itself, amid all the treasures of art, we find no similar monument. The statues there, numerous and magnificent as they are, both at the Vatican and the Capitoline Museum, are all too good; they belong to the highest form of classic art, and for the most part represent divinities, heroes of mythology, emperors or princes. They illustrate the perfection to which the art of sculpture had arrived; they tell of wealth and luxury, and of that taste for the beautiful which once guided the masters of the world, but they provide few illustrations of provincial work, of that intermingling of style which was the natural result of association between the conqueror and the conquered. In Rome there is probably no better judge of

antique sculpture than our countryman, Robert Tighe, Esq.; but he, when I submitted to his inspection a photograph of the City figure, at once remarked upon its interesting features, but informed me that I should find no similar examples in the galleries of Rome; for illustrations, search must be instituted among the museums of its ancient provinces. Figures of Gauls or Britons, Dacians, Parthians, and other nationalities, may be sometimes seen; as "barbarians" they appear in military processions, where in the position of captives they commemorate the triumph of the Roman arms. In these, distinctions of costume are portrayed with that fidelity which only serves to heighten the contrast between them and those more properly belonging to the classic garb of Greece and Rome.*

This scarcity is not surprising when we consider that such monuments are usually of a sepulchral character, and commemorate men who have served their country in some distant province of the empire. An individual might have held an important position abroad, and be thought worthy of a monument in the district where he had lived and died, and yet his existence be soon forgotten in Rome. Such memorials of the Roman legions provide the richest materials for study; from them we identify the various nations of the world, who helped to swell the army required for the conquest of Britain. The auxiliaries, too, formed an important section in the military system; they accompanied the legions; they fought with weapons to which they were accustomed, and might adopt the costume peculiar to their race. Among other ways of insuring allegiance, recruits, when required, were drawn from their respective countries, and thus sympathy for home and kindred became encouraged. Inscriptions often show how the sculptured tomb was erected by surviving heirs, or as a last tribute of affection by sorrowing relatives. We find the gravestones of the soldiery scattered throughout the world. To the more important of those discovered in this country I have presently to refer. Our illustrations, however, are few compared with the discoveries abroad. The Austrian provinces are probably the richest. In a letter from Professor E. Hübner, of Berlin, this eminent scholar remarks upon the poverty of Italy with respect to this class of monument. He tells me of treasures in France, Spain, and Portugal, and of discoveries made in the Oriental and Danubian provinces; but more especially refers to examples preserved in the museums of Mayence, Bonn, Wiesbaden, &c. &c. many of which

* See the Triumphal Arches of Septimus Severus, Titus and Constantine, and the various statues of "barbarians" preserved in the museum of the Capitol.

have been figured by Dr. Lindenschmit in his "Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit," a work of the highest interest and value.

In a paper recently published Dr. Hübner has described a monument discovered near Athens. It is a tombstone of a Roman soldier, and a member of the Prætorian fleet. For the ports of Italy Augustus appointed two permanent fleets, one at Ravenna, the other at Misenum near Naples. The soldiers were known as *classiarii*, military bodies trained for service either by sea or by land, and answering to the description of our modern marines. As soldiers or sailors they were qualified to act when occasion required. The memorial referred to, represents a soldier fully equipped for service; he wears the *sagum*, and, beneath, the ordinary shirt or tunic, girt with a plain *cingulum* or girdle. This has fringed ends, but no other form of ornament, and is simply tied around the waist; to it is fastened as usual the short legionary sword; this is on the right side. His right arm is raised, and by the hand he grasps a spear, not the heavy *pilum*, but a similar though lighter form of weapon. No dagger appears upon the left side, as with some of the Roman troops; the legs are bare, excepting below the knees, where a form of stocking has been indicated by the sculptor, and shoes laced up in front. In the left hand we see a set of tablets, in place of the shield which is so often present. This has somewhat puzzled our Continental friends, and Dr. Hübner suggests the possibility of their being intended to illustrate the certificate of citizenship with which it was customary to reward the soldier at the conclusion of his term of service, viz. the *tabulæ honestæ missionis*. This distinction of the *civitas* and *connubium*, or the enjoyment of civil rights and legitimate marriage, was in early times the usual reward of long and distinguished service. Under the emperors these grants were registered at Rome, and copies inscribed on *tabulæ* of metal were dispatched to the province in which the new citizens resided. Such plates have been found in Britain. They are usually of two sheets of bronze or copper, which, united by thongs, would fold together like a book. No less than three examples of these valuable "rescripts" are preserved in our national collection. They are known respectively as the Malpas Diploma, found at Malpas in Cheshire in the year 1812; the Sydenham Diploma, found in the year 1806 at Sydenham Common, in the county of Kent; and the Riveling Diploma, discovered in 1761 in ground known as the Lawns, in Riveling, near Stannington, Yorkshire. The two first are of the time of Trajan, and the third of Hadrian's reign. A portion of another was discovered at Walcot near Bath in the year 1815, and more recently two at the station of Cilurnum on the Wall. They were found by John Clayton, Esq. of Chesters, and are both of the reign of Antoninus

Pius, A.D. 146. They are all of the highest interest, from the information contained relative to the troops who served in Britain.* The earliest, answering to the year A.D. 104, is addressed by Trajan to the veterans who had served for twenty-five years or more, and who were at the time in Britain under Julius Neratius Marcellus. There is therefore nothing improbable in the notion that a soldier discharged from service might be hereafter represented as bearing in his hand the certificate of freedom; but in the monument at Athens it is questionable whether the tablets held may be so considered. The inscription, moreover, contains internal evidence of the status of the individual in this respect; it reads, *Dis Manibus, Q. Statius Rufinus, miles classis prætoriæ Misenensis* ꝯ (*centuria*) *Claudi Ingenui, annorum* xxxviii. *militavit annos* xviii.

We have here the *tria nomina*, a circumstance important in itself, and in Dr. Hübner's engraving the figure is represented as fully equipped for service; † his term, moreover, is seen to have been but eighteen years, too short a period for the usual *missio* or discharge, although in his case it was nearly half his life, he having entered the army at the age of twenty. His three names show that he was already in possession of civil rights, and the presence therefore of the tablets would seem to indicate some official duty performed during his association with the fleet at Misenum.‡ It may have been his duty to keep certain records or accounts belonging to his particular troop, and, if we may suppose the regulations which governed the Roman marines to be the same as those enforced among the soldiers upon land, information may be derived by a reference to what Vegetius has written on such matters. Mr. Coote reminds me of a passage which goes far to explain not only the presence of such *tabellæ* but of another familiar object with which they may be often confused, viz. the small box, cist, coffer, or basket, which is so frequently seen on ancient sculptures. It was a practice in the Roman army to keep a record of the accounts of the moiety

* Facsimiles of portions of these *tabulæ* have been published by the Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, M.A. in his Lapidarium Septentrionale.

† Grabstein eines Römischen Flottensoldaten aus Athen Archæologische Zeitung, 1868, by Dr. E. Hübner.

‡ Signor Rudolpho Lanciani of Rome has recently recorded some interesting discoveries of tombstones from the Necropolis between the Minerva Medica and the Porta Maggiore. Among the sepulchres he mentions a marble cippus of Ti. Julius Xanthus, freedman to Nero, who died at the advanced age of ninety, being SVB PRAEF*ectus* CLASSIS ALEXANDRIAE. Julius Xanthus, therefore, was a vice-admiral, and had been raised from his humble condition of a freedman to the honours of a flag-ship. Of this Signor Lanciani quotes other instances, and mentions that, under Claudius, Nero, and Otho, three freedmen had been rewarded with the supreme management of the great fleet at Misenum. See also Ferrero Armate, p. 32.

of the donatives of each cohort, as deposited by military law, "*apud signa*"; each man's half of his donatives being saved up for him, to be redelivered when he left the army honourably. The accounts of each cohort, as regarded such donatives, were kept by the "signifer," and this account-keeping, inasmuch as it required education and character, redounded much to the credit of the grade of "signifer." Vegetius, after referring to the keeping of such donatives, writes, "Decem folles, hoc est decem sacci, per cohortes singulas ponebantur, in quibus hæc ratio condebatur." There was an eleventh depository or sack, into which the whole legion put its contribution for burial, so that if any comrade was missing the expenses might be forthcoming from this eleventh purse for his interment. These latter accounts were also kept by the "signifer," "Hæc ratio apud signiferos, ut nunc dicunt in cophino servabatur." The concluding passage, referring to the eleven *sacci* and *cophinus* altogether, finishes with these words: "Et ideo signiferi non solum fideles sed etiam litterati homines eligebantur, qui et servare deposita et scirent singulis reddere rationem."* From this we gather that it was one of the duties of his office for the "signifer" to keep receptacles in which to preserve these records. It is therefore more than possible that on a monument to so important an official we should find a symbol emblematical of the trust. κόφινος, a Greek word, is usually understood to refer to a hamper or basket of wicker-work, such as might be employed in gardening or agriculture. In such a sense it is used by Columella, Juvenal, and other writers.† The Jews were known by their *cophinus,* as barbarian kings were known by their diadems. "Pharao incedat cum diademate, Israelita cum cophino." It is also the basket mentioned in the New Testament in connection with the feeding of the five thousand. It is, however, equally applicable to our position whether the tablets symbolise the records themselves, or the coffer, the *cophinus,* or the receptacle in which they were kept; the tablets would represent the banking accounts of the troop, to be kept, as we have seen, with scrupulous care. Whatever might be the privations to be endured by the Roman soldier, a rigorous discipline provided for his pay, and his savings were faithfully returned at the close of his term of service. Taxation produced the means, as it has done in later days, for the long continuance of war. It is therefore probable that some such office as I have indicated was held by Q. Statius Rufinus of the marines.

Of "signifers" or "standard-bearers" there are some interesting monuments preserved in the museums of the Continent. They may be at once identified

† Vegetius, Epitoma Rei Militaris, Teubner edit. p. 53, et seq.

‡ Juvenal, 3, 14 Commentaries. J. E. B. Mayor, M.A. 1872.

by the presence of the *signum.* Of this there were various forms, and their distinctions conferred on the ensigns who carried them a specific title in accordance with the object borne. Such, however, were all grouped under the general term *signa militaria.* A standard was attached to each cohort or troop, while the *aquila* or eagle formed the ensign for the entire legion. The "aquilifer," or bearer of the eagle, was the principal among such officers, but the number of "signiferi" varied in accordance with the number of cohorts of which the legion was composed.

Among the Roman sculptures in the museum at Mayence is the gravestone of an "aquilifer"; the figure, like that from Camomile Street, is in a canopied niche, supported on each side by late Corinthian columns. He appears in full military dress; as defensive armour he wears the *lorica* or corslet, with flexible bands of metal as a protection for the shoulders; he is also richly decorated with *torques, phaleræ, armillæ,* &c. About the waist is girt a belt, fastened by a buckle; from this there hang straps apparently of leather, which forcibly reminds us of that held by our City figure. The right hand grasps the eagle; the ensign of his legion and the left repose on a shield. Beneath is the following inscription :—

> CN*eus* · MVSIVS · T*iti* · F*ilius* · GAL*eria* · VELEIAS ·
> AN*norum* XXXII · STIP*endiorum* · XV. AQVILIF*er*
> LEG*ionis* XIIII · GEM*inae* M*arcus* MVSIVS · ↄ*enturio*
> FRATER · POSVIT.

From which we gather that Cn. Musius of Valeia was a soldier of the fourteenth legion, that he died at the early age of thirty-two, and had served for fifteen years.

There is also a memorial to a "signifer" of the same legion; he is fully armed. Beside the standard in the right hand we note the shield carried by the left, and the nature of the weapons, which are attached to a richly ornamented belt. There is the ordinary Roman sword, bearing a strong resemblance to the City specimen; this, too, is on the right side; upon the left there hangs the short *pugio* or dagger. The inscription reads :—

> Q*uintus* · LVCCIVS · Q*uinti* F*ilius* · POLLIA · FAVSTVS
> POLE · NTIA · MIL*es* · LEG*ionis* XIIII · GEM*inæ* · MAR*tiæ*
> VIC*tricis* · AN*norum* XXXV. · STIP*endiorum* XVII · H*ic* S*itus*
> E*st* HEREDES · F*aciundum* · C*uraverunt.*

The monument was erected by the heirs of Q. Luccius Faustus, a soldier of the fourteenth legion, and belonging to the Pollian tribe of Pollentia. He lived to

the age of thirty-five, and had served in the army for seventeen years. This was the legion which, after serving in the earlier British campaigns, bore the brunt of the battle with Boadicea. Paulinus Suetonius, the Roman general, gave its soldiers on that occasion the title of *domitores Britanniæ*, A.D. 61. In A.D. 68 it was recalled by Nero, but in the following year was again sent to Britain by Vitellius, and finally left the island in A.D. 70 by order of Vespasian.* But few traces of its presence have as yet been discovered. A monument to one of its soldiers was found at Lincoln, and a tombstone to a "signifer" at Wroxeter, with the following inscription :—

M*arcus* PETRONIVS · L*ucii* F*ilius* MEN*enia* · VIC*sit* ANN*os* XXXVIII · MIL*es* LEG*ionis* XIIII GEM*inæ* MILITAVIT ANN*is* XVIII SIGN*ifer* · FVIT H*ic* S*itus* E*st.*

Marcus Petronius, son of Lucius, of the Menenian tribe, lived thirty-eight years, a soldier of the fourteenth legion, called Gemina; he served as a soldier eighteen years, and was a standard-bearer ; he lies here.†

This inscription is believed to be the first record of the presence of the fourteenth legion in Britain. It is said to have absorbed the remnants of the ninth legion, which suffered so terribly in the contest with the British queen, and to have thus acquired the title of Gemina. According to Dio, when any part of a legion was added to another after having been reduced by sickness or ill success in war, that legion which received such accession was styled Gemina.‡

There is also in the museum at Mayence another gravestone of a "signifer," which has been figured by Dr. L. Lindenschmit.§ Here again the general treatment forcibly reminds us of our City figure. The soldier is standing in a similar recess, and the ornamentation of the canopy above strongly resembles that which appears on some of the sculptured stones from the Bastion, and which doubtless formed part of the monument to which the statue belonged. He holds the *signum* of a cohort by his right hand. It is rich in character, and resembles the highly decorated standards to be seen on Trajan's Column. On the right side, attached to the belt, is a small weapon, apparently a dagger, the larger sword

* Roman Forces in Britain, by W. Thompson Watkin, Esq., in the Proceedings of Evening Meetings of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

† Uriconium, by Thomas Wright, F.S.A. p. 357.

‡ See Roman Remains of Uriconium, by T. Farmer, F.S.A. section 11. Primeval Antiquities, British Archæological Association Journal, Gloucester Congress, 1846.

§ See his "Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit," 1858.

being placed at the other side, with the handle grasped by the left hand; from the belt or waistband appear ornamented straps, such as we have before referred to, terminating in drops or half-moon pendants. The inscription reads:—

PINTAIVS PEDILICI
F · ASTVR TRANS
MONTANVS · CASTELLO
INTERCATIA · SIGNIFER
CHO · V ASTVRVM
ANNO · XXX · STIP. VIII
H · EX · T · F· C·

Pintaius, Pedilici filius, Astur transmontanus, castello Intercatia, signifer cohortis quintæ Asturum, annorum triginta, stipendiorum octo, heres ex testamento faciundum curavit.

Pintaius belonged to the fifth cohort of Asturians, and held the post of "signifer" to his troop. Of his short life of thirty years eight were passed in service. Contrary to usage he is represented with a covering to the head; he wears a close-fitting cap, and over this the wolf's or bear's skin, such as appear on statues of the Galatian warriors of the same race, and which are to be found, says Dr. Hübner, in the North of Spain. Vegetius speaks of those who bore the standards as wearing the smaller breastplates and helmets, covered, to the enemy's terror, with bearskins:—"Omnes autem signarii vel signiferi quam vis pedites loricas minores accipiebant et galeas ad terrorem hostium ursinis pellibus tectas."* Examples of similar costumes may be seen on Trajan's Column.

The Asturians appear among the auxiliary forces at one time stationed in Britain. They were garrisoned at Condercum (Benwell), at Cilurnum (Wallwick Chesters), on the Northumbrian wall, and, according to the Notitia, a cohort was stationed at Aesica (Great Chesters) in the same locality. There are also reasons for believing that a company of Asturians was at one time stationed at Colchester, an inscription having been found on the site of the ancient Nomentum in Italy, which commemorates an individual who held the office of *censitor* (or censor) of the citizens of Camulodunum.†

Dr. Lindenschmit further figures the monument to Publius Flavoleius

* Vegetius, lib. 11, 16, 17.

† Celt, Roman, and Saxon, by T. Wright, Esq. F.S.A. p. 361. Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit, by L. Lindenschmit, 1858.

Cordus, a soldier of the fourteenth legion, who is represented as wearing both the *tunica* and *sagum*, and fully armed; he bears the *parma*, or circular shield, used by the cavalry or light-armed troops, in the right hand a spear, and by the side the legionary sword, while at the left appears the dagger hanging from the girdle. In the left hand, however, there appears an object which, though indistinct, has a strong resemblance to two rolls of writing, such as, our author remarks, have been before observed on gravestones of Roman soldiers, but the object of which finds no explanation from the association with military weapons and other articles of a soldier's dress. It is probable that what appears as two rolls of writing may in reality be but one, a continuous sheet, naturally curling up at each end, and so represented by the artist. This may be compared with a mutilated piece of sculpture discovered in our own country, viz. at Bath, and preserved among the many interesting objects to be seen in the museum of that city. The memorial is to a "signifer;" he wears both the tunic and military cloak; the right hand grasps the staff of the standard, and in the left is an uncertain object, but which bears a strong resemblance to the scroll held by the soldier in the museum at Mayence. This interesting relic has been figured by the Rev. H. M. Scarth, M.A., in his "Aquæ Solis,"* and in a recent letter from him upon the subject he remarks that such rolls, when seen in the hands of Roman statues, are usually smaller than the object referred to, and that it is quite possible that a set of tablets is really the symbol held by the Bath "signifer." In either case the presence of such objects is explained by the quotations already given from Vegetius, and this opinion is further strengthened by a reference to another memorial discovered in this country of like character. In all the monuments to which I have referred not only is the standard represented but the accompanying inscriptions leave no doubt as to the official position of the deceased. All are "signifers," and all grasp by the right hand the symbol of their office. The annexed lithograph represents the statue of a "signifer," as preserved among the collections of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society at York, and he, it will be seen, though holding the standard, is equipped with neither shield nor weapon, but bears in the left hand an object which implies the execution of a civil office. This figure was discovered in the year 1686 near to Micklegate, in York, whence it was removed to Ribston, and found its way to the museum some forty years ago. It has never been accurately engraved, although an illustration of it appears in that useful little volume "Ebŭracum," by the Rev. Charles

* Aquæ Solis, by the Rev. H. M. Scarth, M.A. 1864, p. 82.

Wellbeloved, accompanied by a brief description of the monument. Through the kindness of the Rev. J. Raine, M.A., I obtained a photograph, which, aided by a careful sketch taken from the original by Mr. J. P. Emslie, enables me now to give an authentic representation of the stone. From the fact of its having been exposed to the weather for nearly a hundred years after its existence was made known it is now much decayed, and so worn in places that many important details have been destroyed. Enough, however, remains to enable us to illustrate the observations made as to some of the duties appertaining to the post of "signifer." In height this monument is nearly six feet by about two in width. The figure, which, like the other referred to, stands in an arched recess, is considerably less than life size, measuring but three feet six inches high. Beneath it appears in well-cut letters the following inscription:—

L · DVCCIVS
L · VOLTRVFI
NVS · VIEN
SIGNIF · LEG VIIII
AN · XXIIX
H · S · E

This is rendered as—

Lucius Duccius Lucii Voltinia (*Tribu*) *filius Rufinus Viennensis Signifer Legionis Nonæ Annorum viginti octo hic situs est, i. e.* Lucius Duccius Rufinus, son of Lucius, of the Voltinian tribe of Vienna (in Gaul), standard-bearer of the ninth legion, aged 28, is buried here.

Though only twenty-eight at the time of his death, Duccius had enjoyed the important position of "signifer" to the ninth legion,* whose headquarters were at York. He wears the *penula*, but the decayed condition of the stone prevents us from identifying the folds or ascertaining if it at all resembles that worn by the City figure. It is evidently a close-fitting garment, but we cannot discover

* This legion was nearly annihilated in the outbreak under Boadicea, but what remained of it was engaged in the subsequent battle with her. It was engaged also and again severely handled in the great battle of the Grampians, when Julius Agricola defeated the Caledonian chief Galgacus. Its subsequent headquarters were at York, where traces of its presence in the form of inscriptions abound. It was engaged in building the Roman castrum at Aldborough (Isurium), as the tiles bearing its stamp testify. One of its tiles has also been found near Woodcroft (Northants.), and tombstones of two of its members have been found at Lincoln. A tablet erected by it in the reign of Trajan found at York is the latest that is known concerning it, but it is supposed from its severe losses to have dwindled away and ultimately to have been incorporated with the sixth legion. See Roman Forces in Britain, by W. Thompson Watkin, Esq. Proceedings, Evening Meetings, London and Middlesex Archæological Society, 1873.



ROMAN SCULPTURE. MEMORIAL TO A "SIGNIFER" OF THE NINTH LEGION

now in the Museum of the Literary and Philosophical Society, York.

whether there was any fastening in front or if it opened only from the waist downwards. When worn by the soldiery such a division could not well be dispensed with on account of the difficulty there would be in marching and in getting at the weapons suspended from the waist. That the *penula* could be worn on service is shown by an anecdote recorded by Seneca of a soldier who once reminded Augustus that during the campaigns in Spain, when the Emperor had sprained his foot, he had his *penula* spread beneath him.*

In the left hand we note the doubtful object; this is so worn and abraded in the original that all distinctive features have been destroyed. It has been amusingly conjectured by Horsley † that it represents the vessel for holding or measuring the corn which was part of a Roman soldier's pay; such an explanation is purely imaginary, but it has unfortunately been adopted by Mr. Wellbeloved and other writers. We have seen that, if box or coffer, such would represent the receptacle for preserving the records which it was the duty of the "signifer" to keep, but if a set of tablets, the object would indicate the records themselves.

I have already alluded to the monument to a Roman centurion found some years since at Colchester.‡ This however calls for further notice, because not only is it one of the finest examples of its class, but it affords further illustration of the practice of the Romans, that, where inscriptions might be defaced or absent, identification would be preserved by the representation of symbols such as would indicate the rank or occupation of the deceased. This interesting relic is carefully preserved by Mr. George Joslin in his valuable museum at Colchester, and he has kindly permitted our artist to prepare the annexed lithograph from photographs and sketches taken from the original. The figure is in high relief and well preserved, from the circumstance that when found the face was downwards, so that the features and other details had been saved from injury. It is about 3 ft. 7 in. high, and stands beneath a canopy in a recess or niche. The height of

* Seneca, de Benef. 5, 24, 1, meministi, inquit, imperator in Hispania talum extorsisse circa Sucronem? cum Cæsar meminisse se dixisset, meministi quidem, inquit, sub quadam arbore . . . cum velles residere . . . et esset asperrimus locus . . . . quendam ex commilitonibus pænulam suam substravisse? Weniger bestimmt ist ein anderes Zeugniss ebenfalls bei Seneca de Benef. 3, 28, 5, wo von servi pænulati in militum . . . . cultum die Rede ist. Einige andere, die aber sämmtlich in sehr späte Zeit gehören, giebt Lebeau, a. O.S. 521 ff. See Paper by Dr. Hübner, "Relief eines Römischen Kriegers im Museum zu Berlin," in "Sechsundzwanzigstes Programm zum Winckelmannsfest der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin," 1866.

† Britannia Romana. ‡ Page 39.

the entire monument, including base, is 6 feet, and the width about 2 ft. 4 in. The general treatment of the ornament which surrounds the figure is similar to that which occurs on the majority of the sculptures taken from the Bastion, but is far superior in execution. The inscription, in bold letters beautifully cut, reads,

M · FAVON · M · F POL · FACI
LIS · ⊳ · LEG · XX · VERECVND
VS · ET · NOVICIVS · LIB · POSV
ERVNT · H · S · E

Marcus Favonius, son of Marcus, was, like Q. Luccius Faustus of Mayence, of the Pollian tribe. He served in the twentieth legion, a body closely identified with the fortunes of Roman Britain. Its honourable title, *Valeria Victrix,* and its familiar symbol of the boar, are both well known. It was engaged in the construction of both the Northumbrian and Scotch walls. Sometime quartered at Deva (Chester), it remained until its final withdrawal from Britain. It is not mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii,* compiled at the close of the fourth or quite early in the fifth century, so had doubtless been previously recalled. Its first transfer to Britain occurred at the time of the German war against Arminius, probably arriving here with the first expedition of Claudius, A.D. 43, and inscriptions show that it was still present in the country at the death of Allectus, A.D. 297. At some period between this reign and the compilation of the Notitia it was removed elsewhere, otherwise we might expect to find it mentioned together with the second and sixth legions, both remaining in Britain. In the battle with Boadicea, the *vexillarii* only were engaged; the legion itself must however have been close at hand, for, when the engagement subsequently took place which sealed her fate, we are told that it was present and of its valiant conduct in action. Tacitus records how Posthumius, *præfectus castrorum* of the second legion, having failed to join with the troops under his command, killed himself from disappointment when he received news of the victory.*

In addition to those on the two walls this legion has left records of its presence at Erldon, Middleby, High Rochester, Netherby, Ellenborough, Moresby, Lanchester, Natland, Crawdundale, Manchester, Whittlebury (Northants), Wroxeter, Bath, London, and at Colchester. Its connection with the latter place finds

* Et Pœnius Posthumus, præfectus castrorum secundæ legionis, cognitis quartadecumanorum vicesimanorumque prosperis rebus, quia pari gloria legionem suam fraudaverat abnueratque contra ritum militiæ jussa ducis, se ipse gladio transegit.—Annals, xiv. 37.



J.P. Emslie, del.

ROMAN SCULPTURE MEMORIAL TO A CENTURION OF THE TWENTIETH LEGION

found at Colchester, now in the Museum of G. Joslin Esq.

illustration in the burial of Favonius, one of its superior officers. His rank is not only attested by the magnificence of his uniform but by the fact of his having freedmen in his service, two of whom, Verecundus and Novicius, erected the monument to his memory. That he was popular is probable from the sobriquet which he appears to have merited, viz. *facilis*, easy, good-natured, or courteous. His age does not appear, nor the years of his military service, but his position as one of the centurions of the legion is indicated by the symbol for the word *Centuria* > which appears in the second line, a symbol frequently noticed in funereal inscriptions, and representing the letter C as derived from the early alphabets of Greece. In his right hand we note another emblem of the office the centurion was called upon to fill. It is the vine-twig or sapling usually placed in the hand as an indication of authority. It was the duty of such an officer to inflict summary punishment on refractory soldiers, to summons therewith lagging deserters to the standards, and in the exercise of chastisement for faults it was considered rather an honour than otherwise, and a privilege accorded only to soldiers who were citizens to be beaten with a vine-sapling.* The office of "centurion" required qualifications of importance; like the "signifer" he was to be of a respectable position. Vegetius tells us that he should be selected on account of both strength and stature, that he should be able to hurl javelins or missiles, actively and fearlessly to fight with a sword, and skilfully to turn his shield, to be acquainted with the science of arms, watchful, sober, active, and ready rather to obey commands than to speak, to keep his comrades to discipline, and urge them to rightfully exercise their weapons, to be well clad and shod, to brighten up and polish the arms of all, &c. &c.† As an officer he was of lower rank than the tribunes by whom he was appointed. His post when on the field was immediately in front of the eagle.‡ This is illustrated by a bas-relief of the time of Trajan but now inserted in the Arch of Constantine at Rome. The centurion is represented as holding the *vitis* or vine-twig, and standing by the side of the "aquilifer," the bearer of the eagle.

From these examples, which might readily be multiplied, we note the prac-

* Pliny, H. N. book xiv. ch. 3.

† Præterea sicut centurio eligendus est magnis viribus, procera statura, qui hastas vel missibilia perite jaculetur et fortiter, qui dimicare gladio et scutum rotare doctissime noverit, qui omnem artem didicerit armaturæ, vigilans, sobrius, agilis, magis ad facienda quæ ei imperantur quam ad loquendum paratus, contubernales suos ad disciplinam retineat, ad armorum exercitium cogat, ut bene vestiti, et calciati sint, ut arma omnium defricentur ac splendeant, &c.—Vegetius, lib. ii. 14.

‡ Lib. ii. cap. 8.

tice of representing on memorials to the dead such symbols as would indicate the office, profession, or occupation in which the individual had been engaged. It was the sphere and cylinder on the tomb of Archimedes which directed Cicero to the resting-place of that mathematician; the bag sculptured on stone, together with the inscription VIATOR AD ÆRARIVM, tells of a serjeant to the Exchequer.* The sculptor Amabilis appears with hammer and chisel, the fuller is seen at his work,† the smith at the anvil with hammer and tongs,† the carpenter with hatchet and measure,‡ the vendor of wine and grain occupied with his customers.§ On the sepulchre of Adeodatus are figured the implements of a woolcomber.* On that of Atimetus, a *pullarius* or poulterer, is exhibited a cage of chickens.* On that of Epaphras the cutler, preserved in the Vatican, appears a shop-front with various forms of knives exposed for sale. The tomb of Eurysaces the baker, by the Porta Maggiore at Rome, with its curious rilievi, is also a striking illustration.

A like sentiment is expressed in emblems connected with the domestic life of the ancients. Upon a sepulchral slab discovered at South Shields in the autumn of last year is the figure of a lady seated in a wicker chair engaged in embroidery or weaving; upon one side is a chest or box, and on the other a basket, both of which appear to contain working material. Birds and animals, once favourites in life, are of frequent occurrence on such memorials, and in the case of children their toys are not forgotten. Among the discoveries still progressing in Rome is a touching illustration of this description. Signor Lanciani records the finding of the cinerarium of a boy, one Hyllus, page to Tiberius. His little bones had been inclosed with a terra-cotta chicken, painted in bright colours, and a fragment of a doll resembling our pulcinellas, with clay bust and arms, and legs of wood. The wood had naturally perished.

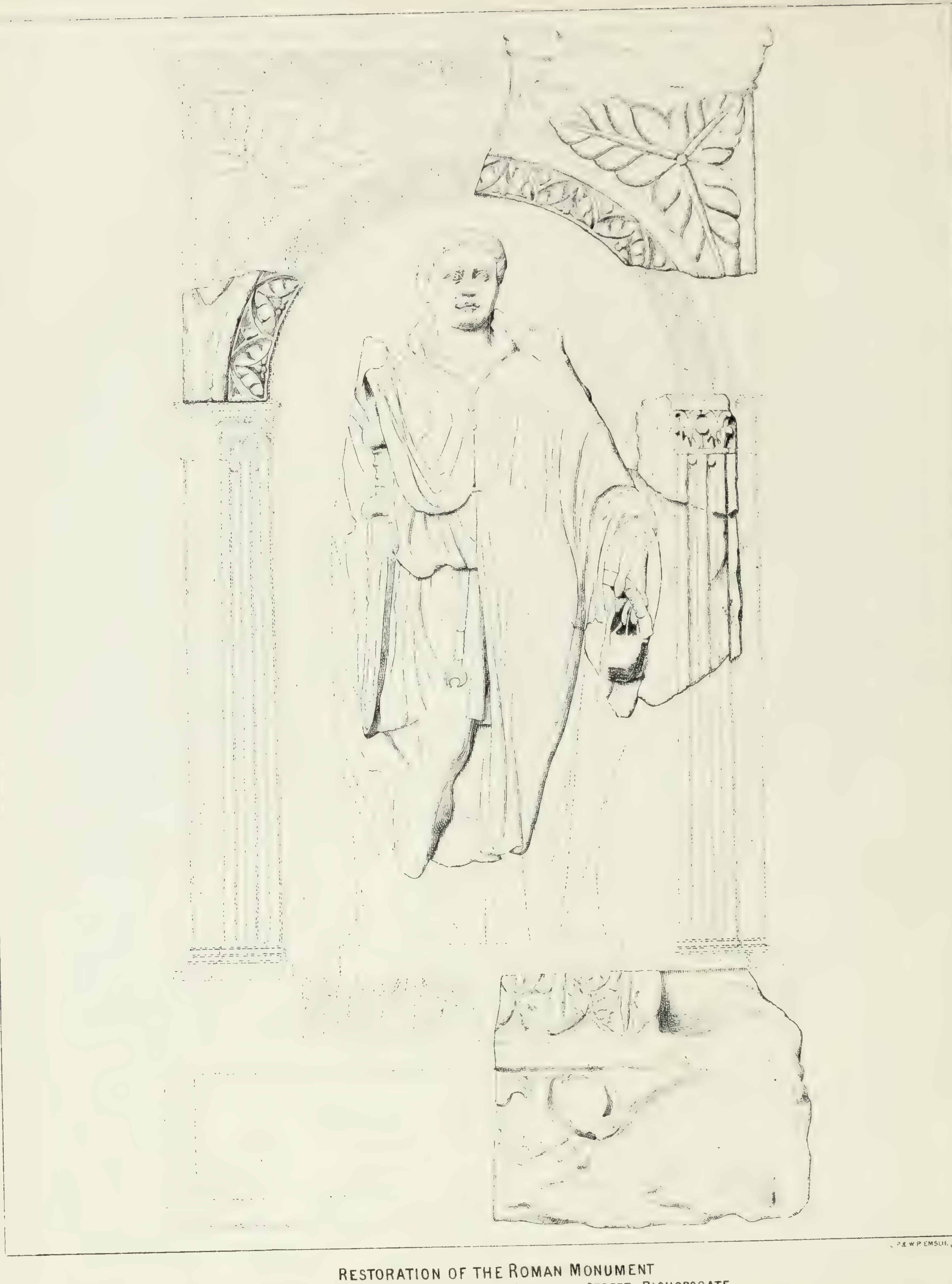
The set of tablets, therefore, which appear in the left-hand of our "signifer" has been so placed with a like intention. In the examples selected, inscriptions preclude the possibility of error, but if proof be needed it might be found in the presence of the emblems selected by the sculptor. About the "centurion" at Colchester, or the "signifer" at York, there can be no question; these, when compared with the foreign examples, lead to a conviction that the city figure belongs

* In the Galleria Lapidaria in the Vatican.

† Museum at Sens. ‡ Museum at Bordeaux.

§ Bas-relief in the Hotel de Ville at Dijon, engraved by Mr. Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua, vol. vi. p. 25.

Plate VI.



P. & W. P. EMSLIE, LITH.

RESTORATION OF THE ROMAN MONUMENT
FOUND IN A BASTION OF LONDON WALL, CAMOMILE STREET, BISHOPSGATE.

The portions shaded are preserved in the Museum at Guildhall.

to the same order. The connection which exists between the tablets and the military dress I have endeavoured to illustrate and explain, and the evidence goes to show that the official position which the artist intended to commemorate was similar in character to that once enjoyed by Duccius at York.

Plate VII. represents an attempted restoration of the monument. This is in no way offered as correct, but for the purpose of inviting criticism, and at the same time affording an illustration of the important character of the memorial when complete. The composition of this sketch is due to my friend Mr. Alfred White, F.S.A. who, after repeated examinations of the sculptures found in the Bastion, agreed with me in the conclusion that many of them had originally belonged to one and the same structure. In the few that are here selected we have pieces which, from their character and size, may well have formed part of the canopied niche which inclosed the statue. There are naturally many missing; at the same time, were it possible to remove and attempt to fit in their original position many of the immense masses of stone now preserved at Guildhall, other restorations might be attempted. It is likewise possible that, had we been able to secure the whole of the stones which made up the foundations of the Bastion, many connecting links might have been preserved; but such a course was impracticable; we could only save those which showed traces of the sculptor's art, the others had to be broken up and buried at the time. The pieces, however, selected by Mr. White, and arranged as shown in the illustration, produce a design which will bear comparison not only with the two memorials at York and Colchester but also with those to which I have referred as existing in the museum at Mayence. An important difficulty is, however, suggested in the circumstance, that, if our restoration be correct, the monument would be constructed of two descriptions of stone, the figures carved from oolite, while the canopy and base would be of firestone; the latter would naturally be useless to a sculptor, but at the same time it could well be employed for the less important surroundings of the central figure. Such an association of materials is not uncommon; it may be observed in some of those gigantic sepulchres which line the Appian Way at Rome, where there are examples of tombs constructed mainly from blocks of tufa, but faced with stone and brick. The accompanying diagram is drawn to scale, and, as the proportions appear to harmonise throughout, the association which exists between the fragments would seem to be more than a coincidence.

In leaving the consideration of this unique and interesting monument I would observe that as yet it stands alone among London discoveries. There is

but one other such memorial existing as found within civic limits, and this is so inferior as a work of art that comparison is barely possible. I allude to the mutilated monument discovered near to the foundations of St. Martin's church, Ludgate, by Sir Christopher Wren, in the year 1669, and now preserved among the Arundel Marbles at Oxford. The annexed woodcut is from a drawing made by my father from the original in the year 1845. Various engravings of the relic have appeared, and none more fanciful or unlike than those published by Gale, Camden, and Horsley. That given by the latter was repeated in Knight's "London," and exhibits the figure with a noble peruke, after the fashion of that worn by the distinguished architect by whom the monument was discovered. The inscription reads—



D.M.
VIVIO MARCI
ANO · M · LEG · II
AVG JANVARIA
MARINA CONIVNX
PIENTISSIMA POSV
IT MEMORIAM.

Diis Manibus, Vivio Marciano Militi legionis secundæ Augustæ Januaria Marina Conjunx pientissima posuit memoriam.

This stone was set up by "Januaria Marina, the most dutiful wife of Vivius Marcianus, a soldier of the second legion called Augusta." As remarked by Mr. Roach Smith, the word *memoriam* is synonymous with *monumentum*, and *conjunx* for *conjux* is a form not unusual in lapidary inscriptions of a late date.* Beneath the inscription is the figure of Marcianus; over his under-garment he wears the *sagum* or *paludamentum*, the ordinary military cloak, the former differing mainly in quality and being that usually worn by the common soldiers, the latter that customarily adopted by generals and superior officers. It falls in folds over the left arm, and is fastened on the right shoulder by a fibula or brooch. The right hand holds what appears to be a sword, but it is of unusual length, and

* Illustrations of Roman London, page 22.

from the absence of details impossible to describe. A belt is seen around the waist, the strap of which is apparently held by the left hand. There is, however, nothing about the figure to indicate any position in the army other than that of the ordinary foot soldier. To the legion in which he served reference has been already made. Upon its arrival in Britain it was commanded by Vespasian. Its headquarters were at Caerleon, where it has left numerous inscriptions. It accompanied Hadrian to the North, and with the sixth and twentieth legions constructed the Northumbrian wall, and under Antoninus Pius the same legions erected the barrier between the rivers Forth and Clyde. It was longer in Britain than any of the other legions, and remained to the end of the Roman occupation, being quartered at the time of the compilation of the Notitia at Richborough in Kent. This rough piece of sculpture is, so far as I know, the only figure from the City which, as a soldier's tomb, bears any relation to the present discovery. The circumstances under which it was discovered are identical: it had been used as building material. It had belonged to a series of tombs and memorials which occupied a portion of the City in past times near to the highway which led from Londinium to the west of Britain. The Camomile Street statue, of finer and nobler proportions, was doubtless similarly placed near to the road which ran from Aldgate to the East.

From this locality Mr. Roach Smith many years ago received a small figure carved in coarse oolite. It was found in Bevis Marks and is now in the British Museum. It represents a youthful personage with long and curling hair, dressed in the Phrygian cap, and a pallium or cloak fastened by a fibula, or rather a button, upon the right shoulder, over a tunic and waistband. In the left hand is a bow.* The design of this figure is fairly good and the drapery graceful. It measures 26 inches in height, is of provincial workmanship, and though superior in its style of art to many other examples of its class is inferior in execution to the statue before us. The group of the Deæ Matres from Hart Street, Crutched Friars,† the torso of a statue in white marble of a male, discovered at a depth of 17 feet in Petticoat Lane in the year 1845, the head of a Roman statuette from the Thames,‡ the portion of a figure of Hercules from Ludgate, a head in freestone from Birchin

* Illustrations of Roman London, p. 47.

† For years in the City Stone Yard, Worship Street, now in the Guildhall Museum. See Paper by the late E. B. Price, F.S.A. Journal British Archæological Association, vol. i. p. 247.

‡ Formerly in the collection of G. R. Corner, Esq. F.S.A. Journal British Archæological Association, vol. xiii. p. 317, Paper by S. Cuming, Esq.

Lane,* the altar to Apollo from Foster Lane, the sarcophagi from Haydon Square † and Upper Clapton,‡ together with a few lapidary inscriptions, commemorative of legionary soldiers, a few pilasters and architectural fragments,§ make up the meagre contribution which as yet London can offer to the series of sculptures connected with the Roman occupation of Britain.

Second in interest only to the statue is the figure of a lion represented as having overpowered by its spring either another lion or an animal of inferior



strength. This also is of oolite, is in high relief, and remarkable for the skill which is apparent both in the design and execution of the work. As a group it has been boldly chiselled from a solid block of stone; it measures rather over 2 feet long, is 11½ inches wide, and 1 foot 10 inches high. Unfortunately it is imperfect, the head of the vanquished animal being entirely gone, while that of the conqueror is much worn and abraded by the effects of time and weather. Its position as a mass of building material may be seen in the section of the Bastion given in Plate III. It is there shown as resting among squared blocks of worked firestone, and carefully wedged and fitted into its position by masses of Kentish rag. Its situation was at no great distance from the statue of the "signifer,"

* Roach Smith Collection. See Journal British Archæological Association, vol. ii. p. 205.

† Archaeologia, vol. xxiv. p. 300. Journal British Archæological Association, vol. ix. p. 161.

‡ Transactions London and Middlesex Archæological Society, vol. iii. papers by B. Clarke, Esq. F.R.C.S., and John E. Price, F.S.A.

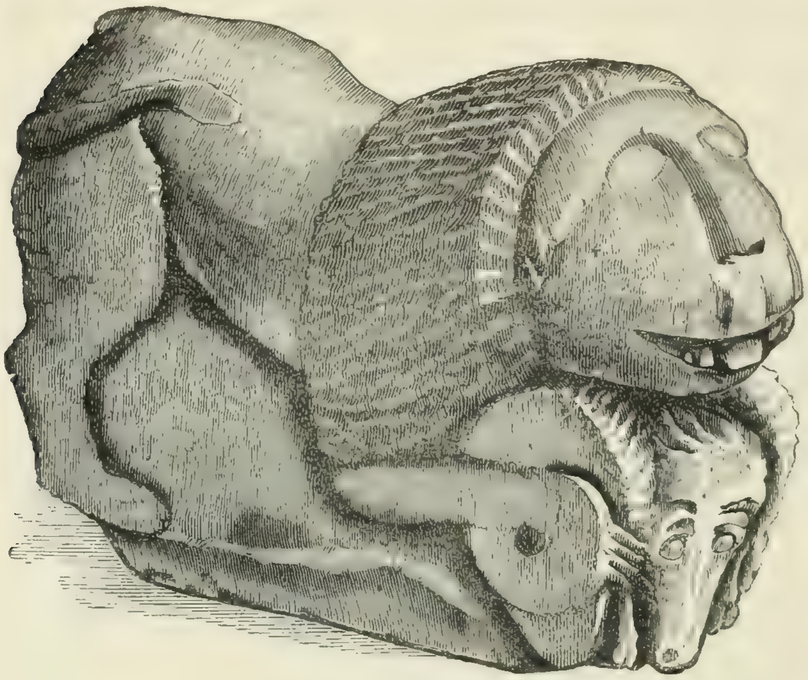
§ Collectanea Antiqua, by C. Roach Smith, F.S.A. vol. ii.

but though of the same description of stone as that figure it is impossible to say what connection, if any, there has been between the two, or if indeed they ever belonged to the same structure. The style of execution and the form given to the base show that the sculpture was intended to rest on something, and in a way that it could be seen on all sides, either on the cornice of a building or as the ornamental finish to a tomb. That it originally belonged to a sepulchre is evidenced by a comparison between it and similar relics which with scarcely an exception are known to have been associated with funereal monuments, added to the fact that the site of its discovery formed part of one of the extensive burial-grounds attached to the Roman city. As a piece of sculpture this object is a fine example of its class; it is novel, and quite unfamiliar to us in London, but in the North of England such figures are well known. In the Rev. J. C. Bruce's magnificent work, the "Lapidarium Septentrionale," some six or seven illustrations are included. In the museum at York two examples are preserved; they were found at Catterwick, but are imperfect. The lions may be observed as in full spring, but the animals which they had vanquished are gone. Of those figured by Dr. Bruce I am enabled, through the kindness of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to give illustrations. The woodcuts will show far more clearly than can any description the resemblance which exists between these objects so familiar in the North and our example from the Bastion. It may be noted that in the majority of instances, if not all, the conquering animal is a lion, while that which is attacked may be a horse, boar, a hind, a ram, and sometimes humanity is indicated as having thus succumbed to superior power.

In each case, however, if a symbol be intended, its meaning may be the same, the object probably being to illustrate the existence of a power to which all creation must give way. Such representations are presumed to refer to the worship of Mithras, an oriental cult which came into fashion in the declining days of Rome. This notion is strengthened by the Eastern character which prevails with some of the objects found. In the annexed illustration * a strong Egyptian feeling is apparent, and the original is of much the same dimensions as our London find. It was discovered together with the smaller figure at Kirkby Thore, a station in the North of England, where numerous inscriptions, altars, and Roman relics, have been found.

* Lapidarium Septentrionale, p. 391.

In the larger figure the animal conquered is evidently a ram. So also in a group, discovered by Mr. Robert Ferguson, of Carlisle, some twenty years since,



1 ft. 4 in. by 8 inches.



2 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 1 ft. 7 in.

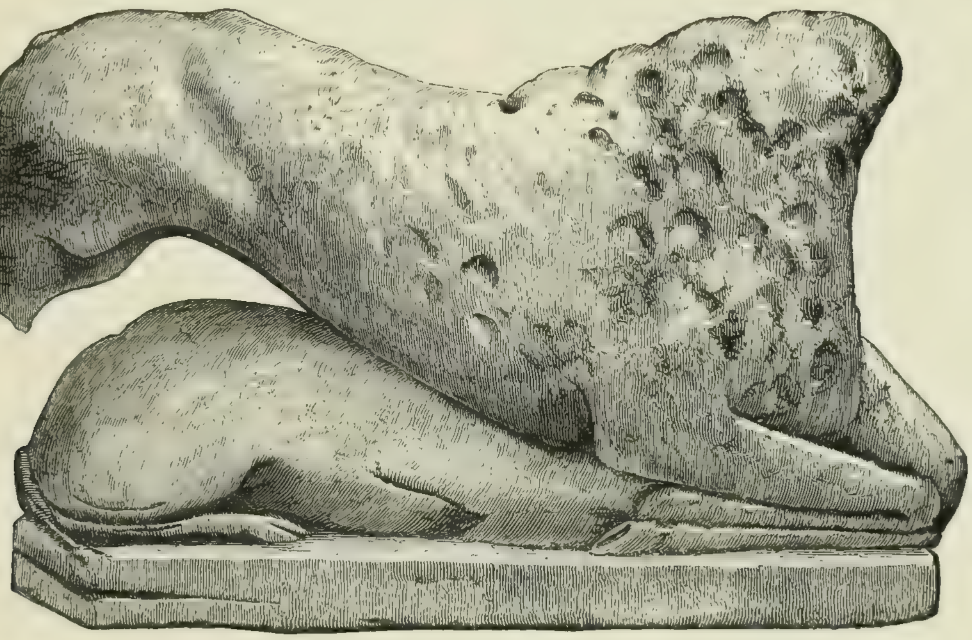
while excavating one of the extramural cemeteries near to the Roman Way by old Carlisle and Penrith. It was associated with an urn of earthenware, a glass



vessel containing bones, a lamp, and some minor objects. The figure stands upright on its base, and measures about 16 inches in length.

A much larger example is that found at HUNNUM, Halton Chesters, and now

preserved at Matfen Hall. It measures no less than 4 feet long by 2 ft. 3 in. wide. The squared base indicates the position it was intended to occupy, and the proportions show that it must have surmounted a monument of large dimensions. The inferior animal is so completely crushed by the lion above that its head and neck are lost to sight; the bent position assumed by the front legs of the former also helps to illustrate the force by which the latter is pressed in its position.



Figures of lions tearing or crushing human heads are likewise seen, and usually in the form shown by the next illustration. This represents a stone discovered upwards of two centuries ago at Stanwix, the site of a Roman station near to the city of Carlisle. It is now preserved at Drawdikes, and has been figured by Dr. Bruce.

The head above the inscription is supposed, writes Dr. Bruce, to represent the deceased. Its peculiar aspect, and the lions at the upper angles of the stone, slightly countenance the thought that Trojanus may have been one of the detachment of Moors which, according to the *Notitia*, was in garrison at ABALLABA, the fourteenth station on the Wall.*

* Lapidarium Septentrionale, p. 241.



Size 3 ft. 2 in. by 3 ft. 1 in.

DIS MANIB
S · MARCI(I) TROIANI
AVGVSTINI FI (?) TVM FA
CIENDVM CVRAVI
T · AEL AMILLVSIMA
CONIVX KARISS

Diis Manibus
Marcii Trojani
Augustini filii tumulum

Diis Manibus Marcii Trojani Augustini filii tumulum faciendum curavit Ælia Ammillusima conjux carissima.

The annexed mutilated fragment* still more forcibly illustrates our subject. It shows the claws of the lion clutching at the hair of its victim. It was found at CONDERCUM, Benwell, a station occupied by the Asturians, and was associated with another curious piece of sculpture representing a human head with rays of light proceeding from it. The symbol has led to the suggestion that the figure intended is that of Mithras himself.



14 inches by 10 inches.

Since the discovery of the foregoing, an interesting slab has been found in the vicinity of Carlisle, the particulars of which have been kindly communicated to me by Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., of that city. It is a sepulchral monument, and lay buried at the bottom of a large hole some four feet deep, near to the roadway from Carlisle to Dalston. It measures 4 ft. 4 in. high by 2 ft. 11 in. in breadth, and represents a woman and child in a canopied recess. The former appears seated in a chair and holding in her right hand what is evidently a fan; in her lap is seen a bird, which is pecking at the fingers of the little one who is standing by her side. The left hand is shown as quietly resting on the left shoulder of the child. Upon either side of the recess is a Corinthian pilaster, such as seen on the city relic, and above the whole, in striking contrast to the peaceful nature of the subject, are the figures of two lions, each fiercely tearing at a human head. Between the former is a figure apparently of a man holding some object by both hands. He is represented with wings; but owing to the head having been broken away, and this portion of the tomb being in other respects worn and damaged, any conjecture must be hazardous. As connected with our subject, interest centres in the lions, and these, especially in one instance, are tolerably well preserved. They are vigorously cut; rough, but forcible in treatment. The cruel and savage manner in which they have seized upon their prey, and fastened their fangs in the heads before them, is remarkably well done. The fact of their presence on the monument has originated the notion that this memorial was raised to the wife and child of some worshipper of Mithras. The idea is strengthened by the wings which are attached to the figure placed between the lions, such also being attributes belonging to the Persian god.

Our space is too limited for any lengthened description of this oriental sect, with all its initiatory rites and ceremonies; yet, so unique among London discoveries is the piece of sculpture before us, that it may be interesting to consider why such figures, forming part, as they usually do, of a sepulchral monument, are

* Lapidarium Septentrionale, p. 40.

invariably associated with the worship of Mithras, the Sun-god of Persia, the mediator between man and the powers of Good and Evil.

The true origin of a cult, described by the Rev. John Hodgson as little better than a "jargon of witchcraft and astrology," is to be sought for in Persian literature. It belonged to the order of heathen mysteries which professed to reveal to those initiated the secrets of Providence and the hidden processes of nature. According to Plutarch,* Mithraicism was unknown in Europe until the time of the piratic war, some seventy years before the birth of Christ. Its introduction to the West is thought to have occurred at Ostia, where so many memorials in connection with it have from time to time been found. From Ostia it naturally came to Rome, and its propagation throughout the provinces of the empire can be readily understood. As a form of superstitious worship it spread rapidly under Domitian, A.D. 81, and Trajan, A.D. 98; was opposed by Hadrian, A.D. 117, but patronised by Commodus, A.D. 180, and increased in popularity to the middle of the fourth century. In the reigns, however, of Valentinian, A.D. 364, and Gratian, A.D. 375, it was suppressed at Rome, and, with the advancement of Christianity, gradually died out. Its survival may be traced in what is known as the Gnostic heresy, for though originally distinct it became absorbed among the numerous sects who, while adopting Christianity, continued to associate therewith many of the doctrines and superstitions imported from the East. In process of time Mithras became identified with Abraxas, the god of the Gnostics.

The worship of Mithras was usually conducted in a cave or small building protected from the light. Such temples have been found in various parts of Italy. In our own country a Mithraic cave was discovered at BORCOVICUS, Housesteads, the eighth station on the Wall. In it was found a tablet with a figure of the god surrounded by the signs of the zodiac, sundry altars, and fragments of what is termed a Taurine tablet, from the subject representing the slaughter by Mithras of the bull. The portions found have been illustrated by Dr. Bruce and are here repeated. They comprise two Phrygian figures, standing with torches across their breasts, part of the head and one foot of the recumbent bull, the right hand of Mithras grasping the knife, and a dog. They are fragments of such a slab as the perfect example also given in Plate VIII. copied from one of the works of Dupuis.

At York a sculptured tablet representing the sacrifice and mysteries of Mithras was discovered as long since as the year 1747 in digging for a cellar in a house at Micklegate, opposite St. Martin's church. It is now preserved in the museum. In addition, altars dedicated to Mithras have been found at

* Life of Pompeius Magnus.



FROM THE "LAPIDARIUM SEPTENTRIONALE,"
By the Rev. J. C. Bruce, M.A.

VINDOBALA, Rutchester, a station on the Wall; the inscriptions noticed have been DEO · SOLI · INVICT or DEO INVICTO · In one case the word DEO stands alone; the dedication here however is explained by the sculpture at the base of the altar, which represents the sacrifice of the bull. DEO · SOLI · INVICTO · MITRÆ SÆCVLARI; DEO · SOLI · MITR are also among the forms which have appeared in Britain of dedications to the Persian god.

The sacrifice of the bull is the leading symbol in all relating to the myth, and it has been well described by Mr. Charles J. Hemans in his interesting work on "Historic and Monumental Rome."* "Mithras, a noble-looking youth in oriental costume, with tunic and Phrygian cap, stabs the bull with a golden dagger, that animal being emblematical of the earth, and this act of the god not an inflicting of death but bestowal of life—the quickening of the powers of Nature, as through the vivifying beams of the sun directed to her maternal bosom. It is the cosmogonic sacrifice offered annually by the Divine Mediator to the Eternal Ormuzd; and in such act the initiated saw still deeper meanings, the triumph of good over evil, of light and love over infernal darkness. The usual accompanying symbols are, a youth holding up a kindled torch, also a blossoming tree, emblematic of the spring; a man of mature age with a reversed torch, also a fruit-bearing tree for the autumn season; a serpent and a scorpion, introduced probably with an astronomic sense; a dog attacking the bull while it is being wounded, emblematic of the Good Genius, also of the star Sirius; an eagle and a hawk, birds dedicated to Ormuzd; a lion, implying an advanced stage of initiation; a cypress and a palm tree, sacred to Mithras. When, as sometimes seen in rilievi, a ray of light is darting to the head of Mithras, this signifies the perpetual and immediate intelligence between the supreme and the mediatorial deity."

This description may be compared with an account given by Montfaucon of an example discovered by Mr. Fagan at Ostia early in the present century, and in which we note the lion again referred to as an important emblem in connection with Mithraic rites. "The god is represented as the solar deity and keeper of the two portals, of which he holds the keys, called respectively those of heaven and earth, or of mortals and immortals. The lion is his symbol, because the sun attains its greatest altitude in Leo, and the serpent that entwines Mithras symbolises the tortuous and spiral path which the ancients assigned to the sun when above the ecliptic; and the serpent, from the peculiarity of its casting off its slough annually, is symbolic of the ever-renewed youth of the sun. The bowl between his feet represents the water which is necessary for the production of every species of living being, and the serpent putting his head into that vessel

* Page 641.

reaches the humid element. Thus is indicated that mixture of heat and moisture on which the growth of everything depends. The four wings of Mithras are also solar symbols, and in general signify the elevated regions which constitute his domain, while more particularly the two upper pinions refer to the ascending movement of the luminary when he culminates above one hemisphere, and the two lower ones point to the opposite declension."

Of Mithraic temples in Rome but one remains; this was discovered in connection with a Christian church in the course of excavations undertaken some years ago by Father Joseph Mullooly beneath the basilica of St. Clement, on the Cælian Hill. This worthy prior of the Dominicans has, in his interesting life of St. Clement, given a full description of the discovery. In a crypt beneath the basilica an altar to Mithras was found, and shortly after the Mithræum itself, a portion of the building which had been deliberately transformed into a cave for the celebration of the Mithraic rites. The vault discovered was pierced by eleven *luminaria* or skylights, some round, some square, and all decorated with mosaics; mosaic bands also ran along the sides and at the ends. The simplicity of the decorations, and the absence of Pagan forms, gave strength to the conviction that it was the first Christian oratory. Much of the ceiling, however, was made of small mineral stones, artificially imitating a grotto, and when the whole was cleared out, as we now see it, there remained no doubt that it was one of those caverns in which Mithras, whose altar had been already found, was habitually worshipped. Along the walls are raised platforms, ascended by three steps, which are believed to represent *triclinia,* on which the guests reclined while participating in some sacred feast held in the cave. Along the outward extremities of these benches there is a depressed edge, on which are five semicircular niches, two on the right hand and three on the left. They were formerly covered with marble, fragments of which still remain. These niches probably contained the figures or statues called *Signa Sacrorum,* symbolizing the five grades of initiation in the Mithraic mysteries. High up in the wall, at the end of this temple, is a niche, which must formerly have contained a statue of Mithras, and lower down is a small square cavity built of brick. This may have contained water for religious purification, or perhaps served as a receptacle for the blood of victims. Near it, on the floor, were remains of an altar, and a few inches in front a small round piece of marble, upon which, it is supposed, burned the sacred fire that was kindled and preserved in the two small furnaces facing each other in the sides of the benches. The learned Cavaliere Visconti thinks that the round piece of marble served as a pedestal for the conical-shaped stone that was found here representing the birth of Mithras. The deity is seen issuing from the top of the stone, which is a well-known symbol of Mithras;

for, as Lajard and others write, owing to the comparison between him and his symbol, fire, it was said that he had been generated from a stone, from the fact that a spark is produced by striking two flint-stones together, which was the way fire was first discovered. Mithras, therefore, was called θεός ἐκ πέτρας, and hence the stone itself was called his mother. This statue is 25 inches high; the deity from the knees upwards has emerged from the stone, and stands erect wearing the Phrygian cap. The arms from the elbow are wanting. It was broken into three pieces, which were found at various periods during the progress of the excavations, and is the only one of the kind in Italy.

In the centre of the Mithræum an altar was discovered. The upper part of it, on which probably were represented the chariots of the rising and setting sun and the symbols of the seven constellations, is quite gone. It is of Parian marble, and in its mutilated state is 4 feet high, 2 ft. 5 in. across the front and back, and 20 inches along the side. On the front of it is the background of a grotto, in the centre of which is the *taurobolium*,* or sacrifice of the bull. Mithras is clad in a short tunic, with his chlamys or cloak fluttering over his left shoulder. He wears the Phrygian cap, and is looking earnestly towards the heavens. He has his left knee on the bull stretched on the ground before him, and while he holds him by the nostrils with his left hand he plunges a dagger into his shoulder with his right. A dog and a serpent lick the blood that flows trickling from the wound, and a scorpion or cancer gnaws the scrotum. The tail of the bull ends with ears of corn. Two genii clothed like Mithras stand as his assistants, one with his torch erect to indicate the rising sun, and the other with his torch depressed to indicate his setting. On the edges of the upper part of the grotto, to the right and left, are fragmentary figures of the sun and moon, and within it is a raven. Low down on the right of the spectator is the head of a lion, which, so far as I know, has not been as yet found on any other monument representing the *taurobolium*. Among Mithraic talismans, an early design is the Lion—the sun's house astrologically speaking—surrounded with stars, *holding in his jaws a bull's head* or trampling on the serpent, here the emblem not of wisdom but of the evil principle.†

Speaking of the animals associated with Mithraic worship, Father Mullooly

* The Rev. John McCaul, LL.D. in his "Christian Epitaphs of the First Six Centuries," remarks that the oldest example of the *taurobolium* with which he is acquainted is of the year A.D. 133. *Vide* Mommsen, Inscript. Neapol. n. 2063; Fleetwood, p. 11; Fabretti, p. 665, &c. There is, however, record of the existence at Rome of a monument in connection with Mithraic worship, dated A.D. 101, viz. in the Third Consulate of Trajan. A cavern of Mithras and his initiatory symbols were destroyed by Gracchus the Prefect in the reign of Theodosius I. A.D. 378.

† King's Gnostics and their Remains, p. 57.

remarks that "the priests who were initiated in the mysteries assumed various names or titles taken from the animals, which in their solar system of worship had a symbolical signification. Thus, in the writings of the ancients,* they were called *coraces*, ravens; *hierocoraces*, sacred ravens; *leones*, or *leontini*, lions; Persia, Heliaca, and the priestesses *leœnæ*, lionesses; for Mithras has his priestesses too, as appears from a passage in the second book of Justin, where it is said that Artaxerxes consecrated Aspasia to the worship of that god. All these priests wore the figures of the animals whose names they bore. The *leontini* alone, as Porphyrius seems to insinuate, had a right to assume the figures of any animal they pleased. Hence the mysteries were called Coracia, Hiercoracia, Leontica, Griphia, Persia, Heliaca." †

The Romans associated Mithras with the sun, as we have already seen by inscriptions quoted; their acquaintance with the mythology of the East was but limited. In the third century they substituted the worship of the sun for that of all the gods; of this there is numismatic evidence. On coins of this time are exhibited upon one side the figure of the sun, and upon the other the epigraph *Sol Dominus Imperii Romani.* This is an illustration of the development of the Mithraic superstition at this period, but it was from the end of the third century to the middle of the fourth that it obtained its greatest number of adherents. During that period Christianity was embraced by persons of all ranks, and threatened the overthrow of Polytheism. The religion of the empire was in danger, and the Pagans and Neoplatonists, in order to resist the faith of Christ, especially employed the mysterious rites of Mithras, and endeavoured to demonstrate that the worship of the sun had been the primitive and true religion of mankind. Mithraicism was better suited to obtain that end than any of the other religions then practised in Rome; for, in addition to its teaching the existence of a god acting as a mediator and atoning for the sins of men, it imitated some of the sacred rites of the Christian religion, especially the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist. They sprinkled the initiated with water and

* Porphyrius de Abstinentia, c. 16, 18; St. Jeronymus, Ep. ad Lætam, c. 51.

† "Saint Clement, Pope and Martyr, and his Basilica in Rome," by Joseph Mullooly, O.P. 1873. Since the above was in type the lamentable intelligence has reached us of the death of this learned antiquary. His discovery, first, of the subterranean basilica of St. Clement, and subsequently of the Mithræum, to both of which I have referred, will be ever appreciated by antiquaries of all nations; and those who have had the opportunity of receiving a welcome from him in the Eternal City will not only remember his courtesy and attention but the readiness with which he imparted the learning he had acquired. In a short obituary notice, by Mr. Coote, just published in Notes and Queries, 6th series, No. 27, it is well remarked that he possessed a "charm of converse, where the warm heart of his native land showed itself through the delicate polish of his adopted country."

presented them with bread and wine, in order, as they said, to regenerate them, and give them a new life. "Per lavacrum, si adhuc memini," says Tertullian, "Mithra signat illic in frontibus milites suos, celebrat panis oblationem, et imaginem resurrectionis induit et sub gladio redimit coronam."*

The presence, therefore, of lions on sepulchral monuments, especially when associated with other emblems, may well suggest a Mithraic origin; at the same time the figure of a lion might appear upon a tomb where no such significance was intended. In examples undoubtedly of Mithraic import few illustrations appear of that animal displaying the ferocity of its nature by crushing or devouring one of inferior strength, whereas in all those from the North of England, together with that now found in the Bastion, such is the leading feature of the design.

The Mithraicists, like the Christians, looked for eternal life, and, if there be any association between these figures and the worship of the Sun god, the object would seem to be an illustration only of submission to a superior power—the triumph of one principle over another—the passing from death to life; or may we see in such curious groups merely hidden types of forms of sacrifice familiar to those initiated in the mysteries of the cult?

Though of pagan origin, they are also met with on Christian monuments, and it is probable that they often have as much to do with the taste and fancy of the sculptor as with symbols at once so mystical and obscure. In the porches of some of the old Lombardic churches there are figures of lions represented either as devouring other animals or holding heads of men between their paws. Similar figures, too, occur on marble sarcophagi from the Catacombs, and usually in the form of terminal ornaments, the design being identical at each end. Examples are preserved in the Vatican, and also in the collections at the Louvre. A portion of such a monument may be seen any day in one of the streets of Rome by the ordinary traveller.† It is a piece of sculpture which has been used as building material, and is supported by a pillar which appears to be imbedded in the ground. The fragment is of white marble, and represents a lion having overcome a sheep or lamb. The lion is on the back of its victim, which is in a kneeling attitude and tightly held by the stronger animal. The latter has the jaws extended, the teeth are piercing the head of the victim, and the claws tearing at its flesh; they are buried in the soft wool beneath the mouth and by the side of the right shoulder. The figure is altogether about 2 feet high, has been broken

* Lib. de Baptismo, c. 5.

† In the wall of house No. 26, in the Vicolo de Soldati, near to the Via di Torri di Nona.

midway in the back of the lion, and has probably formed the corner to a sarcophagus of large dimensions.

Among the tombs on the Via Latina which have been described by Mr. Eastlake is one enriched at its angles with carved representations of a lion tearing a horse. In the centre of the longest side is carved a small barrel. It is possible that this was a Christian sepulchre—the barrel being one of the symbols used in the early Church. A similar emblem, and placed in a like position, appears upon a sarcophagus of white marble preserved among the treasures belonging to His Grace the Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey. This was taken from a sepulchre in the course of excavations near to the Via Appia. It is richly ornamented with vermicular flutings, in the centre of which design we note the barrel referred to. At each end is sculptured a lion destroying a boar. The cover of the tomb represents the ancient mode of tiling the roofs of buildings, and the manner in which the joinings of the tiles are cased over with *imbrices*, to prevent the admission of rain. Two females appear to have been successively deposited in the sarcophagus—Faustina and Eusebia. The first inscription is to the former:

FAVSTINA · DEPOSITA · XIII · KAL · SEP

The second, on a square tablet in front of the tomb, is—

EVSEBIE FILIAE
PARENTES
CONTRA VOTVM

recording the burial of Eusebia by her parents.

In the published account of the collections at Woburn Abbey there appears an engraving of this sarcophagus, accompanied by brief descriptive notes. "The group of the lion and boar is viewed as an expressive symbol of the power of death, or of the destroying attribute acting on the passive principle in organised matter, in order to its reproduction under another form." * Such an explanation is perhaps the most reasonable which has been advanced as to the object and intention of such figures. Such adaptations, to be seen on tombs and monuments of all ages, would also seem to indicate that they were sometimes merely of a conventional character, and possessed no hidden meaning or significance. It was no uncommon thing for subjects taken from mythology to be copied by the Christians, and as familiar symbols receive new interpretation from the fathers of the Church. Examples are not wanting in the catacombs of inscriptions commencing with the letters D · M · the familiar con-

* See Engravings and Descriptions of the Woburn Abbey Marbles, 1822.

traction for *Diis Manibus*,—to the Divine Manes or souls of the dead. Such an adoption of the pagan formula leads to the supposition that the ignorance of the sculptor led to its continuance: he could neither have understood its meaning or reflected on its unsuitableness to a Christian grave. As Christianity flourished, artists, while converts to the faith, might well continue to adopt designs and figures which for years had been familiar in their studios. The practice was one which called forth a remonstrance from Tertullian,* who complained that those most interested in the growth of the new religion should continue to perpetuate such heathen forms. For example, the sea-monster who swallowed Jonah is the same to which Andromeda was exposed. The barque which carried Danæ and Perseus to the island of Seriphus serves as an illustration for the Ark of Noah. Diana's stag became the Christian soul thirsting for the living waters. Juno's peacock, under the name of the phœnix, that soul after the Resurrection. The pagans identified upon their tombs the story of Ganymede and the eagle, the fable of Diana and Endymion, Laodamia and Protesilaus, Bacchus and Ariadne, the death of the Niobides, besides the hunting of the boar, figures of athletes, incidents from the Circensian games, together with groups associated with scenes in rural and domestic life. On sarcophagi of the fourth and fifth centuries the idea and intention are precisely the same as formerly, conventional designs are perpetuated, but associated with stories and traditions of a different order, selected by the artists to meet the growing tastes and requirements of the age. On tombs of this period † we find the story of Adam and Eve, the Sacrifice of Abraham, the Adoration of the Magi, the Resurrection of Lazarus, the Feeding of the Five Thousand, and other incidents taken from the Miracles—these all became standard subjects. The nimbus long used by the Pagans was adopted by the Christians. Representations of the Good Shepherd ‡ were derived from pagan emblems copied from figures of the deity Pan, anciently represented by sculptors with a goat thrown across his shoulders,

* De Idolatria, c. vi. vii. viii. Cf. Adversus Hermogenem, c. i. and the Note of M. Rigault, quoted by M. Edmond le Blant, Révue Archéologique, 1878, p. 143.

† Compare the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, Prefect of Rome A.D. 359, now in the crypt of St. Peter's. The subjects represented are, in the upper part, The Sacrifice of Abraham, The Capture of St. Peter, Christ seated between Peter and Paul, The Capture of Christ, Pilate washing his Hands. In the lower part, Job on his Mat insulted by his Wife and Friends, Temptation of Adam and Eve, Entrance of Christ into Jerusalem, Daniel in the Lions' Den, Capture of St. Paul.

‡ See Didron, p. 365; Roma Sotteranea, p. 475; Paper by J. W. Grover, Esq. in the British Archæological Association Journal, vol. xxiii. p. 223; Maitland's Church of the Catacombs, p. 58; Hope's Essay on Architecture, &c.

and a Pan's pipe, or syrinx, in his hand. In the baptistery at Ravenna the Jordan is portrayed as a river-god, and the labours of Hercules are said to have been inscribed on the pontifical chair at Rome. Numerous other illustrations might be given, but those quoted are sufficient to show that in such a period of transition forms doomed to decay would for a long period keep up a struggling existence, and there need be little surprise at the meeting, as we so often do, with combinations, on the same monument, of both Pagan and Christian symbols.*

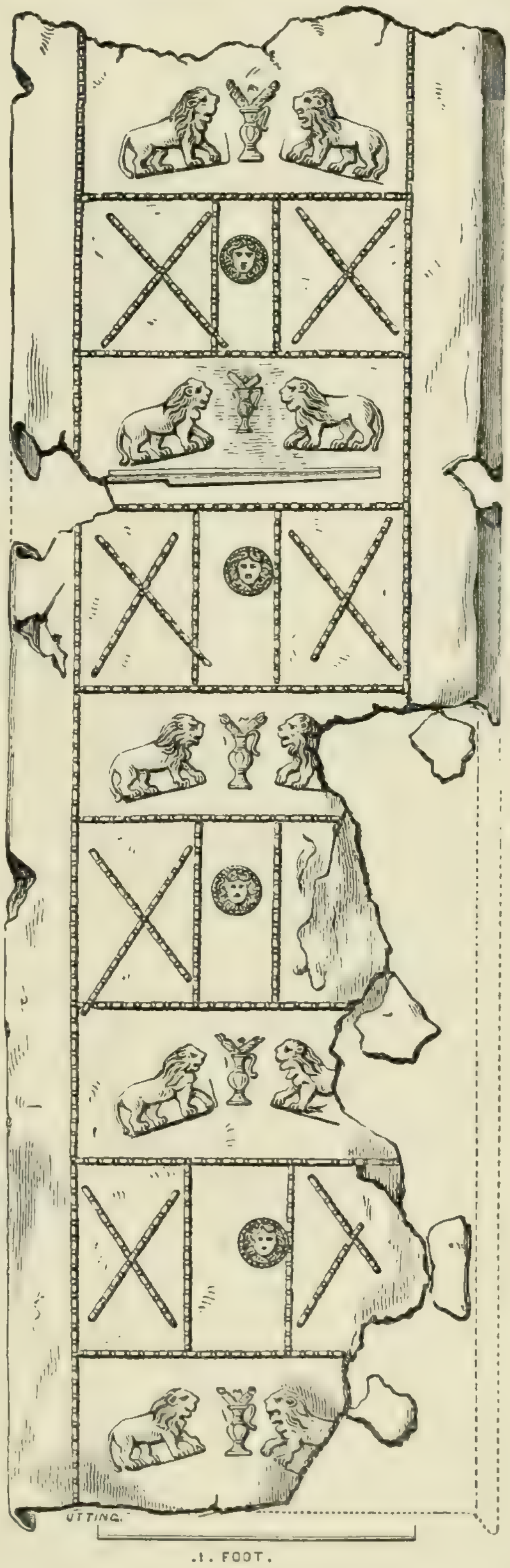
Upon the gravestone of a Roman soldier preserved in the museum at Mayence are three figures of lions. They, however, are not devouring or crushing other animals; one appears at each corner of the monument, and a third is in the centre; they are in a crouching attitude, and in readiness to spring; they appear as guardians of the sepulchre, and their position is typical both of watchfulness and power. With the ancient Greeks such lions were placed upon the sepulchres of heroes. "They occur," writes Mr. Newton,† "as a marked feature in the designs both of Hellenic and Etruscan tombs, being specially selected as emblems of valour and force, though the idea of guardianship was not lost sight of. At Palatia, the site of the ancient Miletus, were discovered numerous illustrations of lions in connection with tombs, some of them shown by architectural detail to be of the Roman period." On the tombstone at Mayence ‡ the ornament selected for the spandril at each corner is precisely similar to that on the memorial to the Colchester centurion, and, at the same time, forcibly reminds us of that which appears in our restoration of the City monument. On either side, also, is a representation in relief of a human figure bearing some resemblance to those attendants who usually, bearing torches, are in sculpture associated with the Mithraic sacrifice. In this case, however, they are precisely alike, are holding nothing in either hand, and would appear to have been selected merely as a

* In the tomb of the Naso family on the Via Flaminia, near Rome, may be seen, among many mythoogical paintings, the figure of a shepherd with a sheep on his shoulders and a crook in his hand surrounded by the Four Seasons. With a slight alteration the same composition was converted into a "Bonus Pastor" by Christian artists. The change however was slow, the Pan's pipe remained for some time in the hand of the chief shepherd, and the Roman dress was seldom abandoned. *Vide* Bellorio, Tomb of the Nasones, plate xxi. Of such objects selected by the artist to decorate the tomb of a Roman pagan of the first century many occur both in the Hebrew and Christian catacombs of a later period. This would seem, writes Mr. St. John Tyrwhitt, to show either that the distinction of religion was not then kept up after death, and that these paintings were considered as merely ornamental without attaching any particular meaning to them, or that idolaters were interred in the same burial-vaults or cemeteries with the Hebrews and Christians, if belonging to the same families. *Vide* "The Tombs in and near Rome," by J. H. Parker, C.B

† Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ, by C. T. Newton, M.A., and R. P. Pullen, F.R.I.B.A., 1863.

‡ See Dr. Lindenschmit before quoted.

conventional style of ornament. At the same time Dr. Lindenschmit, in quoting other examples on the Continent, views their presence as a further illustration of the popularity and universally diffused belief in the teachings of the Eastern myth.



"In 1836 a leaden coffin was discovered in the village of Milhaud, near Nismes, on the side of the road leading from Nismes to Montpellier. One of the sides of this coffin is ornamented with bas-reliefs representing two winged griffins walking from the right to the left, two lions moving in the same direction, and two pairs of naked genii, holding between them a vine-tree, which they seem to be planting in the ground, and of which the bunches of grapes hang over their heads. In the centre of the upper side of the coffin, where the skull of the defunct was found, is a lion in the same position as the preceding. The other sides are quite plain, and have never had bas-reliefs." Mr. Roach Smith, whom I am now quoting, also tells us of examples in the museum at Rouen of leaden coffins on which appear lions' faces inclosed in octagonal twisted borders.*

In the interesting collection of antiquities preserved by Mr. George Payne, F.S.A., at Sittingbourne, is a Roman leaden coffin discovered in November 1871 at Bexhill. When first found it was entire, but fell to pieces during the work of excavation. The lid, however, was left tolerably perfect. Its ornamentation is represented in the annexed engraving, for the loan of which I am indebted to the Council of the Kent Archæological Society, who have published an account of the discovery.† Its interest as regards our present inquiry consists in the

* Collectanea Antiqua, vol. iii. p. 57.

† Archæologia Cantiana, vol. ix. p. 164; also Collectanea Antiqua, vol. vii. p. 184.

figures of the lions (fig. 1), which are seen in rectangular compartments. They stand face to face, having between them a jug-like vase (fig. 2). Each central division contains a Medusa's head (fig. 3), while the two broader divisions are occupied by lines of the moulding disposed in shape of the letter X. In the compartment which lies third from the head of the lid there is beneath the lions

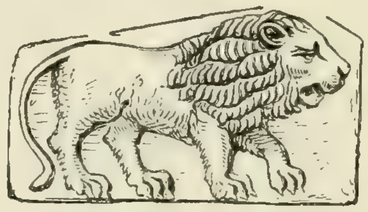


Fig. 1.

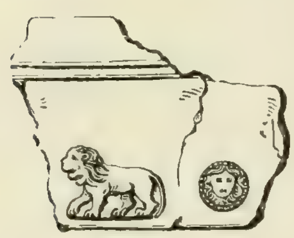


Fig. 2.

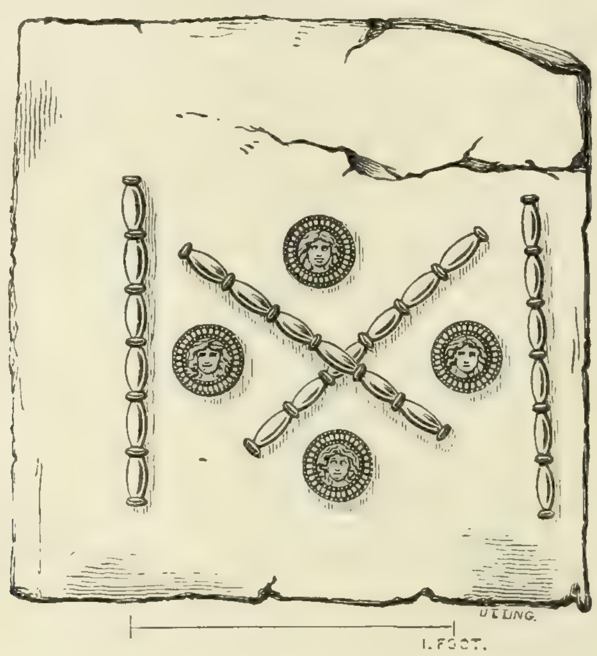


Fig. 3.

and the vase an additional ornament in the shape of a sword-blade. Each of the vases contains two prominent objects, which seem to be burning torches. Upon a fragment on one end of the coffin we find the lion not used in combination with the vase but with the Medusa medallion.



The Medusa's head was also met with on another leaden coffin discovered at Bexhill, which is now preserved in the Charles Museum at Maidstone. The medallions were, however, merely associated with an ornamental moulding, and without the other emblems referred to in the previous example.



In a recent number of Mr. Roach Smith's "Collectanea Antiqua" there appears an illustration of a leaden coffin discovered at Lieusaint, near Valognes,

in Normandy, and upon it are some interesting symbols. "Its ornamentation," writes Mr. Smith, "is composed of two busts, disposed symmetrically upon the lid, sides, and ends; and of two combinations of a male figure and a bird upon the sides. The busts are of very unequal artistic design; one is that of a female with distended cheeks; the other, fairly executed, a female bust within a lunette, probably intended for *Luna Lucifera.* The larger figures on the sides are more interesting. M. de Caumont, without however attaching much importance to the notion, asks if the eagle may be supposed to be an emblem of immortality, carrying the spirit of the deceased to heaven. As such the eagle will occur to all who are familiar with the consecration coins of the Roman emperors; but I suggest a simpler, and, I think, a very obvious, interpretation, in the Rape of Ganymede, the grouping being arranged for a limited space. Although disproportionate, these figures are well drawn and neatly executed. The Abbé Cochet terms them "deux génies ailés tenant des phylactères," but they are certainly not winged; "and the object held is not," M. de Caumont says, clearly defined. Moreover, the youthful figure is booted, as Ganymede is usually represented."*

In comparing these examples the combinations met with at once indicate the difficulty which exists in attempting to assign such monuments either to a pagan or Christian source. The Medusa's head is usually believed to indicate all that is hopeless and lost, literally a symbol of Death, petrifying all by whom its fearful countenance is beheld. When associated with lions or swans the opposite paths of light and darkness are implied. An eagle drinking from a cup held by Ganymede is interpreted as the soul in heavenly life supplied with nectar by the minister of the gods.† Such is a symbol which probably explains the meaning of figures on the coffin described by Mr. Smith. Torches such as those on the coffins from Bexhill are well known pagan emblems. The tombstone of Trojanus from Stanwix, dedicated to the "Diis Manibus," is doubtless also a heathen monument; yet we find the lions, which tearing human heads adorn each angle of the tomb, similarly grouped on sarcophagi of Christian times. This would seem to show that they have not necessarily a Mithraic import; the lion overpowering the ram from Kirkby Thore is said to symbolise "the greatly increased force of the sun when in Leo to what he has in Aries," ‡ "and shining in southern latitudes with a power

* Collectanea Antiqua, vol. vii. p. 196.

† Historic and Monumental Rome, by C. S. Hemans, p. 384.

‡ Lapidarium Septentrionale, p. 391; also p. 40.

which compels the strongest to succumb." In these remarks by Dr. Bruce he refers to the initiated, who, reaching the fourth step in the Mithraic mysteries, were called *Leones*, and mentions also the human head with rays proceeding from it which was found at CONDERCUM on the Wall. The inquiry is suggested, as to what meaning is intended when the object crushed is not a ram, and when all other Mithraic signs are absent? What are the constellations represented by a man, horse, boar, hind, or other animal of inferior strength, which, under similar conditions, are met with on tombs and monuments of Christian times?

There is, however, a piece of sculpture well known to antiquaries with which our group from the Bastion has much in common. I allude to the figure of the sphinx still preserved in the museum at Colchester. This was discovered some years ago "in the garden of the General Hospital, about 10 paces from the west wall, and about 55 paces from the London road; at 2 feet from the surface of the soil, close to it, were dug up a fragment of the *tibia* of a human leg, bones of oxen, deer, pigs, and fowls, with Roman pottery, and between 20 and 30 paces from the same spot part of a sepulchral inscription to the memory of one or more legionary soldiers." This figure is of freestone, measures 25½ inches long, is 10 inches wide at the base, and from the base to the top the measurement is 25 inches. Its squared base indicates that, like the group from the Bastion, it was intended for a similar purpose, viz., as an ornamental finish to a tomb. The inscription referred to is on a slab of Purbeck marble.



In an interesting paper * "On Roman Remains at Colchester" Mr. Roach Smith has described this relic. He writes, "As a work of art the sculptured sphinx exhibits good taste and executive skill of no mean order. The fabled monster of Thebes, combining the fivefold attributes of a virgin, a lion, a bird, a dog, and a serpent, is correctly exhibited in accordance with the ancient myths in which it figures so conspicuously. The head, breasts, and arms are those of a beautiful virgin, the fore-paws are of a lion, the body and fecund dugs indicate a bitch, the hinder part takes the lion's form, and the tail, doubled upon itself in short foldings, is the serpent in repose. The mangled remains of a human being lie beneath the figure and protrude over both sides. The head of the victim is extremely well executed; the eyelids are closed; the mouth is drawn down at the corners; the muscles are strained and set; and the countenance, sunk in death, conveys an expression of exhaustion and agony. Altogether the composition is good and harmonious, and is probably of early date." Of enigmatical animals the sphinx is perhaps of the greatest interest. Its compound nature is an indication of a symbolical intention which varied in accordance with the religious notions of the ancients by whom it was adopted. In Egypt the winged sphinx is comparatively unknown, its most familiar form combining with the head of a man the body of a lion. This is termed the *androsphinx*, and is said to typify the union of intellectual with physical strength; the *kriosphinx* possessed the head of a ram with the body of a lion, and the *hieracosphinx* with the same body but the head of a hawk. They are all considered as emblematical of the King;† their position before the great temples of antiquity is said to be typical of the mysterious nature of the deity. As representing the King, the sphinx of Egypt is usually a male figure, and without wings; the latter additions were perhaps derived from Assyria, the winged bulls with human heads of Nineveh being a mythical combination of the same order. The winged figure with the female head, such as that at Colchester, is the form peculiar to Greece, whence it probably passed to Rome, and assumed that appearance in classic art which is now familiar to us on the bronzes,‡ pottery, and coins of the Empire.

In a paper on the Colchester sphinx by the late Dr. William Bell, the author

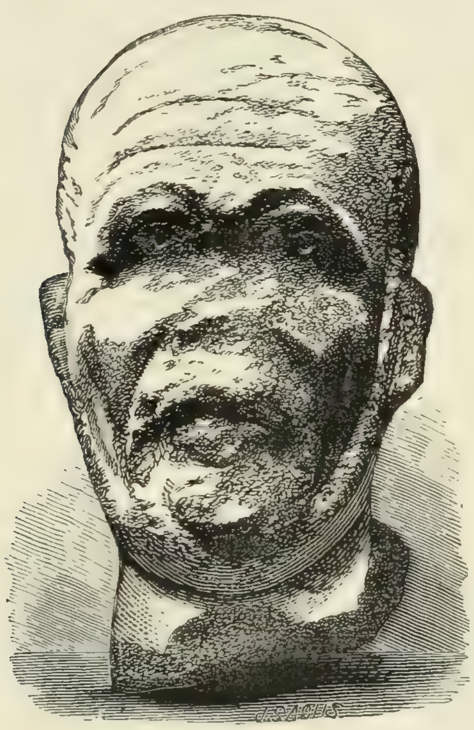
* Journal, British Archæological Association, vol. ii. p. 39.

† Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, edited by Samuel Birch, LL.D. vol. iii. p. 309.

‡ On a bronze *præfericulum*, of elegant form, discovered among the sepulchral relics at the Bartlow Hills in Essex, the sphinx appears as an ornament to the handle, the fore-feet of the figure rest upon the necks of two birds with long beaks, the feet and body are those of a lion, the countenance and breasts those of a woman. Archæologia, vol. xxvi. p. 310; also Museo Borbonico, vol. iv. tav. 57.

refers to the destruction of the human body by the monster, and speaks of the remarkable myth which refers the name of the Roman Capitol and its supreme deity, Jupiter Capitolinus, to a human head exhumed when digging the foundations of the Latin arx; and observes further, that human heads attributed to animals, and more especially when held between the paws of lions, are emblematical of stability or power.* However this may be, we can but notice the singular association which exists between such figures and the subject of the Sphinx. There is the similarity in combination, the same idea conveyed of a weaker succumbing to a stronger power, and in the circumstance of such objects being as a rule connected with sepulchral memorials, together with the fact that their adoption by sculptors and artists does not appear to be confined to any particular period or creed; we may presume them to have originated in early myths and traditions concerning the laws of nature, and to have so found acceptance as appropriate symbols, but which in later times may have often been selected for representation in works of art without any especial object or intention, and as conventional forms of ornament suited to funereal sculpture not necessarily to be associated with the Mithraicists, Gnostics, or any other sects.

Another curious piece of sculpture from the Bastion is that shown by the annexed woodcut. It is the head of a statue of large dimensions, but considerably worn and broken. Its relation to the other relics may be seen on reference to Plate II. It there appears conveniently placed in position between some of the massive blocks. It has been worked in oolitic stone, similar in character both to the statue of the "Signifer" and the Lion; but whether it is to be associated with these relics, or indeed if the objects generally have all formed part of one and the same structure, there is no distinct evidence to show. The head is that of an elderly man, for though roughly treated there is the wrinkled forehead, depression in the cheeks, with a generally worn and haggard expression of the countenance, all indicative of age. There is but little appearance of hair, and this closely cut; indeed scarcely any can be



* See Sketch of a Paper on the Colchester Sphinx compared with two others found in Hungary, by William Bell, Essex Archæological Transactions, vol. i. p. 64.

discerned in our engraving, but a close examination of the original indicates the intention of the sculptor in this respect. It appears in a conventional manner, and that in a form somewhat suggestive of the short curled hair of the Negro race. This peculiarity led me at first to view the figure as portraying an individual of African descent, and as such it has been described on more than one occasion. I, however, now incline to the opinion expressed by Canon Greenwell, M.A., who thinks such resemblance merely due to the broken condition of the face, and calls attention to examples where the features have been similarly treated on early medieval effigies of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. At the same time the question remains open: the features of the Negro though rare are not unknown in Roman sculpture. They occur sometimes among groups of figures which appear on some of the sarcophagi from the Catacombs, there probably in the position of slaves. Auxiliaries, however, of all nations, served with the legions in Britain; we may therefore reasonably expect to discover now and then, especially among sepulchral monuments, some commemorative record of individuals connected both by parentage and birth with the African continent.

Dr. Bruce has engraved an altar discovered at Old Carlisle, but which is now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. The dedication is to Jupiter, and by one Æmilius Crispus, a soldier and native of Tusdrus, a city of North Africa.* We know also that at Lambæsa, a Numidian city, the third legion was stationed for three centuries, and would consequently be often recruited by drafts from the native races. Allowance must be made for the intermixture created by the arrival of colonists from Italy. Soldiers serving in Britain and other of the Imperial provinces might derive their descent from the parent country, though born themselves in far-off lands. In some interesting remarks by the Rev. John McCaul, LL.D., upon a collection of inscriptions relative to "Longevity in Ancient Africa," published by M. Léon Renier, in the year 1858, reference is made to the manner in which the legions were recruited. Occasionally deficiencies produced by loss in action, or on service, or by natural causes, were supplied by drafts from Italy. Thus we find in Tacitus † that troops were sent from Germany to fill up the ninth legion after their disaster on their march to Camulodunum. In the words "legione renovata," which occur among the inscriptions referred to, we have evidence of action to repair the third legion, but the extant records of Lambæsa plainly show that in process of time the large majority of the corps were natives of the country. In M. Renier's list ninety-eight members of the legion are

* Lapidarium Septentrionale, p. 422.

† Annals, xiv. 38.

mentioned. Of these one-half were born *Castris*, *i.e.* were *enfants de troupe*, and the others, almost without exception, had their birth-places in different parts of Africa.

There are yet other allusions in classic literature which point to an association with the descendants of Ham. Mr. Coote reminds me of a passage in the "moretum" of the inimitable Virgil which refers to a negress. She is house-slave to a poor market gardener who has no other. On rising in the morning he calls to her to prepare his breakfast—

> Interdum clamat Cybalen; erat unica custos,
> Afra genus, tota patriam testante figura,
> Torta comam labroque tumens, et fusca colorem;
> Pectore lata, jacens mammis, compressior alvo,
> Cruribus exilis, spatiosa prodiga plantam.

The race is also mentioned in the last quarter of the third century. In the writings of Vopiscus* the author speaks of the Blemmyes, viz. the Nubian blacks, as pouring into Central Egypt and becoming formidable enemies. They were included in the great Triumph of Aurelian where Zenobia walked in the procession. In similar honours to Probus the Blemmyes also appear; their looks astonished the Romans.† "Qui mirabilem sui visum stupente," &c. &c. writes Vopiscus.‡

We have next to consider the architectural fragments found in the Bastion, and of these the more important have been selected for illustration.

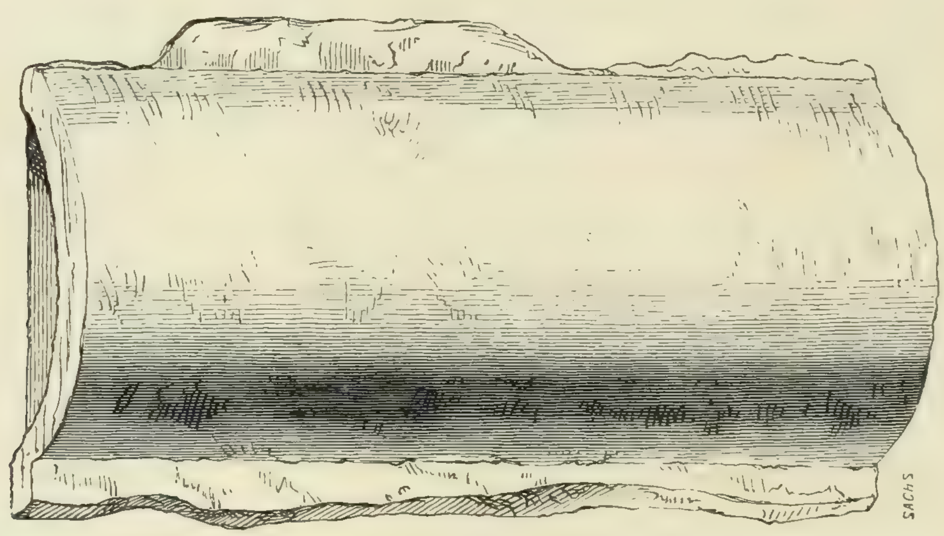


Fig. 1

Figs. 1 and 2 are of massive character, and have formed part of the coping to a wall. There were six such blocks discovered, and all were similar in general character, but varying in their respective measurements. They are

* F. Vopiscus, Peter's edition, vol. ii. p. 160. † Ibid. p. 200. ‡ Ibid. p. 198.

of the same description of oolite as the statue and the lion, and bear a strong resemblance to those found under similar conditions in the buttress at Tower Hill. They remind us also of the worked stones which were found many years ago by the late E. T. Artis, F.S.A., at Castor, associated with columns and fragments of a Roman altar. The several widths of these blocks as found were 1 ft. 9 in. to 2 ft. 5 in. and their length from 3 ft. 1 in. to 3 ft. 5 in. The projection which is seen in fig. 2 is due to the coping having been fitted to an angle or projection, probably situate at the entrance to the tomb inclosure.

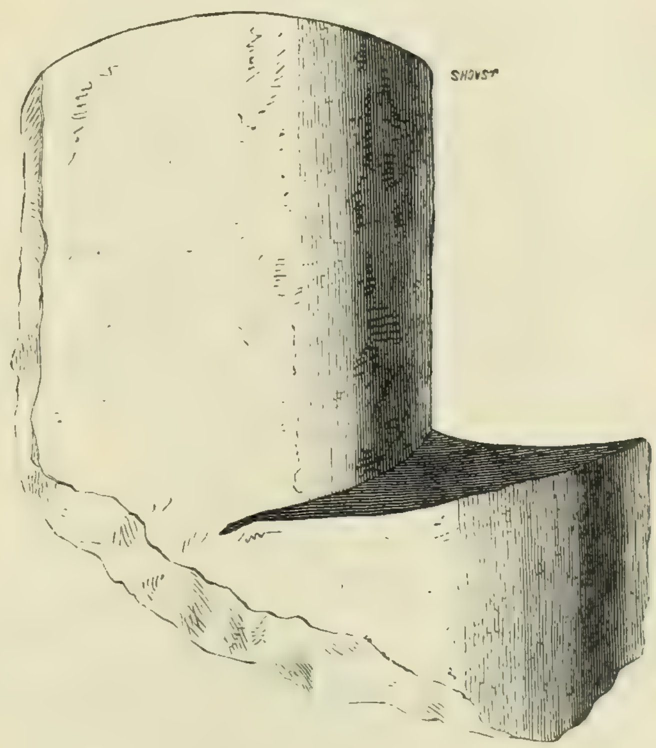


Fig. 2.

Fig. 3. Base to engaged semi-column connected with pilaster. The mouldings are mitred and returned, indicating the projection from adjacent wall-face. The flat profile of the mouldings is unusual, probably due to the friable nature of the green-stone, rendering much projection unsafe in working and having a greater liability to decay; but, considered from an archæological point of view, are indicative of the decadence from the vigorous contours of earlier Roman mouldings. Such may be observed in bases of nave-columns to the church of St. Paul outside the walls of Rome, which are of the time of Constantine, of very inferior style and workmanship; also in the capitals of the columns of semicircular arches in the church of St. Vitale at Ravenna, of the reign of Justinian, and erected about A.D. 550, both of which examples illustrate similar depressed profiles. The outside dimensions of the block are 2 ft. 10 in. wide, 1 ft. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep, and 1 ft. 3 in. thick.

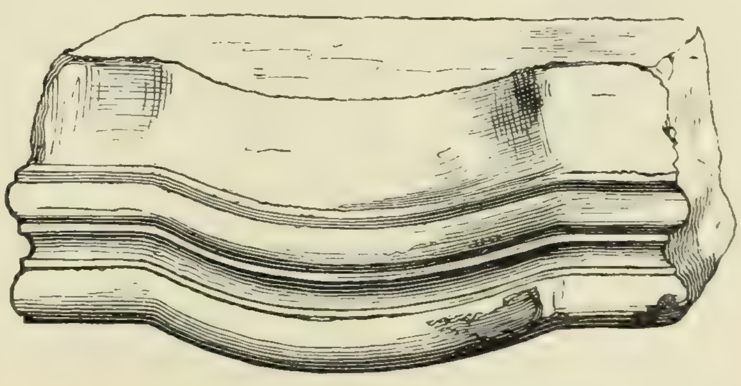


Fig. 3.

Fig. 4. Semi-attached diminished and fluted shaft, with a fluted pilaster. This is a greenstone fragment, and appears to have been an upper stone connected with fig. 3. For increased decorative richness the upper parts of shafts were often fluted. The dimensions are 1 ft. 10 in., 1 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., and 1 ft. 10 in. high.

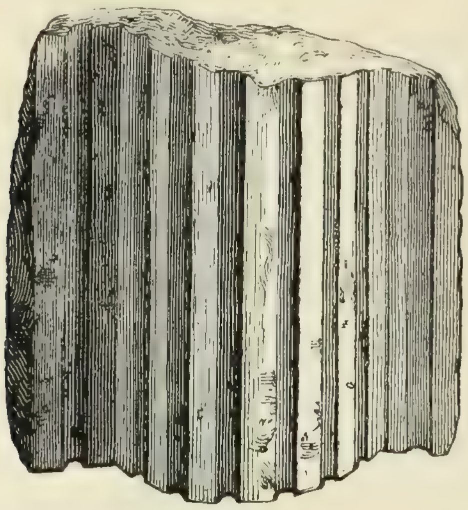


Fig. 4.

Fig. 5. Of this there are two examples in the collection. It indicates mitred and returned and weathered mouldings, probably belonging to a doorway, or perhaps the cornice surmounting the columns before mentioned. The details of both are similar, about 10 ft. run and 1 ft. 3 inches in height, and bear a strange resemblance to one of the blocks figured from Tower Hill. These with fig. 6 are of oolitic stone.

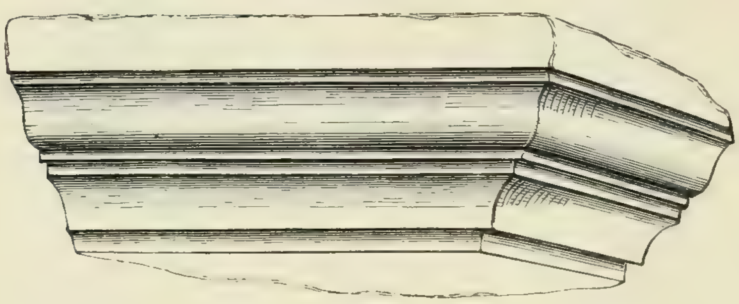


Fig. 5.

Fig. 6 illustrates two moulded cantelevers or corbels, probably to carry overhanging stonework, or they may have been blocks for the enrichment of a principal cornice. The cyma is very bold and more refined than the other mouldings above referred to. Dimensions, 7 in. wide, 2 ft. 8 in. deep, and $12\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick.



Fig. 6.

Fig. 7. A bold, moulded, returned, mitred, and enriched fragment of green-

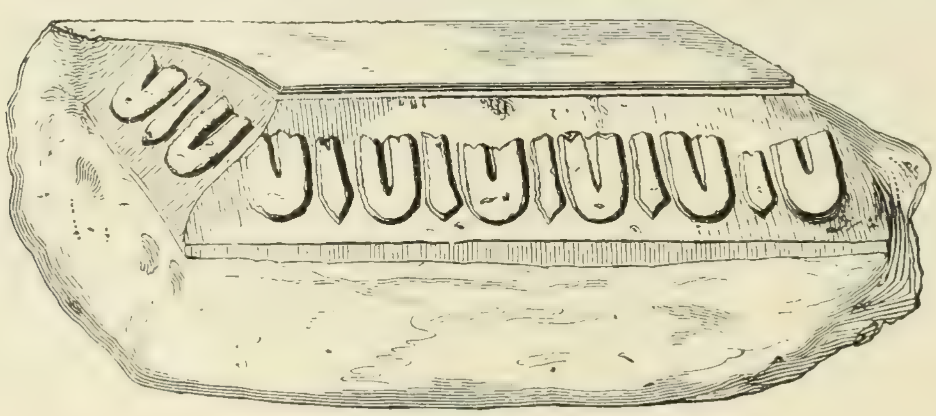


Fig. 7.

stone; the lower member is almost obliterated, excepting the indication of its being a torus moulding; the upper has an enriched cavetto of bold leaf-and-petal ornament carved in *basso rilievo,* and may have been so designed as an imitation of the tongue-and-tassel border so familiar on Roman pottery, and of which so many varieties appear upon the Samian ware. This may have been a base-moulding. The dimensions are 4 ft. 2 in. long, 1 ft. 4 in. thick, and 1 ft. 6 in. depth on bed.

Figs. 8 and 9. Pilasters or blocks of greenstone with scroll enrichment. These are of considerable size and weight. The ornamentation is apparently un-

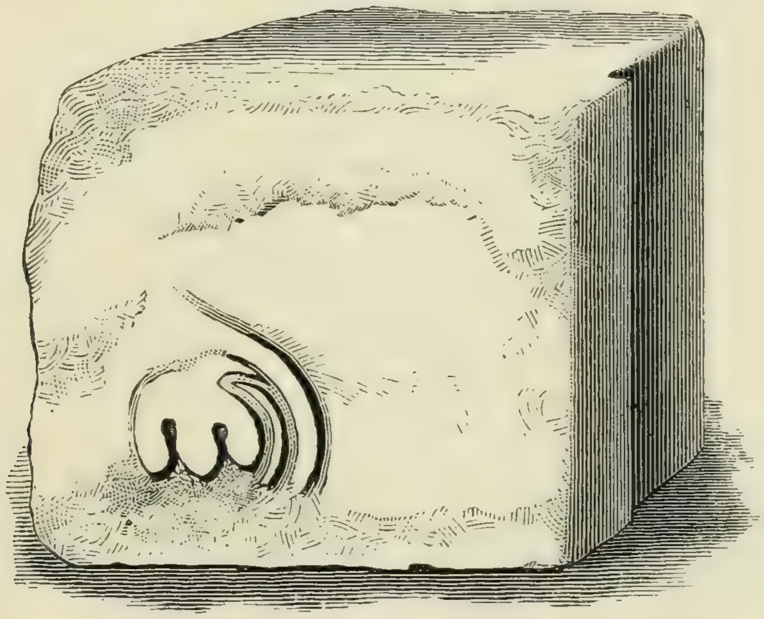


Fig. 8.

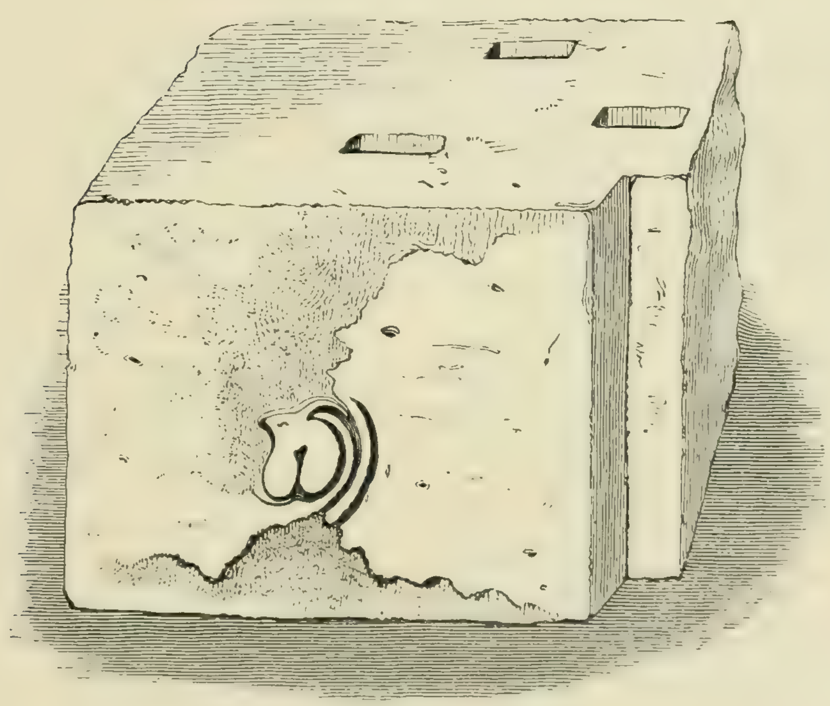
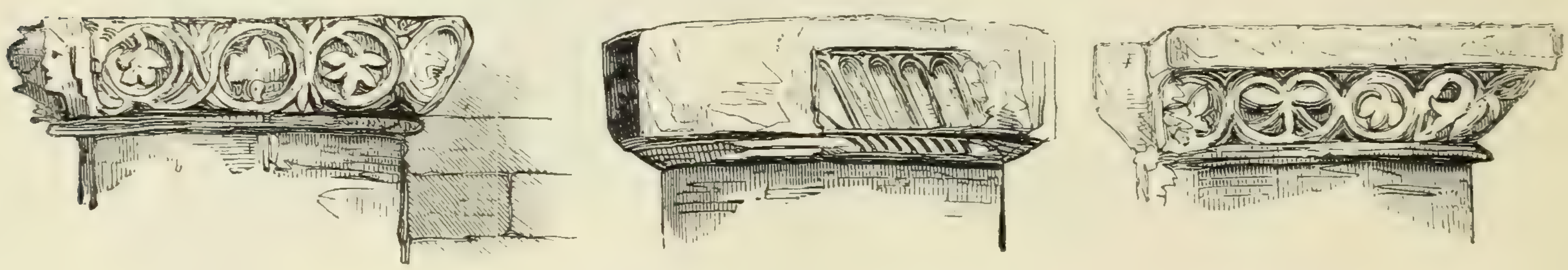


Fig. 9.

finished, but the little which remains possesses a special interest. While the massive character of the stones shows a Roman origin, the rude character of the design upon them indicates a debased and late style of workmanship. It appears to illustrate a form which was continued through the Saxon *régime* and on to the early Norman period. As the fusion of races became complete, the dormant Roman influence, for a time suppressed, again became dominant, and may be frequently identified in work of later days. Among the remains of Saxon architecture at Westminster Abbey, work may be observed which bears a strange resemblance to the ornament we have figured. The columns which form the substructure to the dormitory, and which belong it is said to the time of Edward the Confessor, have been altered and enriched in later times. They measure 3 ft. 6 in. in diameter and 3 ft. 4 or 5 in. high. The capitals have a large unmoulded abacus, which in some cases has been left untouched, in others has been axed into a form preparatory to carving and enrichment. The annexed woodcut shows where some have been left incomplete, while on others the ornamentation has been finished. It will be seen that portions of the scroll-work are identical in character with the fragmentary design upon the sculptures from the city.



The extreme dimensions of these blocks are 2 ft. 7 in. wide, 2 ft. 1 in. deep, and 1 ft. 11 in. in thickness or height.

Several other plain blocks of greenstone of corresponding character were discovered, some of which may have been intended, as these, for future enrichment.

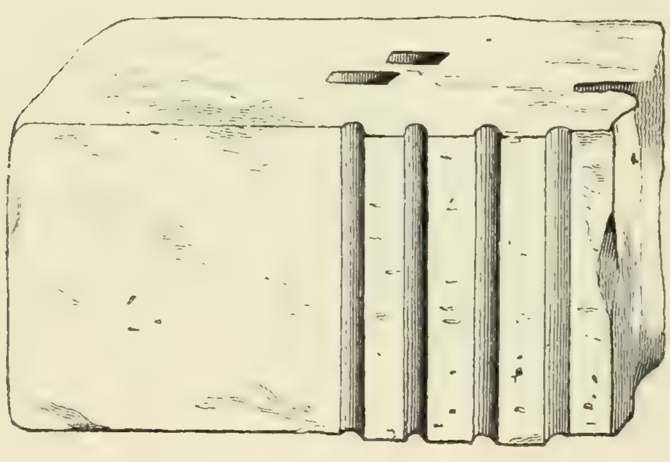


Fig. 10.

Fig. 10. Fluted or filleted block or pilaster in green sandstone; the position of the lewis-holes indicates that it was bedded as shown. It resembles certain of the blocks taken from the old wall in Thames Street, and in general treatment the fluted pilasters which were discovered associated with sculptures of the Seasons, beneath what is now the pump-room at Bath, and other architectural

fragments belonging to the Temple, which, according to Lysons and other writers, was dedicated to Minerva. The dimensions are 2 ft. 9 in. wide, 1 ft. 9 in. deep, and 1 ft. 11 in. in thickness or height.

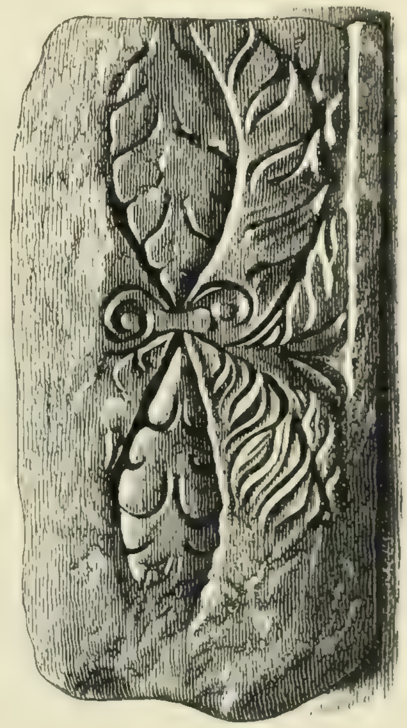


Fig. 11.

Fig. 11. This may also be assumed to be a pilaster. The wavy axis of the ornament is graceful, and in unison with the general design. The carved ornamentation is peculiar, and evidently has regard to the nature of the material to be worked. It is Romanesque in character, and might well take its place in either Norman or Saxon work. The figure is feathery or fernlike, and is original and artistic, and similar to much of the ornament now under consideration, and unconventional; such was very prevalent about the sixth century, due probably to Byzantine and Eastern influence. The dimensions are 1 ft. 9½ in. wide, nearly 2 ft. deep, and 3 ft. 1 in. high.

Fig. 12. Also of greenstone. It has formed part of a panel or surface with military trophy carving, associated with foliage. Assuming that the majority of these blocks have formed part of one and the same sepulchral monument or cenotaph, such an adaptation of ornaments would be appropriate to the tomb of a military officer; at the same time it might be equally suitable if forming part of a triumphal arch gateway, or entrance to a public building. Among the architectural details upon the celebrated Roman arch at Orange, on the road to Lyons, in France, are groups of shields and weapons, with other military trophies. The dimensions are 1 ft. 11 in. wide, and about the same in depth and height—1 ft. 7 in.

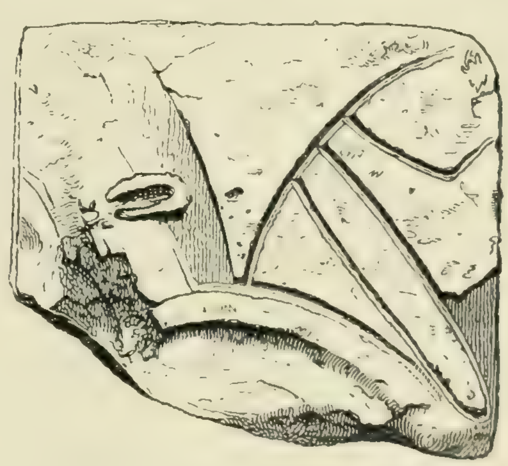


Fig. 12.

Fig. 13, likewise of greenstone, comprises spandril, archivolt moulding, and part of cornice to a niche or doorway. The moulding is returned, and the side of spandril is panelled, showing that this work projected beyond the general face of the edifice. Indications are present of iron cramps having been employed when fixing, and a hole shows on face, sunk to receive a bracket or hook for suspension of some object. The enrichment and moulding of the arch are refined, and the tri-leafed ornaments, so familiar in similar monuments abroad, is extremely good.

We have, in the proposed restoration, already suggested the original position of

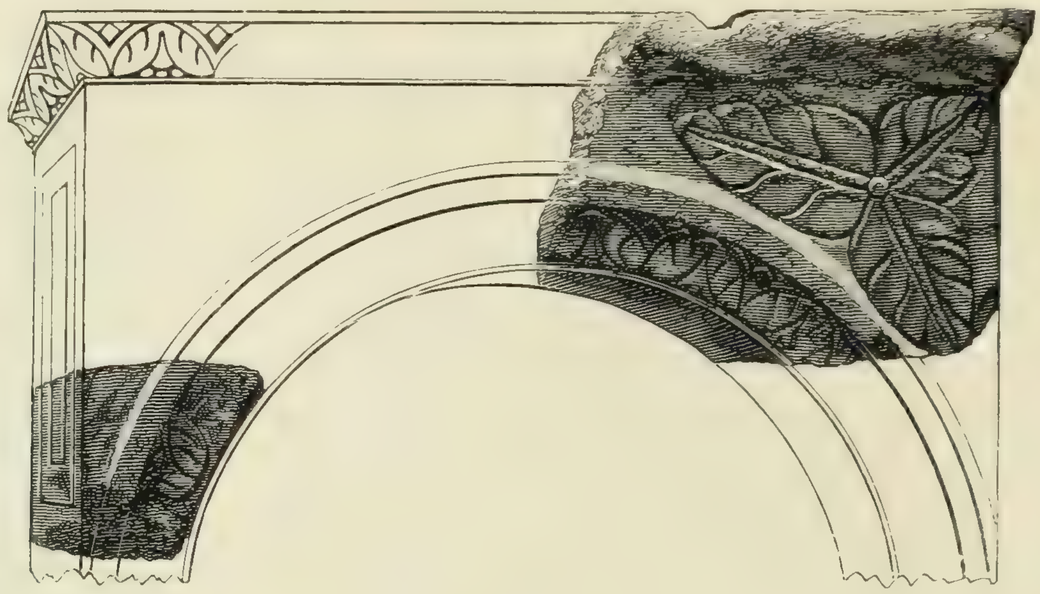


Fig. 13.

these fragments. The size is about 1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 9 in. on face, and $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. in thickness.

Fig. 14. Probably portion of the same structure; the woodcut is hardly so accurate as the lithograph, having been made before there was a favourable

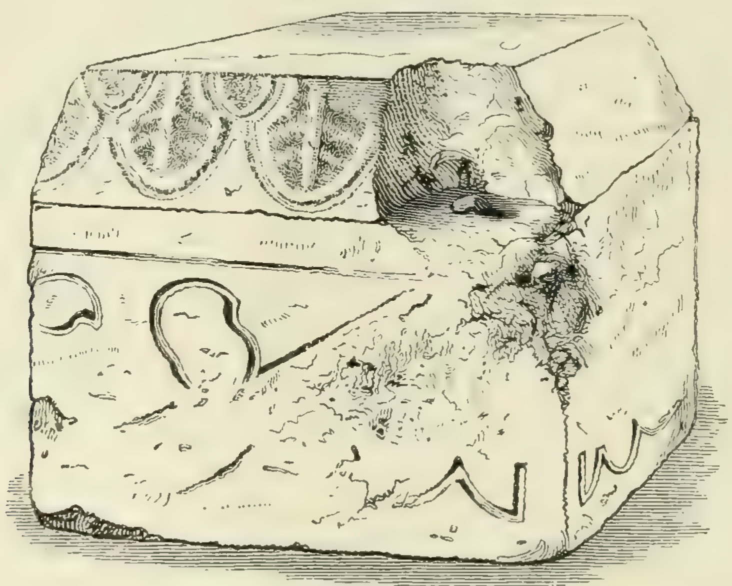
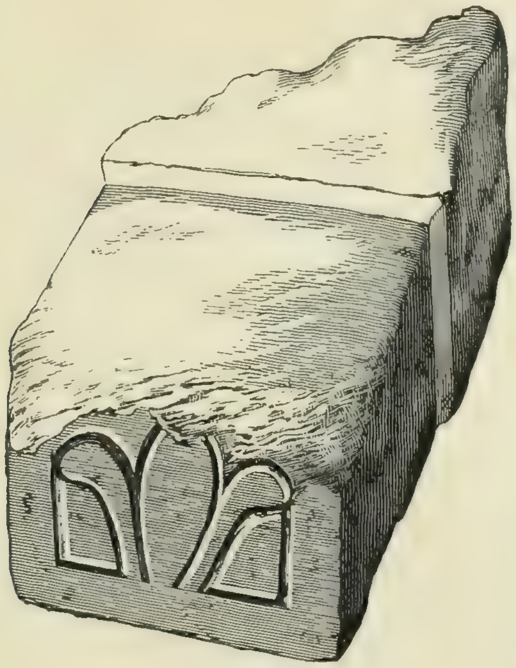


Fig. 14.

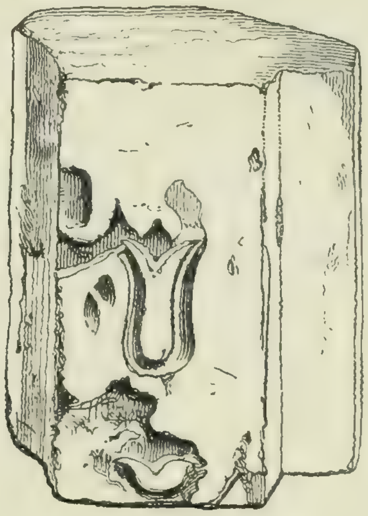
opportunity of carefully examining the stone ; it, however, shows the similarity of the sculpture to the other blocks. The carving is richly executed, and the ornament effective. The leaf decoration on splay is better in character, and more classical than others. It is suggestive of the ornamentation upon the lid of the Roman sarcophagus discovered at Haydon Square, and also of that on

the bases of altars preserved in the Museum of Roman Antiquities at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In the sunk angle, to the right, there exists a fragment of iron, to which some object has been attached. The dimensions are 2 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, 2 ft. 5 in. deep, and 1 ft. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick.

Fig. 15. Also of greenstone, probably a terminal on pier, between the lengths of coping, to the inclosing wall (see figs. 1 and 2). The segmental finish to



15



16

the block is evident. A set-off in the depth is indicated in the woodcut. The measurements are 1 ft. high, 1 ft. 6 in. wide, by 2 ft. deep.

Fig. 16, of similar stone to the preceding, may be classed with pilaster or vertical surface enrichment. The rebate or square sinking may be noticed on some of the other objects. This was probably for fitting into adjacent stones, securing greater stability than cramping only would produce. The dimensions are 1 ft. 10 in. wide, 1 ft. 5 in. deep, and 2 ft. 2 in. thick.

Fig. 17, the last of the series, is of considerable interest. It represents a male figure, nude, and carved in low-relief; but, as yet, I am unable to discover for whom it is intended—whether for one of the divinities of mythology, or as indicating merely one of the genii, figures of which are so often seen used as accessories to decorated monuments. The rough curling hair which the sculptor has well defined reminds me of the figures of Gauls or "barbarians" as represented in ancient sculpture. At the same time it bears some resemblance to a figure of Silvanus, preserved in the museum of the Capitol. It is also suggestive

of Ampelus, the favourite of Bacchus, who, according to Ovid,* became a constellation after death. The object held by the right hand is slightly suggestive of the trident of Neptune. It, however, must possess some other meaning, for



the projections which appear are out of all proportion to the size of the staff to which they are affixed. It may be a portion of the Bacchanalian "thyrsus," the long pole with an ornamental head, made up of vine-leaves or ivy, but sometimes a ripening fir-cone, to which the projections referred to bear a slight resemblance.† So worn and abraded is the surface of the sculpture that it is doubtful whether our illustration is strictly accurate, or whether the object itself is thus but partially shown or executed and unfinished by the carver; the woodcut, however, is from a photograph carefully taken from the original, with due regard to light and shade. The ornamentation on either side of the figure is of the same peculiar character as that observed in fig. 11; indeed, upon the left-hand side of the stone there is a repetition of the actual design, a proof that both of these curious blocks have belonged to one and the same structure. The dimensions are 1 ft. 11½ in. wide, 2 ft. 5 in. high, and 2 ft. 7 in. deep.

The foregoing researches lead to the conclusion that these interesting relics are portions of a Roman sepulchral monument, which falling into decay became, as years rolled on, a suitable quarry for mediæval builders, providing from its position on the spot convenient materials for the erection of a structure requiring such solidity and strength as would a Bastion to the City Wall. The size of the stones and their enormous weight show them to have been

* Ovid's Fasti, 3, v. 407.

† See painting of Bacchus and Silenus in the apartment of the priest in the Temple of Venus, Pompeii. Illustrations in Montfaucon's Antiquité Expliquée, vol. 4, clxxxiv. clvi., and examples on sculpture in the British Museum.

close at hand, and are indications that the edifice to which they had belonged was of such proportions as to bear comparison with those gigantic sepulchres to be met with on the Continent, and which are so familiar to the traveller in the immediate vicinity of Rome. Such imposing memorials were invariably placed near to the city gates, and by the sides of country roads for miles, in order that throughout all ages they might attract the notice of travellers both to and from the city. "Siste viator"—stay traveller, "Aspice viator"—look traveller, are phrases oft-times addressed, as it were, by the dead to the living. The cost or difficulty connected with the erection of huge mausolea does not appear to have ever troubled the wealthier classes of old Rome. In early days their sepulchres were so built as to form models of the dwellings in which the deceased had lived, and remains are in existence which afford ample evidence of the fact. The citizens of Londinium would keep in practice old customs and traditions. That the same attention was here devoted to such matters is shown by their costly memorials of lead, and stone sarcophagi hewn from solid blocks of oolite, with covers upon them of such magnitude as though destined for eternity. The marble sarcophagus discovered a few years since at Upper Clapton is significant of wealth; it was imported from Italy. The two sarcophagi found at St. Bartholomew's Hospital contained enriched leaden coffins. That found at Westminster Abbey was of even greater interest, and those from Widegate Street, Bishopsgate, from Haydon Square, Minories, and from the bank of the Fleet River, near to Seacoal Lane, are equally worthy of remark. The isolated position of some of these examples, far away from districts known to have been used as public cemeteries, further illustrates how uniform in character were Roman observances throughout the provinces of the Empire. They prove the use of tombs as landmarks or limitary monuments in accordance with the enactments of Tiberius.* The possessor of an estate in Roman Britain would have his sepulchre at one of the limits of his property, as though he had lived and died in Italy.

The tomb thus preserved to us in fragments is a memorial to a citizen of Roman London, and one, as we have seen, of rank and distinction. If possible to restore the monument we might realise for our city such a structure as those at St. Remi and Arlon and that still standing at Igel on the road to Trèves, which has been ably described and illustrated by Mr. Roach Smith in his Collectanea Antiqua.† This tomb or cenotaph was erected by members of their family to Secundinus Securus and Secundinus Aventinus, merchants of wealth

* See Lachmann's Gromatici Veteres, page 271. † Vol. ii. p. 78.

and position at Trèves. In height it is about 72 feet, the width at the



base on two sides is 15 feet, on the other two 12 feet; it is formed of

blocks of red sandstone from the immediate neighbourhood. The four sides, in these several divisions, from the base to the pediment, are profusely adorned with sculptures. In the main division, which faces the high road, are three male figures of colossal size in the costume of civilians, and apparently joining hands; above them are three busts, one of which appears to be that of a female. The pilasters on the sides are decorated with figures of genii, four in each, one above the other. On each of the capitals of the pilasters is a head, and on each base a bird and a globe. On the eastern and western sides of this compartment the figures are too much defaced to be described with any certainty. The north side, fronting the rising ground, is better preserved. This may be noted by the engraving kindly lent by Mr. G. Godwin, F.S.A., and others associated with the Builder, in which publication it appeared nearly forty years ago. It is wanting in points of detail, but is sufficient for our purpose as giving a general notion of the character of this most remarkable monument. In the chief division is represented, within the signs of the Zodiac, Hercules, in a car drawn by horses ascending to Olympus, and received by his protectress the goddess Minerva. The angles of this compartment are filled by four heads of large size, representations of the four winds. The pilasters on this side are filled with genii armed with spears and shields; but the bird and globe are placed below, as on the other quarters.*

The numerous sculptures which adorn the monument, and of which Mr. Smith gives a lengthened description, are of considerable interest, and illustrate as usual matters connected with the life and avocations of those to whom the monument was erected. In this it reminds us of the mausoleum of Eurysaces the baker at the Porta Maggiore, to which reference has been made, and we may well imagine our City tomb when complete to have belonged to the same order and to have commemorated the services of one who, as soldier and civilian, merited the esteem of the citizens of old, as did the family of the Secundini that of the inhabitants of Trèves. Whether the figure of the lion is to be associated with the tomb, and as its terminal ornament take a similar position to the Sphinx at Colchester, or the figure of Victory at Igel,† remains a matter for conjecture, as does the association of the deceased with the worship of Mithras

* See Mr. Roach Smith's Collectanea Antiqua, vol. ii. p. 84; also page 88 for a good illustration of the southern side.

† In most engravings of the monument this figure is made to represent an eagle, but it is described by Mr. Roach Smith, F.S.A., Mr. J. G. Waller, and the late F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A., as the lower portion of a "winged genius."

or other superstitious rites imported from the East. If part of the memorial, it may possess a religious significance or may commemorate some event of secular interest in the life of the soldier who reposed beneath.

The date also of the tomb remains an open question; there is nothing in design or treatment which points to the artistic work as practised in the days of Hadrian or the Antonines. On the contrary, though bold and forcible it is roughly done, and directs us to a time when the sculptor's art was on the wane; classic forms are present, but they appear rather as imitations than original. The ornamentation on many of the stones might indeed have been executed in Saxon times; that it is late is further illustrated by the circumstance that the tomb, if in ruins, was existing when the builders of later days were called to rear a Bastion against the face of the City Wall. This structure like its companion at Tower Hill may have been constructed as late as the thirteenth century, perhaps a portion of those substantial repairs said to have been effected by Henry III. Additional information may yet be gathered on this point should we ever be so fortunate as to have the opportunity of examining the foundations of other bastions known to have been standing until recent times; their positions are well known, can be readily identified, and if in the two which have been explored after an interval of some thirty years we note so striking a resemblance in the method of their construction, even to the selection of the sculptures deposited in the foundations, it is fair to assume that others erected at the same time, and in a district abounding with memorials to the dead, were constructed in like manner, and we may still cherish the hope of one day hearing of that wished-for discovery, some inscribed stone or tablet which, bearing historic data, may relieve us of many theories, and tell us of something connected with the erection or extension of the Wall. Years roll on but no record appears, and piece by piece the old landmark is removed. A similar mystery exists in connection with other of our Roman towns. The date of the walls at Colchester is unknown; that the place was neither fortified nor protected in the time of Boadicea is recorded by Tacitus;* that the walls were standing in the reign of Alfred the Great is equally clear from the Saxon Chronicle; but between these periods there is a lapse of many centuries. Existing portions of the wall contain remains of earlier buildings as we find in London; old materials thus worked up point to a late period in construction, as does the absence of tile-stamps and inscriptions. In the Antonine wall of Scotland we hear of slabs inserted which speak of the reigning emperor and of the legions employed upon the work; similar testimony exists with respect to the great

* Annals, lib. xiv. c. 31.

wall of Hadrian in Northumberland: but of military works undertaken by the Roman government for the protection of its colonists, the walls of our ancient towns are singularly deficient in "lettered stones," descriptive of themselves. We note from time to time the interments which are discovered, and, aided by numismatic evidence, are enabled to limit the space occupied by the first inclosure; but what has become of the barrier itself—the wall which separated the earlier Roman city from its "Pomœrium" and public cemeteries? It is only from excavations like the present that we can expect to gather substantial contributions to the little we know as to its foundation and growth. We have yet to determine the line it took, and to define its gradual extension during those six long centuries which intervened between the close of the Roman occupation and the Norman conquest.



WESTMINSTER:
PRINTED BY J. B. NICHOLS AND SONS,
25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

MONKEN HADLEY.

BY

FREDERICK CHARLES CASS, M.A.,

OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD,

RECTOR OF MONKEN HADLEY, MIDDLESEX.

"Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet."
Hor. Carm. II. vi. 13.



WESTMINSTER:
PRINTED BY J. B. NICHOLS AND SONS,
25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

1880.

THE PARISH OF MONKEN HADLEY.

By the Rev. FREDERICK CHARLES CASS, M.A.

Men sometimes interest themselves in speculating upon the feelings with which their progenitors might be animated could they revisit the scenes, which they once inhabited, and muse over the changed aspect of localities with which they were in lifetime familiar. Assuredly, in many instances, there would remain little beyond the more prominent features of the landscape to recal the memory of events in which they took part, or of places in which they lived and moved and had their being. On the other hand, there can be no doubt of the fascination, which past occurrences exercise over the minds of many of the living, nor of the vivid interest which impels them to repeople in imagination the neighbourhoods in which they dwell with the forms and features of those who have preceded them. Hume, in well known words, places this sentiment in the very forefront of his history. "The curiosity," he remarks, "entertained by all civilized nations, of inquiring into the exploits and adventures of their ancestors, commonly excites a regret that the history of remote ages should always be so much involved in obscurity, uncertainty, and contradiction." Passing occurrences, if not noted at the time they happen, leave so transient an impression upon most minds, that it is extremely difficult to gather up in a connected form the short and simple annals that constitute a village history, and the memory of the conventional "oldest inhabitant," even if well stored with facts, is seldom to be relied upon implicitly, when the object is to arrange those facts in chronological succession.

It may not perhaps have entered directly into the purpose of the originators of our parish registers, but instances are met with, in which they have been made not only a record of births, marriages, and deaths, but have likewise served as chronicles of the more remarkable events that have diversified the local history; —the severity of a winter, for example, the productiveness or failure of harvests, the height to which, in a low-lying district, the waters have risen during seasons of flood, and so forth. We have cause to lament that such an application of them was not more generally adopted. It would, without doubt, have supplied the

annalist with many an interesting fact now irretrievably lost and have illustrated allusions contained in ancient records, which, in the absence of such references, have remained, and will most likely for ever remain, obscure.

A discriminating pursuit, however, of past history is a very different thing, let us remember, from that blind worship of antiquity, which almost seems to resent the idea of progress, and which, if left to itself, would keep society stationary. True wisdom is rather shewn in accepting the present, whilst assigning its proper place to the past; recognizing in either an adaptability to particular times and particular circumstances, even as it has been said that "To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven." Thus regarded, the teaching of bygone centuries may become an incentive to us to live worthily of our own,—as it were budding a scion of the more cultivated plant upon the primitive stock, with a becoming acknowledgment, but without any over-estimation of the precise measure of our indebtedness. The world is moving on and, if to-day be in advance of yesterday, without yesterday it would not have been at all.

> "Wake again, Teutonic Father-ages,
> Speak again, beloved primeval creeds;
> Flash, ancestral spirit, from your pages,
> Wake the greedy age to nobler deeds.
>
> Ye who built the churches where we worship,
> Ye who framed the laws by which we move,
> Fathers, long belied, and long forsaken,
> Oh! forgive the children of your love!
>
> Speak! but ask us not to be as ye were!
> All but God is changing day by day.
> He who breathes on man the plastic spirit,
> Bids us mould ourselves its robe of clay." [a]

The country lying immediately to the north of London was covered, we are told, at the earliest known period, by extensive forests, through which the communications must have been mere tracks only suitable for pedestrians or pack-horses. From this will of course be excepted the ancient Roman roads; as, for instance, the Watling Street way, leading from London to Verulam, the modern St. Alban's. The line which this road followed passed through Sulloniacæ,[b] placed

[a] Rev. C. Kingsley. Proem to *The Saints' Tragedy.*

[b] The Roman fortress built on the site of the scattered town or towns of *Sulloniac*, where the extent of the remains seems to indicate more than one British post. Clutterbuck's *Hist. of Hertfordshire*, i. xv.

by Camden[a] at Brockley hill, near Elstree, to the west of the region with which we are now more directly concerned. In his History of St. Alban's Abbey,[b] the Rev. Peter Newcome asserts that "there is still visible," in this part of the country, "another original Roman road, through the forest of Enfield Chace, called at this day Camlet way, and which seems to have been the road from Verulam to Camelodunum,[c] or Canonium." Though it is not expressly said, an inference appears to be suggested that the origin of the name may be traced to this circumstance. It is at all events not more remote than the derivation, undoubtedly authentic, of Cattle Gate, near the boundary line of Enfield and Northaw parishes, from Cathale, a small priory dependent upon Cheshunt Nunnery. Mr. Newcome must surely be in error, notwithstanding, in supposing that Camlet way represents the ancient thoroughfare connecting Verulam with Camulodunum. This would almost necessarily have been carried further to the north, and is in fact to be sought along a line passing near Hatfield and Hertford to Bishop's Stortford.[d] If indeed there be any real foundation for his surmise, the track in question might rather be conjectured to mark the road which united the Roman stations of Camulodunum and Sulloniacæ. However this may have been, it is certain that, from early times, one of the most direct communications between the villages of Hadley and Enfield, through the heart of the intervening chace, was thus designated. In Gunton and Rolfe's map (A.D. 1658), Camlet or Camelot way is distinctly laid down as the road between Hadley church and the elevated ground known as the Ridgeway. It ran past Camlet Moat,[e] an old hunting lodge, immortalised by Sir Walter Scott in *The Fortunes of Nigel.* There are no longer

[a] *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, edited by William Smith, LL.D. art. *Sulloniacæ.*

[b] p. 7.

[c] The first Roman colony in Britain, the Colonia κατ' ἐξόχην, is the Caer Colun of the British and the Camulodunum of the classical writers, according to the general assent of investigators. The contributor to Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography* doubts, however, the identity of Colonia and Camulodunum. The first he believes to have been *Colchester*, the second *Maldon.* Smith's *Dict.*, art. Colonia; Antoninus, *Iter Britanniarum*, by Rev. Thomas Reynolds, M.A., 1799, pp. 224, 308.

[d] See British and Roman maps of Hertfordshire, by Rev. Thomas Leman, of Bath, at pp. vii. and xiv. of Clutterbuck's *Hist. of Hertfordshire*, vol. i.

[e] "Tradition asserts that the ancient manor-house of Enfield, in the time of the Mandevilles, was situated near the middle of the Chace, not far from the west lodge, where there is still a large square quadrangular area, surrounded by a deep moat, called Camlet-moat, overgrown with briars and bushes." Robinson, *Hist. of Enfield*, i. 58. This moat is said to have been the lurking place of the notorious highwayman Turpin, whose grandfather, one Nott, kept the Rose and Crown by the Brook (Bull Beggar's Hole), Clay Hill.

any remains of a building, but the outline of the moat is to be traced a short distance to the west of the northern lodge of Trent Park, within the inclosure of which it is now comprehended.

Down to times comparatively recent a broad stretch of forest land intervened between Enfield and the western portion of the metropolitan county. In describing the state of England in 1685, lord Macaulay writes that, "at Enfield, hardly out of sight of the smoke of the capital, was a region of five and twenty miles in circumference, which contained only three houses and scarcely any inclosed fields.[a] It was known as the Park or Chace of Enfield, and was only dischased towards the close of the last century (in 1777), by Act of Parliament, 17 Geo. III. c. 17. The Tudor and first two Stuart sovereigns frequently visited it for purposes of sport. Upon the edge or outskirt of this royal hunting ground lay the little parish of Hadley, otherwise known as Monken Hadley (Hadley Monachorum), owing to its early connection with the Benedictine monastery of Walden in Essex, dedicated to the honour of God, St. Mary, and St. James,[b] to which the church of Enfield, together with others in the neighbourhood, likewise belonged. They were comprised in the lordships, with which Geoffrey, first earl of Essex, grandson of Geoffrey de Mandeville, or Magnaville, a companion in arms of the Conqueror, endowed the abbey in the year 1136.

Galfridus de Mandevilla, temp. Conq. =

Willielmus de Mandevilla. = Margareta, unica filia et hæres Eudonis Dapiferi.

= Galfridus de Mandevilla (fundator) erectus in comitem Essexiæ per Regem Steph. ob. xvi. Kal. Oct. 1144.[c] = Rohesia, filia Alberici de Vere com. Oxon. postea nupta Pagano de Beauchamp. — Beatrix de Mandevilla domina de Say, amita Will. de Mandevilla, ob. 1200. = Willielmus de Say.

Alicia, uxor Joh. de Laci Constab. Cestriæ. — Robertus. — Galfridus de Mandevilla, com. Essexiæ, ob. s. p. xii. Kal. Nov. 1165. = Eustachia. — Hadewisa, unica filia et hæres Will. le Gros, Com. Albermarliæ, ux. 1. = Willielmus de Mandevilla, com. Essexiæ, ob. s. p. 1189. = Christiana, filia Roberti D. Fitzwalter, ux. 2. — Ernulphus. — Willielmus de Say, ob. vita matris. = — Galfridus de Say.

Henricus de Bohun, Comes Herefordiæ. = — Beatrix de Say. = Galfridus, fil. Petri, ob. 1214.

Humfridus de Bohun Comes Herefordiæ, ob. 1234, sep. ap. Walden. = Matildis. — Galfridus. — Willielmus, cognomine Mandevilla (succeeds to the whole inheritance), ob. 1228.

Matildis. — Humfridus de Bohun, Comes Herefordiæ et Essexiæ, Constab. Angliæ, ob. 1275. = Elizabetha, fil. Edwardi I. — Henricus. — Radulphus.[d]

[a] *Hist. of England*, i. 311.

[b] In many documents the dedication seems to have been confined to St. James.

[c] "Anno 1144, Gaufridus de Mandevilla consul novus sagitta percussus est, et in ipso vulnere post aliquot dies occubuit." Ex historia Rogeri Hovedeni. Ash. Libr. MS. 844, f. 30. (Now in the Bodleian Library.)

[d] Dugdale, Mon. iv. 133. Dugdale, Baronage, i. 201.

Hadley is included in the grant, under the name of the Hermitage of Hadley. The charter of foundation runs as follows :—" Gaufridus de Magnavilla comes Essexiæ . . . . . ad universitatis vestre noticiam volo pervenire me fundasse quoddam monasterium in usus monachorum apud Waldenam ; in honore Dei, et sanctæ Mariæ, et beati Jacobi apostoli, quibus devotè contuli . . . . . . scilicet ecclesiam de Enefelda, ecclesiam de Edelmetona, ecclesiam de Mymmes, ecclesiam de Senleya, ... Concedo autem eis et confirmo heremitagium de Hadleya cum omnibus ad eundem locum pertinentibus, introitum, et exitum, et communem pasturam pecoribus eorum in parco meo, in quo heremitagium illud situm est," &c.[a] It would appear, consequently, that at this remote period the hermitage was within the limits of the park or chace of Enfield. When the two surveys, hereafter to be noticed, were made in the seventeenth century, we find the church represented as standing just outside the boundary of the chace. Newcourt[b] thus remarks upon the passage : " So that probably this Church of Hadley was at first but a Chappel to that Hermitage ; or, if it was in those times a Parish Church, yet it was in the Donation of the Abbot and Monks of Walden." It has been alleged by Lysons, on the authority of an ancient MS. that, in the time of Henry VIII.,[c] Hadley was a hamlet of Edmonton parish, and such a fact would in a manner tend to confirm the above statement that its original church was merely an ecclesiastical structure attached to the hermitage, and directly dependent upon Walden Abbey. It is observable that in some of the oldest documents it is styled Monkeschurch,[d] as if, in the eyes of persons living in the neighbourhood, scarcely considered to possess any parochial connection.

Extending nearly east and west along the confines of the chace, from Cockfosters, in the former direction, to the elevated plateau north of the town of Barnet in the latter, the small parish of Monken Hadley, included in the hundred of Edmonton, consisted originally of a narrow strip of uneven and picturesque ground in the form of an acute-angled triangle, having its apex at Cockfosters and its base on the high and level land alluded to, from which it falls with a southern and south-eastern inclination towards the East Barnet valley. It is bounded on the north and east by Enfield, on the south by East and Chipping

[a] Mon. Angl. iv. 133. [b] Repertorium, i. 621.

[c] Lysons, ii. 517. Cotton MSS. Brit. Mus. Vespasian, E. vi. f. 55.

[d] Will of Thomas de Frowyk, of South Mimms, 48 Edw. III. Will of Henry de Frowyk, of the same, 8 Rich. II. Hist. of South Mimms, 77, 82.

Barnet, and on the west by South Mimms. Lysons gives the derivation of the name from the Saxon, Head leagh,[a] or high place, an explanation which, if warranted on other grounds, the position of the church and adjacent houses would amply justify. The little hamlet of Cockfosters[b] is situated in the three parishes of Hadley, Enfield, and East Barnet, on the border itself of Hertfordshire and Middlesex, and must formerly have been a very isolated nook surrounded by the forest. One of the houses, which has successively borne the names of Buckskin Hall and Dacre Lodge,[c] was apparently one of the keepers' lodges. Against the wall of an upper room there still remains the representation of a hunting scene in fresco outline, presenting every appearance of belonging to the time of James I. even if one of the personages delineated be not intended for a portrait of that monarch.

From the rising ground of Cockfosters a bridle path descends by Ludgrove, otherwise called the Blue House, whence the church of Hadley is visible on the opposite eminence, into a depression, through which a streamlet, becoming afterwards the Pymmes brook, finds its way by East Barnet and Bowes to Edmonton, there to be united with the Lea. At the present time it issues from the ornamental water within Beech-hill-park, but anciently must have drained the uninclosed land in that portion of the chace, at a period when the lake in question had no existence. Emerging from the bed of the stream, through trees and underwood, this bridle path, after traversing an interval of level ground and passing a house known as the Folly farm,[d] built, as there is evidence to show, between the years 1636 and 1686, by one Thomas Turpin,[e] rises with a sharp ascent, which in 1658[f] bore the name of Pridgen's[g] Hill, in the direction of the

[a] Heafod, a head, or Heah, high, and Leag, legh, leah, lega, ley, A ley, field, place, campus, pascuum.—Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dict.

[b] The origin of this name has been a source of perplexity to many. Amongst other surmises a conjecture has been hazarded that it may be looked for in the French bicoque forestière, indicative of a remote situation amidst uninclosed forest land. *Bicoque*, petite ville ou place de peu de considération, *a little paltry town.* Fleming and Tibbins' Fr. Dict. The French historian, M. Henri Taine, employs the word in this sense: Origines de la France Contemporaine, L'ancien Régime, p. 59. Eugénie de Guérin, in her letters, p. 281, speaks of "une bicoque de village."

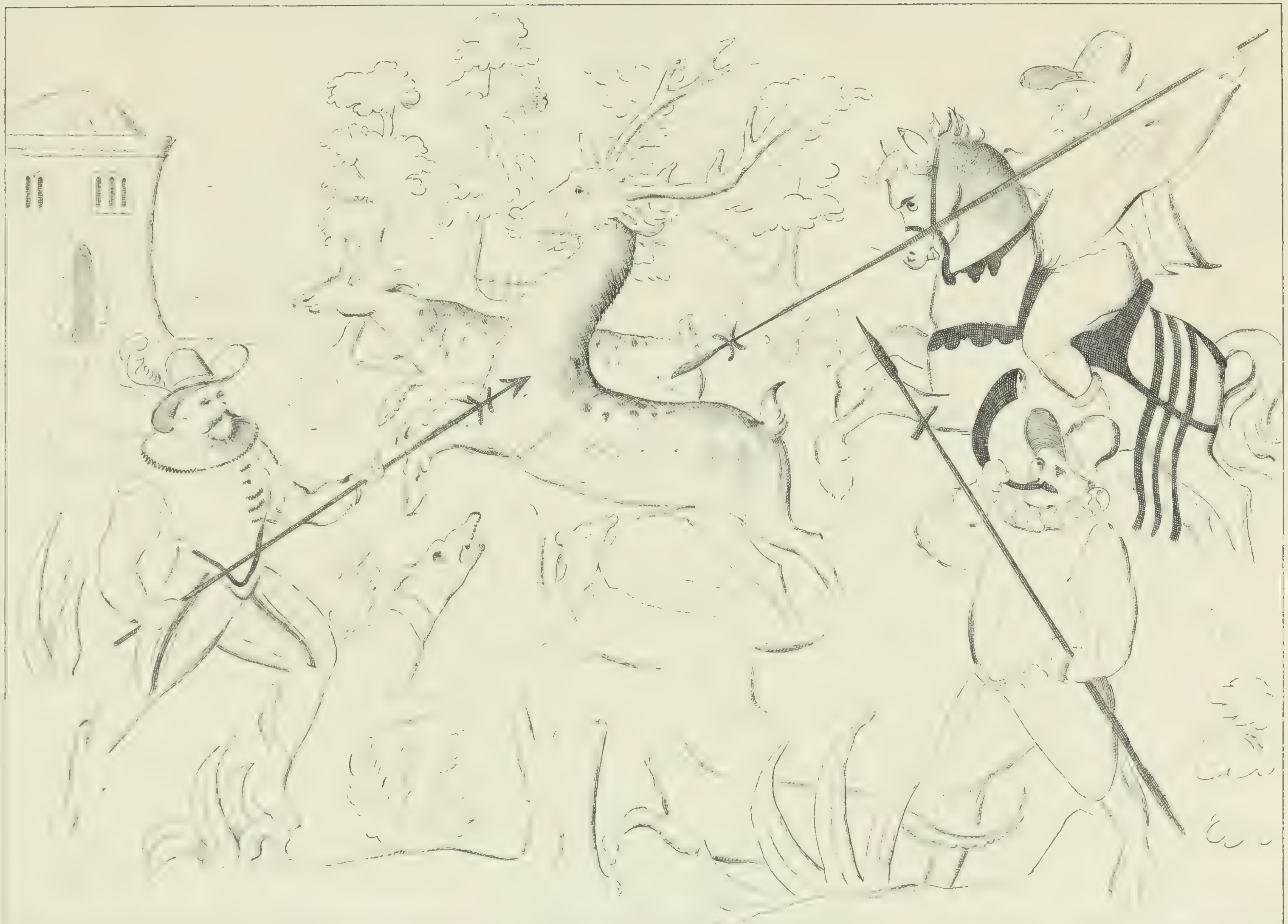
[c] Now the residence of Percival Bosanquet, esq. who has reverted to the older designation.

[d] The carriage road from Barnet and Hadley, in the direction of Cockfosters, carried over the Great Northern Railway by a bridge, to the east of the original track, now disused, terminates at this point.

[e] Thomas Turpin was Mr. Secretary Coventry's servant.—Survey of Enfield Chace in Hadley parish chest. The house was probably erected not long before the later of the dates mentioned in the text.

[f] Gunton and Rolfe's map.

[g] The name is met with in Enfield parish in 1661.



J. P. & W. H. Emslie lith.

FRESCO AT BUCKSKIN HALL, COCKFOSTERS.

from a drawing by Mrs Percival Bosanquet.

parish church. On the brow of the hill still flourishes by the roadside, in hale old age, a venerable relic of the forest, which for some years past has been called Latimer's elm.[a] In the days that preceded the Union the parish work-house stood very near it. The view from this spot is interesting still. Before the Great Northern Railway was constructed, when not a dwelling, save the residence of Lyonsdown with its adjacent buildings, now destroyed, occupied the space now filled by the modern houses of New Barnet, it was very lovely. Taking in the hamlet of Cockfosters and the mansions of Belmont and Little Grove on the rising ground to the left, the eye followed the outline of the East Barnet valley until the view was terminated southwards by Muswell Hill and Highgate. Here and there, still ascending westwards towards Hadley church, and immediately contiguous to the houses, the decaying skeletons of other forest trees continue to define the ancient limits of the Chace, whilst the withered and leafless trunk [b] adjacent to the rectory perhaps marks its extremest limit in that direction.

It is probable that, from a very early date, a line of dwellings fringed the eastern side of the road leading to Barnet and of the present Hadley Green, looking westwards over the open heath or moor where the great battle was fought. The parishes are perplexingly interlaced in this quarter, Hadley extending to within a short distance of Barnet church on the eastern side of the road, whereas, on the western, it gives place to South Mimms before reaching the entrance of the New Road. On the level plain, of which Hadley Green now forms a portion, was fought on Easter Day, 14 April, 1471, the decisive battle, which assured the re-establishment of Edward IV. upon the throne, and which, even without the subsequent victory of Tewkesbury,[c] three weeks later, gave a final blow to the hopes of the Lancastrian party. A haze of uncertainty hangs over the details of the engagement, though the accounts of several of the old chroniclers were compiled within comparatively few years afterwards.[d] More perhaps than on any other points are they found at variance with respect to the numbers engaged and the extent of the slaughter. It was naturally the policy of the Yorkist writers, whose authority would have been in the ascendant sub-

[a] The name occurs in the parish Reg. John Latimer and Mary Partridge were mar. 2 Oct. 1678.

[b] A picturesque cottage, of considerable antiquity, which formed its appropriate background, was pulled down in the winter of 1872-3, and the site included within the precincts of Hadley Lodge.

[c] The battle of Tewkesbury was fought on the 4th of May, 1471.

[d] Warkworth was Master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, 1473—1498. Philippe de Comines died in 1511. The *Chronicle* of Robert Fabian, a London alderman, was first printed in 1516. John Rastell, a printer, who married a sister of Sir Thomas More, died in 1536. Edward Halle, a lawyer, and judge in the sheriff's court, died in 1547.

sequently, to enhance the glory of Edward's success by representing the strength of his forces as falling largely below that of his rivals. But the feudal arrangements of that day were not unlikely to leave the numerical strength of the armies in doubt, as different leaders, with the troops under their orders, came in, up to the last moment, to range themselves under one standard or the other. It is conceivable too that, on this occasion, many who took part in the battle were undecided to the last which cause they should espouse. There was evidently a general suspicion of treachery, and the course which Warwick himself and his brother Montagu might ultimately adopt was by no means sure.

Even the precise site of the battle has been debated. Salmon, in his History of Hertfordshire,[a] says that "the place which the present Inhabitants take for the Field of Battle is a green spot near *Kick's-End*, between the *St. Alban's* Road and the *Hatfield* Road, a little before they meet." It is near this that Sir Jeremy Sambrooke's obelisk now stands, and here it was, according to tradition, that Warwick fell. Mere tradition, however, can only be accepted with considerable reserve, and it is to be remembered that the chronicles would rather lead to a conclusion that the Lancastrian chief lost his life after his forces had been already broken and in the rear of his original order of battle. Far more likely is it, therefore, both from this consideration and from the configuration of the ground, that the line occupied by Warwick's army was drawn nearer to Barnet, extending in the direction of Hadley church eastwards and crossing what is now Hadley Green in the contrary direction. We can hardly suppose that so experienced a leader would have been unobservant of the depression to the north of Hadley church, or insensible to the danger of having it in the rear of his position. Besides which, he enjoyed the advantage of being first in the field, and was in a condition, we may presume, to study its features before they became obscured by the fog. This accords moreover with Sir John Paston's statement, when writing to his mother from sanctuary in London, on the Thursday following, that the encounter took place "halfe a mile from Barnet," [b] and with the site mentioned by Halle.[c] We can thus easily understand how the disordered troops of Edward's

[a] Ed. 1728, p. 56.

[b] A.D. 1471, 18 April. Sir John Paston to Margaret Paston. "Wretyn at London the thorysdaye in Estern weeke." His brother John, of Gelston, had been wounded by an arrow in the battle below the right elbow. 30 April. John Paston, of Gelston, to Margaret Paston. *Paston Letters*, cccxi. and cccxiii. Fenn's ed. 1840-1, ii. 59, 61. Gairdner's ed. iii. 3, 6.

[c] Edward Halle's *Chronicle*, 294—297. "This toune (Barnet) standeth on a hill, on whose toppe is a faire plain, for twoo armies to joyne together." Cf. *The Annals* of John Stow, ed. of 1615, p. 423. "Halfe a mile from Barnet;" Weever's *Fun. Mon.* 704.

left should, when worsted, have fled through the town. The definition of a plain half a mile from Barnet exactly applies to the situation of Hadley Green. The moated manor-house of Old Fold, belonging to the Frowykes, may have been an important feature in the conflict. In a more advanced state of military science, it might have become another Hougoumont.

Assisted with money and men by his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy,[a] and having embarked at Flushing, 2 March, 1471, King Edward,[b] with a force of 2000 men, landed on the 14th at Ravenspur, near the mouth of the Humber, the same place where Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry IV., had disembarked in 1399, when he returned to dethrone Richard II. Aided by the defection of his brother, the duke of Clarence, "false, fleeting, perjured Clarence," [c] before Coventry, and having, by mingled stratagem and good fortune, succeeded in outmanœuvring Warwick in the course of the ensuing weeks, the invader, by way of St. Alban's, effected an entrance into London, 11 April, being the Thursday before Easter. It is observable that London and the great merchant towns had steadily supported the house of York throughout the long struggle. Two days later, Saturday the 13th, he again set out to meet his great adversary, who, having now united his forces, had advanced from the neighbourhood of Coventry and, in his turn passing through St. Alban's, had occupied Gladmore heath, then an open plain to the north of the little town of Barnet. The circumstances of the rivals had undergone a change, and the Last of the Barons, as he has been called in the brilliant pages of lord Lytton, instead of advancing to crush an opponent, was preparing to sustain his onset. He had allowed himself to be deceived into an expectation that London would detain Edward at least a few days before its walls.[d]

With the unhappy Henry VI. in his company, Edward rode out of London on Easter Eve, in the afternoon.[e] On reaching Barnet, "ten small miles distant," his advanced guard drove some of the scouts of lord Warwick's army out of the town, and pursued them a distance of more than half-a-mile until, "by an hedge side," they found themselves face to face with a large body of the

[a] Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV., was the third wife (married in 1468) of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.

[b] He had quitted the country 3 October, 1470, and landed at Alkmaar in Holland. During this exile his elder son, Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward V., had been born (4 November, 1470) in the sanctuary at Westminster. Stow, p. 423.

[c] Shakspere, *Richard III.*, act i. sc. 4. [d] Rapin, i. 613. [e] Halle.

opposing forces.[a] In the course of the night Edward, a consummate general, disposed his army for the approaching conflict. He suffered none of his troops to remain in the town, but ordered them all to the front, himself lodging with them on the field. The country was by this time overspread by a thick mist due, according to the superstitions of the age, to magical[b] incantations and raised, as was said, by one Bungay a conjurer. It obscured the lustre of the Paschal moon and rendered the needful evolutions difficult of execution. Owing to the thickness of the weather he was deceived in calculating the position occupied by his enemy, and is reported to have prolonged his right, beyond the ground which it would naturally have taken up, into the chace of Enfield and perhaps into the immediate vicinity of Hadley church. Having protected his own position with palisades and trenches againt a night attack, and enjoined silence upon his soldiers,[c] lest the enemy should suspect their nearness, he awaited daybreak. It would seem that this latter precaution was not altogether successful. Both armies passed the night under arms and, as we are told by Halle, the tents were so near together that "what for neighyng of horses, and talkynge of menne none of both the hostes could that night take any rest or quietnes." The result of Edward's disposal of his forces was that, instead of the two armies directly confronting each other, the right of either overlapped its adversary's left. During the night Warwick's artillery,[d] in which he was stronger than the King, had been playing from his right wing upon what were believed to be the Yorkist positions in front but, for the reason just stated, the balls fell harmless, no enemy being within the range of this portion of his line of battle. It has also been stated that, though the firing was kept up almost continuously, it did little or no execution because, owing to the nearness of the Yorkists, the shot fell beyond them.

Day broke at 4, and an hour later the battle commenced, terminating towards noon[e] with the overthrow and death of Warwick. The marquis of Montagu,[f] Warwick's brother, with the earl of Oxford,[g] led the Lancastrian right;

[a] Holinshed, iii. 684.

[b] Chronicle of Sir Richard Baker, knt., ed. of 1730, p. 210. Lord Lytton has availed himself of this superstition in the Last of the Barons.

[c] Sir R. Baker.

[d] Artillery was first used in field-warfare at Creçy.

[e] Rapin, i. 613.

[f] John Nevile, created marquis of Montagu by Edward IV. in 1469.

[g] John de Vere, 13th earl of Oxford, was the son of John, the 12th earl, beheaded on Tower Hill in 1461, at the accession of Edward IV. He afterwards espoused the cause of Henry VII. and led the archers of the vanguard at Bosworth. Scott has made him a leading character in his novel of Anne of Geierstein. He was twice married and survived until 1513, but died s. p.

the duke of Somerset[a] commanded[b] the archers in the centre; Warwick in person, with the duke of Exeter,[c] directed the left. The horse were stationed in either wing. Edward, on his side, seems to have adopted a different formation, and had massed his forces on three lines. His vanguard was commanded by Richard, duke of Gloucester, who had not long since completed his eighteenth year,[d] Edward himself conducted the battle,[e] in which the captive Henry VI. was placed, and lord Hastings[f] brought up the rear. He had further a company of fresh men, held in reserve, which eventually did good service.[g]

The opposing hosts being ordered for the engagement, the chiefs on either side harangued their followers preparatory to the onset. Halle, the chronicler, professes to record the gist of their respective addresses, which it is even possible may have been reported to him by some who heard them. Warwick. he tells us, " encoraged his men to fight, with many comfortable wordes, willing theim to strike with a good and a fierce corage, and to remembre that they fight not onely for the libertie of the countrey, against a tiraunte, whiche wrongfully and against all right had inuaded and subdued this realme, but they fight in the querell of a true and vndubitate King, against a cruell man and a torcious vsurper, in the cause of a Godly and a pitiful Prince, against an abhominable mãqueller,[h] and bloudy butcher. In the title of a gentle, liberall, and bountifull Kyng against an extreme nigard and a couetous extorcioner. In which cause being so good, so godly, and so iust, God of very iustice must nedes be their sheld and

[a] Edmund Beaufort, third duke of Somerset, had succeeded his brother Henry, the second duke (beheaded at Hexham in 1463), and was himself beheaded at Tewkesbury. He was the son of Edmund Beaufort, first duke (killed at St. Alban's 23 May, 1455), whose father Sir John Beaufort was the eldest legitimated son of John of Gaunt by Catharine Swynford. After the Battle of Barnet he "was in all post haste flying toward Scotland, but fearinge the ieopardies, that might chance in so long a iorney, altered his purpose, and turned into Wales, to Jasper, earl of Pembroke." Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5482 f. 4 b.

[b] Halle.

[c] Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, great-grandson of Sir Thomas de Holland, K.G. by Joan Plantagenet, the Fair Maid of Kent (afterwards married to Edward the Black Prince, and mother of Richard II.), had married Anne, eldest daughter of Richard, duke of York, and sister of Edward IV. He was found dead in the sea between Dover and Calais in 1473.

[d] He was born at Fotheringay Castle on Monday, 2 Oct. 1452. Gairdner's *Life and Reign of Richard III.* Will. Wyrc. Annales 477.

[e] The main body, as distinguished from the van and rear.

[f] Ancestor of the earls of Loudoun and of Huntingdon. Sir William de Hastings, knt. cr. in 1461 baron Hastings by Edw. IV. was beheaded in the Tower 13 June, 1483.

[g] Chronicle of Sir Richard Baker, knt. ed. 1730, p. 210; Halle pp. 294—297.

[h] Man-queller, a destroyer of men.—Halliwell's Dict.

defence." Edward, on the other hand, strove to stimulate the ardour of his soldiers by assuring them that "their aduersaries wer onely traitors to the realme, spoylers of the pore commonaltie, and people destitute of al grace, good fortune, and good liuyng. Which mischeuous persones, if they should preuaile through the faintnesse of your hartes, all you gentlemen and richmen wer in ieoperdy of your lifes, all meane men in doubt of robbyng and spoylyng, and all inferior persones in hasard of perpetual bondage and seruitude."

The trumpets now sounded [a] and the battle fairly began. Archers first discharged their arrows and the bill men followed them. For a time the result of the conflict hung in the balance, and there was an interval when it seemed more than probable that success would incline to the Lancastrian side. It would appear to have consisted of a succession of engagements or skirmishes over different portions of the field, not directed according to any fixed plan, a result easily accounted for by the obscurity of the weather.[b] An unexpected incident had an important bearing on the issue of the day. It is not mentioned by Halle, but Stow relates how the Lancastrian right wing, having forced back and routed the left of Edward's position, in returning to resume its place in the line found itself confronted by its own centre. So severe had been their onset, that a portion of the Yorkists had been driven through the town, and the report of a Lancastrian victory was carried by certain of the fugitives to London.[c] Halle indeed maintains that they, who galloped to London with the intelligence, were lookers on and not fighters. Owing, however, to the mist concealing the defeat of Edward's wing, there was no discouragement along the rest of the line. The cognizance of the de Veres, the earl of Oxford's badge, as is well known, was a star with streams or rays, which his men had embroidered on their coats both before and behind, whereas King Edward had adopted that of a sun[d] in splendour. Having beaten back Edward's left, lord Oxford wheeled about to return, thinking that his own line had been left too much exposed.[e] The heavy mist hindered the difference of the badges from being recognized, and Warwick's centre, by a not unnatural error under the circumstances, supposing that Edward's army was

[a] Halle. [b] Harl. MS. 543, f. 31. Stowe's *Historical and other Collections.*

[c] Fabian says that "if his men had kept their array and had not fallen to rifling, likely it had been as it was after told, that the victory had falled to that party."

[d] Rapin, i. 613. "Speed tells us that Oxford's men had his star or mullet embroidered on their coats, and King Edward's soldiers the sun; but it was a little white rose with the rays of the sunbeams pointing round about it." Lower's Heraldry. It has been called "the white rose *en soleil.*" See, however, Shakspere, Henry VI. Part III. act ii. sc. 1, for the origin of this badge at the battle of Mortimer's Cross.

[e] Rapin, i. 613.

in full march towards them, poured a volley of arrows into Oxford's returning troops, who, suspecting treason, fled to the number of eight hundred. As has been already mentioned, an apprehension of treacherous dealing seems to have prevailed extensively on either side.

Edward had by this time brought his reserve into action and by noon, or as some say by 10 o'clock, the victory of the Yorkists was assured and lord Warwick and his brother Montagu slain. Their bodies were removed to London in a cart the same afternoon and, after exposure naked at St. Paul's, conveyed for interment to Bisham Abbey in Berkshire.[a] The duke of Exeter escaped with his life. Having been dangerously wounded in the field, and left for dead from seven in the morning till four in the afternoon, he was brought to the house of one of his servants near at hand, called Ruthland, where he was tended by a surgeon and afterwards conveyed to sanctuary at Westminster.[b] Rapin says that, upon consciousness returning, he crawled to the next house and found means to be carried thence to London. The victor returned immediately to the capital, having the unhappy Henry in his train, and without delay offered his standard and gave thanks to God at St. Paul's.[c] Rastell[d] writes that "the same after none, Kynge Edwarde came into London agayne, and brought Kinge Henry with hym, rydynge in a long gowne of blewe velvet thorowe London, and so to Westmyster, and from thens sent hym vnto the Towre, where he remayned as prisoner all his lyfe tyme after." It was commonly reported, according to Halle, that sorrow for the death of lord Montagu, whom he regarded personally with extreme affection, materially diminished the satisfaction which the King would have otherwise experienced after so signal a success.

The bodies of the more distinguished amongst the slain, on both sides, were conveyed away, and many of them interred in the church of the Austin Friars, London.[e] The commonalty, it is stated, were buried on the field, half-a-mile from Barnet, but no tradition survives as to the spot. Stow informs us that a chapel was erected on the site, and a priest appointed thereto to say mass for their souls. In his time this chapel had become a dwelling house, of which the top quarters yet remained.[f] It has even been asserted that the church of Hadley was the structure in question, but this is altogether erroneous.

[a] Stow, ed. 1615, p. 423. Weever's *Fun. Mon.* p. 704. [b] Stow. [c] Halle.

[d] *The Pastime of People,* by J. R., A.D. 1529. Dibdin's ed. 1811.

[e] Weever's *Fun. Mon.* 419. 704. Stow, p. 423.

[f] Stow, p. 423, ed. 1615. The name of John Rastell is set in the margin but, in his *Pastime of People,* 284, Dibdin's ed., there is no allusion to the circumstance. Weever, 704.

After making large allowance for the imperfect communications of those days, it is difficult to conceive how so great a discrepancy could have arisen as exists, both as to the strength of the armies engaged and the number of the slain. Many of the historians were nearly contemporary with the events related, whilst others [a] had facilities for informing themselves, which ought to have insured some approximation to accuracy. Reinforcenents were probably flocking in to either army up to the last moment. It is likely, notwithstanding, that Warwick may have had the advantage of mere numbers,[b] whilst, against this, must be set off the defection of Clarence, and the fact that Edward brought into the field a small body of trained German soldiers, who had accompanied him into England, armed with hand-guns, then a new weapon in war, and was furnished besides with a fine train of artillery.[c] The Warkworth chronicle,[d] whose writer's sympathies were Lancastrian, and which was probably compiled about 1473, puts the number of Warwick's forces at 20,000. That, on the other hand, which has come down to us under the authority of Fleetwood, recorder of London in the reign of Elizabeth, assures us that 9000 on his, the Yorkist, side were met by 30,000 on the other. This latter chronicle [e] was compiled by a servant of Edward IV., who "presently saw in effect a greate parte of his exploytes, and the residue knew by true relation of them that were present at every tyme," and is presumably identical with a French MS. still preserved in the public library at Ghent. The MS. appears to be an illuminated transcript [f] of a Report, drawn up by one

[a] Rastell, whose father-in-law, Sir John More, resided at Gobions, in the neighbourhood, was not unlikely to have heard many of the local traditions concerning the engagement.

[b] Rapin alleges the reverse, i. 613.

[c] *History of the English People*, by J. R. Green, M.A. ii. 46.

[d] The chronicle is a folio in vellum, of 225 pages.

[e] *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV. in England and the final recoverye of his kingdomes from Henry VI. A.D.* 1471, ed. by John Bruce, esq., F.S.A. Camden Soc. Pub. 1838. "The historie of the arrivall of King E. 4. in England, and the finall recouerie of his kingdomes from H. 6. in A° D[i] 1471 written by an Anonymus, who was living at the same time and a servant to the saied King E. 4. Transcribed by John Stowe the chronicler with his owne hand." Harl. M.S. 543, f. 31. Stow's *Historical and other Collections.* A small quarto vol.

[f] It has been printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 11. (A.D. 1827). The MS. is on vellum, of quarto size, and at the head of each of the four chapters is a highly finished illuminated miniature. "Miniature 1. represents the battle of Barnet. The two armies, clad in armour, are engaged in close combat, the Lancastrians bearing a large red banner, with a border and a rose embroidered in gold. Edward, on a white charger caparisoned with red cloth lined with blue, and *semé* with *fleurs de lis*, his vizor raised and a gold crown on the top of his helmet, appears to have just pierced with a long red lance the breastplate of his antagonist, intended no doubt for the earl of Warwick. In front two esquires are engaged hand to

of the followers of Edward IV. and forwarded to the court of Charles the Bold. It is accompanied by a letter from Edward himself, dated 29 May, and written from Canterbury, addressed to the inhabitants of Bruges, informing them of the complete success with which his expedition to England had been crowned, and thanking them for their hospitable and generous entertainment of himself and friends whilst residing in exile in their city. It is easily conceivable that, during the ascendency of the White Rose, a disposition may have generally prevailed to enhance in every way the splendour of Yorkist successes, to be followed by a reaction in the opposite direction when the Red Rose of Lancaster began once again to lift up its head after Bosworth Field.

There is an equal, if not greater, discrepancy in the estimates of the killed, some of the chroniclers making the number amount to 10,000,[a] others to 4,000,[b] and those who speak most moderately to 1,500.[c] Sir John Paston, who was present, wrote on Thursday, 18 April, after mentioning certain persons by name, that there were "other people of both parties to the number of more than a thousand."[d] This is by far the lowest computation that we find given by any writer, and we may remember that it comes from one, who was not only on the field himself but who must also have had the opportunity of conversing with others who were there engaged. It must further be borne in mind that, contrary to the rule previously followed of shewing mercy towards the inferior ranks, Edward, on this occasion, charged his followers to give no quarter to any. Many of the fugitives and wounded sought concealment, it is said, at North Mimms and other neighbouring villages.

The church of Monken Hadley, formerly at the very edge of the parish and chace, stands at an elevation of 426 ft. 9 in. above the sea level, according to the last Ordnance Survey, the highest point in the High Street[e] being at 431 ft. 3 in. From the summit of its tower, reached by a turret staircase of 61 steps, a very charming and extensive view, over a country well wooded for many miles round, rewards an ascent. The spreading branches of trees intercept a *coup d'œil* over the neighbouring battle-field, but farther away to the north-west the eye can detect

hand with swords. The Lancastrian is attempting to thrust the point of his weapon through the bars of his opponent's helmet, whilst another of Edward's squires is pushing him off with his lance. In the background the open country is seen between two high ridges of rock. On the summit of the right bank is a large castellated building." It need hardly perhaps be mentioned that the scene, as represented, bears no resemblance whatever to the actual site.

[a] Halle, Comines. [b] Stow. [c] Fabian, Rastell.

[d] Fenn's Paston Letters. See previously, p. 10, note.

[e] Immediately opposite the entrance of the New Road.

St. Alban's, to the east Waltham Abbey beyond the Lea with the low line of Essex hills to the south of it, and, in clear weather, the River Thames with its shipping in the vicinity of Woolwich. It is nearer at hand, however, that the prospect is most attractive, embracing as it does the pretty gardens behind the residences on Hadley Green and the undulating outline of the Wood and Common, the open downlike space at its upper level becoming exchanged for picturesque glades abounding in timber as one descends in the direction of Cockfosters. Only a few years since, and the recesses of the wood were gay in spring with primroses, cowslips, violets, and wild strawberries; but the spoiler has been at work, and comparatively few remain. When the Enfield Chace Act was passed, 240 acres of chace land were made over to Hadley, of which 50 were assigned to the rector as glebe, and form the sole fixed endowment of the living. Of these latter a portion was sold in 1799 to redeem the land-tax. The remainder, inclosed by gates, and constituting the present Hadley Wood and Common, is justly celebrated for its sylvan beauty. Its privileges, in some respects singular, are jealously guarded by its proprietors, the freeholders of the parish, through the churchwardens for the time being, as their trustees and representatives. The whole of these 240 acres are still subject, under the Act, to the payment of both rectorial and vicarial tithes to Enfield.

We have the ancient limits of the Chace, where it abutted upon the parish of Hadley, set out in surveys made successively in the years 1636 and 1686, and by this means became acquainted with sundry changes of proprietorship. In 1636 [a] the boundary, starting from "the house of Mr. Hewitt," [b] at Cockfosters, "and from thence to the house of the heirs of Robert Norrice [c] and, fetching in the said house and orchard, leaving out the house late Thomas Kempton's deceased, and from thence by the hedge of East Barnet," passed "to a cottage late Sir Roger Wilbraham's, parcel of Ludgraves in Hadley parish, and from thence to the Blue house, and from thence to the New Pond head, and from thence by the hedge of Hadley unto the house of Dr. Brett, in the tenure of John Foster, called Capons house, [d] and so by the houses unto the house of Mr. Backhouse, and so to Hadley churchyard, and so north and west to the windmill belonging to the lordship of

[a] Court of Survey of the Manor and Chace of Enfield, in the county of Middlesex, held at Enfield 26 March, 1635, 11 Car. I., and adjourned to 15 Nov., 1636, by virtue of a Commission dated 7 March, 1634. MS. Volume preserved in Hadley parish chest.

[b] Probably Buckskin Hall.

[c] Probably West Farm.

[d] Probably the house where the late Capt. Samuel Strong resided, which was pulled down after his sale of the property to the British Land Company a few years since.

Enfield, and fetching in the same windmill, and so by the highway to Sommerpool als Sugarwell," &c. This was the period when Charles I., having entered upon the perilous experiment of personal rule, had recourse to a variety of expedients for replenishing his exchequer. Amongst the rest, Commissions of Forests were issued, which exacted large sums from the neighbouring landowners for their incroachments on Crown lands.[a] At the same time it was alleged that no perfect survey of Enfield Chace was any longer extant.[b]

In Nov. 1652, a resolution was passed that Enfield Chace should be sold for ready money. It was supposed to contain 7,900 acres, of which it was proposed that 240 should be allotted to the commoners of Hadley.[c] A few years later, in July, 1659, the inhabitants of Enfield, Edmonton, South Mimms, and Hadley, complaining of the inclosure of common, claimed to have enjoyed common rights for above 300 years. Col. Webb, who resided at Gannox,[d] was the Surveyor General of the Chace at this period, and Mr. Justinian Pagitt, of Hadley, Justice of the Peace, had been, with others, a purchaser of chace lands.

Among the commissioners named in the later Survey[e] we find "Henry Coventry, esq., one of our Privy Counsel, William Bluck,[f] of Hadley, in our county of Middlesex, esq.; John Chapman,[g] of the same, gent. and Laurence Stanyan,[h] of the same, gent."; whilst of the twenty-four sworn jurors three at least, Peter Dry,[i] John Buckingham,[j] and Thomas Townsend,[k] were Hadley men. At this Survey various changes had to be noted, though the main outline under-

[a] *Hist. of the English People*, iii. 146.

[b] A Survey of the Chace had been made by Edmond Twymowe, their surveyor, 8 July, 14 Eliz. MS. Volume, Hadley parish chest.

[c] *Robinson's History of Enfield*, i. 179. *Ford's History of Enfield*, p. 36.

[d] See *Hist. of South Mimms*, p. 23.

[e] Court of Survey of the Manor and Chace of Enfield, in the county of Middlesex, held at Enfield 8 Oct. 1685, 1 Jac. 2, and adjourned to 23 Oct. 1686, by virtue of a Commission from the Duchy Court of Lancaster, dated 6 Oct. 1685. MS. Volume in Hadley parish chest.

[f] The name of William Blucke, esq., appears in the rate books between 1684 and 1697. He was a justice of the peace. Anne, daughter of William Blucke, esq., and Diana his wife, was bapt. 20 June, 1693.

[g] Churchwarden in 1677.

[h] Churchwarden in 1685. Abraham Stanyan, esq., also called Colonel Stanyan, of London and Hadley, was the father of John and Laurence. He survived his second wife Mary, widow of Robert Tayler. Her will was proved P.C.C. 10 Feb. 1668-9, by Robert Tayler, her only son. Book Coke 23.

[i] Churchwarden in 1684.

[j] Churchwarden in 1698. A wheelwright.

[k] Churchwarden in 1694. Subsequently to September, 1702, after the death of Lady Mary Turnor in Jan. 1701-2, he was tenant farmer of the manor-house land. He also farmed lands belonging to the Wilford family.

went no alteration. Beginning, as before, from the house of William Pecke,[a] esq., formerly the house of Mr. Hewitt, and from thence to the house of Robert Norris, and fetching in the house and orchard, and leaving out the house now Daniel Nicholls', formerly of Thomas Kempton, in right of Elizabeth his wife, the boundary ran "from thence by the hedge of East Barnet to a cottage formerly Sir Roger Wilbraham's, parcel of Ludgraves in Hadley parish, now John Walton's, and from thence to the Blue house in the tenure of the said John Walton, and from thence to the new pond head, and from thence to a new brick house[b] of Thomas Turpin, and from thence by the hedge of Hadley unto the house of William Nicholls, formerly of Dr. Brett, in the tenure of William Waill,[c] called Capons house, and so by the houses there unto the house of William Mayo,[d] formerly of Mr. Backhouse, in the occupation of Richard Saunders, and so to Hadley churchyard, and so north and west to the windmill," &c.

In reply to the 17th article the jury presented in 1686, as they had done in 1636, that "there commoneth in Enfield Chace, over and besides the King's Majesty's tenants and inhabitants of Enfield, at this day, the parishes and lordships of South Mimms, Hadley, and Edmonton, the which have there commoned and so still do, but by what right we do not justly know, but refer them and their pretended right of common to be examined by and in the Duchy Court or otherwise, as his Majesty pleaseth to direct and appoint."

We learn from the earlier survey that, previously to 1636, there had been two windmills within the manor of Enfield,—one in the tenure of Thomas Coningsby,

[a] William Pecke, esq., was the son and heir of Edward Pecke, of the Inner Temple, serjeant at-law, a gentleman of Norfolk descent, by Grace, daughter and co-heiress of William Greene, of Belmont, or Mount Pleasant, East Barnet. He m. Gertrude, only child of Sir William Greene, of Mitcham, bart., and was afterwards of Little Sampford, Essex, where he was buried, having d. 27 June, 1694. *Westminster Abbey Registers*, by J. L. Chester, p. 42; *Clutterbuck's Herts*, i. 181, 359; iii. 527, 529; East Barnet Par. Reg.

[b] *Vide supra*, p. 8.

[c] William Wale was churchwarden in 1686. His name appears in the Rate Book in 1678, and after 1689 his assessment was at a rental of £80, the largest in the parish. He was bur. at Hadley 6 March, 1695-6, and administration granted to Alice, his widow, on the following 16 June. She seems to have held the same lands afterwards, and was bur. 18 July, 1722.

[d] Clement Mayo, of Chancery-lane, gent. by his will, proved P.C.C. 16 March, 1686-7 (Book Foot 40), devised to his friend Robert Fish and his heirs this and other property that had belonged to his grandfather James Mayo, an attorney and Clerk of the Warrants, who d. at his house in Chancery Lane 12 Feb. 1673-4, aged about 84. (Obituary of Richard Smyth. Camden Soc. Pub.) Mr. Clement Mayo, who matriculated at Magd. Hall, Oxford, 30 March, 1667, aged 15, was buried at Hadley 2 Aug. 1686. His father Nathaniel, of Hadley, gent. was there buried 5 July, 1678, and administration granted on the 16th to Elizabeth his widow. Hadley Par. Reg. Oxford Matriculation Reg.

esq.,[a] or his tenant, and then in good repair,[b]—the other at Beacon's hill, which one Hudson had in farm at an annual rent of 20*s*., but which had been already pulled down and carried away by Michael Grigge,[c] of Hadley, esq. The former of these was without doubt that which gave its name to Mill Corner, at the junction of Enfield and Hadley parishes, and in all likelihood represented a very ancient windmill, which, about the year 1288, formed the subject of a lawsuit brought by the Abbot and Convent of Walden against Isabella de Frowyk,[d] widow of Henry de Frowyk, alderman of London. It seems to have been known in 1636 as Hadley windmill, and in 1686 was in the tenure of William Clarke and in good repair. According to the rate book of that date a question arose in 1687 as to the liability of the said William Clarke to pay rates to Hadley on the score of the mill. Evidence was adduced, in support of this, that Clarke himself and his predecessors, Crane and Reed, had previously paid their proportion of such rates, and that the mill and mill-house were reputed and taken to be within the bounds of the parish of Monken Hadley in the yearly processions.[e] From subsequent notices it may be concluded that the litigation took the form of a suit brought by the miller, who caused Michael Salte, the overseer, to be arrested, and must have been a formidable personage. The case went before the sessions at Enfield, and the overseer's accounts for the year 1687 shew the expenses of this and of the other incidents of the contest. The result is not expressly recorded, but during the following years we find the name of William Clarke[f] still assessed to the poor's rate, and at an even higher rental than before. The survey of 1636, however, clearly indicates that the windmill was included within the Chace, and in the perambulation of Hadley parish, which took place in 1772, the line was distinctly drawn through a point facing "the late mill-yard."[g]

[a] Index to Leases, Hen. VIII. to Geo. II. Duchy of Lancaster, Class 33, No. 30:—

Ann' 31 Redd. 20[s]	Molend. ventritic' sup'. mont. infra Chaceam de Endefeild iuxta monke hadley Churche, cu' p'cell. terr. eid'm p'tin.	Freman Yonge.
Ann' 21 Redd. 20[s]	Molend ventritic' infra Chaceam de Endefeild cu' pec. terr. eid'm p'tin.	Tho. Dereman.

[b] Thomas Coningsby, esq., succ. his brother Sir Francis at North Mimms, in 1629. *Clutterbuck's Herts*, i. 443; *Hist. of South Mimms*, 117.

[c] Lord of the Manor of Hadley. This mill, inter alia, had been granted by letters patent, 29 May, 7 Jac. to Edward Ferrers of London, mercer, and Francis Phelips of London, gent. and on 17 May, 13 Car. a like grant of the same was made to the said Edward Ferrers and William Trigg, gent. Index to Grants in fee, Duchy of Lancaster, at Record Office.

[d] *Hist of South Mimms*, 17.

[e] From this it may be concluded that the parish boundaries were "walked," annually, at this period.

[f] In 1696 William Clarke was churchwarden.

[g] Record of the perambulation in Hadley parish chest.

Of the locality styled Beacon's hill we possess no more precise information than the certainty of its being in the near neighbourhood of Hadley church. It might be conjectured to have occupied the site of the residence now called The Mount. This house, with its gardens and a contiguous meadow, constitutes what may be termed an *enclave*,[a] still belonging to Enfield, though surrounded on all sides by Hadley since the allotment of chace made in 1777. On 23 Nov., 26 Eliz., a lease for thirty-one years, at a reserved rent of 20 shillings, was granted, under the seal of the Duchy Court of Lancaster, to one Freeman Yonge,[b] of a windmill "infra p'd chaceam de Endfeld iux[a] Monkes Churche vulgariter Monkehadley Churche al's myll hill al's Beacon hill, cu' p'cell terr. eid'm p'tin." There is a condition annexed that he shall rebuild and maintain the same; but the document preserved at the Record Office has been so much injured, apparently by fire,[c] that a portion of every line is wanting. On 17 March, 27 Eliz., the lease was assigned by Freeman Yonge to John Scarlett, upon a condition for payment of £52 10*s*., which was forfeited, and the money never paid. Two years later, 5 July, 29 Eliz., there was a further assignment, with the full consent of Freeman Yonge, by John Scarlett to James Huishe, upon condition for repayment of £45. John Scarlett likewise gave a receipt for £21 13*s*. 4*d*. more for the full bargain, and entered into an obligation of £100 with James Huishe to discharge the latter from all liabilities. One Hudson, as we have seen, held the site in farm in 1636, and in 1686 it was found to be in the occupation of Thomas Turpin, Mr. Secretary Coventry's servant, and that there is or ought to be paid to his Majesty for the same 20*s*. per ann.

Mr. James Huishe, or Huyshe, citizen and grocer of London, was connected with the neighbourhood through his second marriage with Mary, daughter of Thomas Moffett, of Barnet, and his name appears in the earlier minute book of the Grammar School there as concerned, together with his brother-in-law, William Linacres, in certain pecuniary transactions relating to that foundation. There is still in the possession of his descendant, the Rev. John Huyshe, present representative of the family,[d] a book containing an inventory of his property in 1587.

[a] *Enclave* (Fr.) An estate that lies in the middle of another. It was for many years the residence of Joseph Henry Green, esq. F.R.S., D.C.L., and in 1864 was purchased of the Dewes family by Mrs. Ann Eliza Green, his widow, who died there 17 Sept. 1879, aged 87.

[b] From Harl. MS. 366, f. 74, we learn that Freeman Yonge held lands, &c., in Finchley parish, circ. 1584, of the value of xviij [li].

[c] Grants 15 to 26 Eliz., vol. vi.; South Auditor's Books of Leases.

[d] Huyshe, of Sand and Clisthydon, co. Devon. See *Burke's Landed Gentry.*

In the schedule is comprised the original indenture of lease under the duchy seal, together with the successive assignments. He had evidently imbibed in a very strong degree the Puritanical bias of the latter years of the sixteenth century and his will[a] exhibits tokens of a violent antipathy towards the Church of Rome. Any future collateral heir of his lineage and blood is to be excluded from the succession, as if he were dead without issue, except he be "a professor of the Gospell accordinge to the profession of Englande or Geneva." It is perhaps characteristic of him, accordingly, that the book in question should be bound up in a fragment of a missal of the fifteenth cent.

When the earlier survey was made, the piece of water within the present inclosure of Beech-hill-park[b] was called the New Pond, where was a water-mill, of which one John Withering, esq.,[c] had a grant from the King at an annual rent[d] of 25*s*. In 1686 this mill had "long since been pulled down," and the New Pond converted into three ponds, as they remain to this day, by Mr. Secretary Coventry, then Ranger. Two other ponds, both newly made, are likewise specified in this part of the Chace,—the one called Bournewell Pond, and the other, near Thomas Turpin's, formerly a gravel pit. This description points to the upper part of Hadley Common, defined as Bournewell hill in 1658,[e] and may refer to the small pond at the edge of the road leading from the church to the chace gate, and to that now included within Mrs. Wilde's property.

We have an intimation, alluded to above, that the parochial authorities were in the habit of walking round the parish annually in procession. In the Vestry chest are preserved records of such perambulations, headed by the rector, churchwardens, overseers, and others, on the 3 August, 1772, prior to the Chace addition, and on 14 May, 1817, but it is likely that the ancient yearly custom had been for a long time discontinued. On Sunday, 14 June, 1772, it was agreed and ordered in vestry,[f] that the parishioners do go a *Possessioning* on the

[a] He died in 1590, and his monumental inscription is preserved in Stow. The will was proved P.C.C. 27 Oct. 1590. Book Drury 69.

[b] Imparked by Francis Russell, esq., of Red Lion Square, and, in the first instance, named Russell-park. Mr. Russell, who d. in 1795, was Surveyor of the Woods for the south parts of the duchy of Lancaster. The measure of inclosing Enfield Chace was suggested, and the bill drawn by him. Lysons, iv. 625.

[c] A John Withering, of a family derived from Overton, in Staffordshire, was Gentleman Sewer to King James I., and probably the person here alluded to. His son William Withering was of Nelmes, in Essex. Harl. MSS. 1432, f. 156[b]. *Visitation of Essex*, 1634; 6128, f. 101.

[d] Grants 15 to 26 Eliz. vol. vi. pt. 4, f. 71. South Auditor's Books of Leases.

[e] Gunton and Rolfe's map.

[f] *Hadley Vestry Minute Book.*

first Monday in August next ensuing the date hereof, and that notice in the church be given of the same, the three preceding Sundays before. John Burrows, minister, William North, churchwarden, and others sign the resolution. The stitched document containing the account of this perambulation is entitled, "The mode for possessioning, or The Boundaries of the Parish of Monken Hadley in the County of Middlesex," and is written out in elaborate penmanship, with an enumeration of the crosses marked at the different limits, by Anthony Gray, Vestry clerk and schoolmaster at Barnet. In recent years the boundaries have been taken on Friday, 20 May, 1864, and on Friday, 13 June, 1879. The late careful Ordnance survey has in a great measure superseded any necessity for such ceremonies, but their observance from time to time may, notwithstanding, be desirable, viewed in the light of an old English custom and in the interests of parochial good fellowship.

The Right Hon. Henry Coventry, already mentioned, was a younger son of Thomas,[a] first lord Coventry, Lord Keeper. His sister, Dorothy, wife of Sir John Pakington, of Westwood, bart., was the reputed authoress of "The whole Duty of Man." Originally a member of Queen's College, Oxford, he afterwards became a fellow of All Souls and, before the rebellion, had been chancellor of Llandaff. Having been a sufferer in the royal cause, the Restoration found him one of the grooms of the bedchamber to Charles II. In 1664, and again in September 1671, he was sent on embassies to Sweden, and on 3 July, 1672, was sworn Principal Secretary of State, an office which he held until 1680. On 26 April of that year he delivered up the seals and, in shattered health,[b] retired to the West Bailey Lodge[c] in Enfield Chace, which continued to be his country residence during the remainder of his life. Evelyn visited him there on 2 June, 1676, and has left a record of his impressions in his diary.[d] "2nd June. I went with my Lord Chamberlaine to see a garden at *Enfield* toune; thence to Mr. Secretary *Coventry's* lodge in the *Chace*. It is a very pretty place, the house commodious, the gardens handsome, and our entertainment very free, there being none but my Lord and myselfe. That which I most wondered at was that in the compass of 25 miles, yet within 14 of *London*, there is

[a] Thomas Coventry was appointed Lord Keeper, 1. Nov. 1625 and created baron Coventry 10 April 1628. He died 14 Jan. 1639-40.

[b] In a letter from William Longueville to lord Hatton, dated 27 Sep. 1682, the former writes "Mr. H. Coventry not like to live." Hatton Correspondence. Camden Soc. Pub. 1878.

[c] Now West Lodge, the residence of J. W. Cater, esq. J. P. and previously of Archibald Paris, esq.

[d] This was probably the source from which lord Macaulay drew his statement. *Vide supra*, p. 6.

not a house, barne, church, or building, besides 3 lodgings. To this lodge are 3 greate ponds and some few inclosures, the rest a solitarie desert, yet stor'd with not lesse than 3000 deere. These are pretty retreats for gent^{n}, especialy for those who are studious and lovers of privacy." Mr. Coventry died at his house in the Haymarket, 5 December, 1686, aged about 68. In his will, dated on the previous 16 September,[a] he is described as of the parish of St. Martin's in the fields. His interest in the rangership[b] and in West Lodge, is therein bequeathed to his nephew, Henry Savile,[c] esq., vice-chamberlain to King James II. To his sister, the lady Thynne,[d] he leaves "the picture of the King of Sweden sett with dyamonds." To Mrs. Cotterell,[e] Mrs. Fountaine[f] of Bell-barre, Mrs. Stanion[g] of Hadley, and Mrs. Taylor, he gives to each of them "a peece of my old gold of equall value," and to Mr. Taylor, "Minister of Hadley my Poole's

[a] Proved P.C.C. 29 Dec. 1686. Book Lloyd 160.

[b] In the Survey of 1686 it was found that "The Right Hon. Henry Coventry, esq. is now Master of the Game, Chief Ranger, Woodward and Bailiff." He held a patent of the office of Keeper of the West Bailey walk, dated 22 Aug. 1673. Duchy of Lancaster, Index to Patents, Class 33. No. 29. f. 64.

[c] A bad product of a bad age. Younger son of Sir William Savile, bart. of Thornhill co. York, (d. 24 Jan. 1643) by Anne, eldest dau. of Thomas, lord Coventry, and brother of Sir George Savile, bart., author and statesman, cr. successively by Charles II. viscount, earl, and marquis of Halifax. Harry Savile, as he was usually called, was M.P. for Newark, and d. s. p. Macaulay tells an anecdote of him (Hist. of England, iv. 558) and certain of his *debordements* are mentioned in the recently published Hatton Correspondence. Cf. Biog. Univ. art. Sir George Savile.

[d] Mary, second daughter of lord Coventry, married Henry Frederick Thynne, esq., of Kempsford, created a baronet 15 June, 1641. Their eldest son, Sir Thomas, second baronet, inherited Longleat, when his cousin, Thomas Thynne, esq., "Tom of Ten Thousand," was assassinated in his coach in Pall Mall, near the present Waterloo Place, on the night of Sunday, 12 February, 1682. He was raised to the peerage the same year as baron Thynne and viscount Weymouth.

[e] Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Nicholas Burwell, esq., of Gray's Inn, the first wife of Charles Lodowick Cottrell, esq., who in this year succeeded his father in the office of Master of the Ceremonies, and was afterwards knighted. He was rated to the parish of Hadley between 1684 and 1699.

[f] Sarah, dau. of Anne, widow of Sir William Savile (*supr.* note [c]) by her remarriage with Sir Thomas Chichele, knt. of Wimpole co. Cambridge, Master of the Ordnance and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster from 34 Charles II. to 1 Will. and M. She was the second wife of Andrew Fountaine, of Sall co. Norfolk and of the Inner Temple, esq., who purchased the manor of Brookmans 18 Charles II., and in 1682 built the present mansion, which in 1701 he sold to John lord Somers. Their eldest son, Sir Andrew Fountaine, knt. was a distinguished antiquary and in 1727, at the death of Sir Isaac Newton, succeeded to the office of warden of the Mint. Stemmata Chicheleana, No. 21. Chauncy's *Herts.* 530. Clutterbuck's *Herts.* i. 454, *North Mimms.* Burke's Landed Gentry. *Fountaine of Narford Hall, co. Norf.*

[g] Dorothy, the wife of Laurence Stanyan, esq. They were both living 27 November, 1706, when administration was granted to her of the effects of their son Robert, late of Kingston, Jamaica, bachelor, her

Sinopsis[a] and Grotius his workes or soe many of them as shall be found amongst my books, and alsoe my large Tankard which is guilded within." To the poor of the parish of Hadley he bequeaths £100, and to the poor of Enfield £10. To his godson Henry[b] Baron als Barnes, son of his servant George Baron als Barnes, he gives £100 to be put out at interest till he is twenty-one. It would be almost impossible to conceive of the spirit of adulation as carried to greater lengths than by the Baron family. Among other entries contained in the Hadley Register we find the baptisms of their two sons Henry (1676) and Coventry (1679) and of their daughters, Secretary (1681) and Ranger (1684). Mr. Coventry was mindful, when he made his will, of those who had served him. "To Ralph Spooner, my groome, I give either my gray horse (Legge) or my bay mare at his election. To Thomas Hughes my huntsman I give my packe of hounds and one of the horses which he used to ride to be at his election which of the two he will have. To Thomas Watson my groom I give my black trotting guelding."

At a Vestry Meeting held at Hadley, 16 May, 1680,[c] it was conceded that the Right Hon. Henry Coventry might at his pleasure build for himself a gallery on the north side of the church over against the pulpit. Though his residence was in Enfield parish, it is manifest that he identified himself in all things with

husband being absent in Ireland. Another son, Temple Stanyan, esq. (baptized at Hadley, 24 March 1674-5) was the author, in 1714, of a little book, of which there is a French translation, published at Amsterdam in the same year, at the British Museum ("*L'état de la Suisse, écrit en* 1714). His acquaintance with the country, he says in the preface, is founded upon an experience of more than eight years. He was also the author of *The Grecian History*, in two vols. dedicated to John, lord Somers (the Lord Chancellor, who died in 1717), of which an edition was published by J. & R. Tonson in the Strand, in 1766. According to Lysons (iv. 441) he drew up the Latin inscription on the pedestal of George II.'s statue at Greenwich Hospital.

[a] *Synopsis criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturæ interpretum operâ Matthæi Pole Londinensis.* A.D. MDCLXIX; in five volumes folio, dedicated to King Charles II. Matthew Poole, M.A. of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was born at York in 1624. For fourteen years he held the rectory of St. Michael le Querne in the City, from which he was ejected by the Bartholomew Act. Finding himself threatened in the depositions of Titus Oates he retired to Holland, and died at Amsterdam in October 1679, aged 56, with a suspicion that he was poisoned. The composition of the Synopsis occupied ten years of indefatigable study. The *Nonconformist's Memorial*, by Edmund Calamy D. D., three volumes, 1802. i. 167. Newcourt (Rep. i. 284, 490) is unable to give any account of St. Michael's Quern, because its register books were destroyed in the Great Fire.

[b] Henry, son of George and Mary Baron, was baptized 13 August, 1676. Hadley Par. Reg. The will of George Baron, al's Barnes, of Enfield, late of Hadley, gent., was proved P.C.C. 17 October, 1692, by Mary, the relict, Christopher Bourne, the nephew, renouncing. He owned two copyhold messuages in Chipping Barnet, called by the signs of the Unicorn and the Yew Tree.

[c] *Hadley Vestry Minute Book.*

Hadley, whose church was the nearest. At a later Vestry, held 11 April, 1687,[a] "it was agreed that Mr. Tayler, William Wale and Daniel Hudson, churchwardens, and George Baron, overseer for the poor, shall go to London upon the parish charge to receive the legacy of the late R. H^ble^ Henry Coventry esq. one hundred pounds to the poor of Hadley, to put the said hundred pounds into the hands of Mr. Heneage Price, Gouldsmith in the Strand,[b] nigh Temple-barr, to ly there till it be called for by ye Parish."

The choice of Mr. Heneage Price was perhaps due to a connection with the neighbourhood. His father, John Price, esq. of East Barnet,[c] whose will shews that he was possessed of landed property in Wales, had married Mary one of the daughters and coheiresses of William Greene of Mount Pleasant, by whom he had a numerous family. Heneage, their third son, was baptized at East Barnet 17 Sep. 1659.

From the Survey of 1636 we learn that a piece of ground, parcel of Enfield Chace, was granted to Francis Atkinson,[d] gent. for a bowling alley, at a reserved annual rent of 6*d*. Mr. Atkinson, a native of Kirkby Malzard in Yorkshire, as stated in his will, must have succeeded the Wilbrahams at Ludgrove. He kept a school for young gentlemen,[e] as we are told in "The English Parnassus, or a helpe to English Poesie," by Josua Poole, M.A. of Clare Hall Cambridge, who had married his daughter,[f] and who dedicated the book, which was published posthumously[g] in 1657, to his father in law. In the Epistle Dedicatory it is styled an "*account* of many a years *Stewardship*, the *product* of many a midnight thought, during my relation to you and those young Gentlemen committed by you to my charge and oversight; in a word, it had the first and last hand put to it, that is, ows both its originall and perfection to your house at HADLEY." A long metrical *Proeme*, commencing with these lines,

[a] *Hadley Vestry Minute Book.*

[b] The lease of a house on the south side of the Strand, without Temple Bar, in the parish of St. Clement Danes, was granted in 1681 to Heneage Price, goldsmith.

[c] Dated 3 July 1688, and proved on the 19 of the same by Mary Price his widow. P.C.C. Book Exton 98.

[d] 20 April 1620, Thomas, son of Mr. Francis Atkinson and Elizabeth his wife, was bapt. Hadley Par. Reg.

[e] 4 July 1644, "a youth from the blew house" was buried. *Ib.* 16 Sep. 1663, Mr. Taylour, "usher att the blew house," was buried. *Ib.*

[f] 19 Jan. 1642-3, Mr. Josua Poole and Mrs. Mary Atkinson were married. *Ib.*

[g] Printed for *Tho. Johnson,* at the golden *Key* in *St. Paul's* Churchyard. 1657.

> "Sweet impes [a] of early hopes whose smiling brow
> Beckens the cincture of the laureate bough,
> Whose lips seem made, to tast no other spring,
> Than that by which the Thespian virgins sing;"

is addressed "To the hopeful young Gentlemen, his Schollers in that private School, at *Hadley*, kept in the house of Mr. *Francis Atkinson*." A preface bearing the signature J. D. records how Mr. Poole "had sometime the charge and management of a private School at *Hadley* near *Barnet* in the County of *Middlesex*, kept in the house of a worthy Gentleman, one Mr. *Francis Atkinson* who out of a design truly generous, and publick, endevouring to prevent the inconveniences of irregulated youth, set up a School or Academy, for the education of a select number of Gentlemens sons of good quality. There, it seems, as he confesseth, in his Epistle to the said Mr. *Atkinson*, he writ this elaborate piece. But this is not his first appearance in the world; for in the year 1655 came forth a book of his called the ENGLISH ACCIDENCE, very usefull for such as it was intended for, as teaching a way to make him that can but indifferently read *English*, to turn any sentence into pure and elegant *Latine*." [b]

[a] *Imp*, a word of Welsh origin, signified a shoot or scion, and hence came to be used for a boy or child. Lord Cromwell, in his last letter to Henry VIII. prays for the *imp his son*. Pistol salutes Henry V. by the same title. "The heavens thee guard and keep, most royal *imp* of fame!" Shakspere, 2 Hen. IV. act v. sc. 5. Cf. Love's Labour Lost, act i. sc. 2. "Why, sadness is one and the self same thing, dear *imp*." Spenser's Faerie Queene; "And thou, most dreadful *imp* of highest Jove, Fair Venus' son." It is now employed exclusively in a bad sense, as in The Paradise Lost. In "The Delectable Historie of Celestina the Faire, Daughter to the King of Thessalie, done out of French into English by W. B. 1596," we find—"the gentleman had three sonnes, very ungracious *impes*, and of a wicked nature."

[b] The
English Accidence,
or
a short and easy way for the more
speedy attaining to the
LATINE TONGUE,
so framed that young children may bee
exercized therein as soon as they can but indiffe-
rently read English, and thereby enabled to turn
any Sentence into pure and elegant Latine
By Joshua Poole.
Published by Authority
and
commended as generally necessary

It would be interesting to know whether any, or what, rivalry existed at this date between so very select an establishment and the neighbouring Barnet Grammar School. In the latter it was made a *sine quâ non* that the scholars in the higher forms should speak no other language in school than Latin, under pain of the ferula, whereas Mr. Atkinson's pupils had, as we see, the advantage of a system, out of which a very superficial acquaintance with the mother tongue was no drawback to the acquisition of a most refined Latinity.

The will of Mr. Francis Atkinson was dated 19 Oct. 1663,[a] at which time he is described as of Ludgrove in the County of Middlesex, gent. and he requests that, wheresoever he die, he may be interred in the church of Hadley, near to the place where his late dear wife lieth buried.[b] After legacies to a number of relatives, he constitutes his grandchild Mary Poole, a minor,[c] his sole executrix and residuary legatee, appointing as her guardians his friends Richard Baldwyn,[d] of East Barnet gent. and Mr. Ralph Gale,[e] citizen and haberdasher of London, "dwellinge neare unto Ludgate in the corner house of the Old Bayly." From expressions used in the will it may be conjectured that his brother-in-law Mr. Gregory Lovell,[f] the husband of his sister Damaris, had already succeeded him in the occupancy of Ludgrove. In a memorandum of furniture, &c. bequeathed to Mary Poole, and now in the custody of Gregory Lovell, he says "all which goods I left standing and beinge in the Roome wherein I usually lodged att my brother Lovell's house in Hadley when I dwelt there." To his grandchild Anne Atkinson he likewise bequeaths certain other furniture &c. "left and still standing and being in a Ground Chamber called the little Parlour adjoyning to the Roome

to be made use of in all Schooles of
this Commonwealth.
London. Printed by F. Leach, for Richard Lowndes and
are to be sold at the White-Lyon in S^t^. Paul's
Churchyard, 1655.

[a] Proved P.C.C. 20 Jan. 1665-6. Book Mico, 1. He was buried in the church of Hadley 15 July 1665.

[b] Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Francis Atkinson, was bur. 10 Dec. 1657.

[c] Mary, daughter of Joshua and Mary Poole, born 13 July and bapt. 15 July 1645. Hadley Par. Reg. George Gaell and Mary Poole were married at East Barnet 24 May 1670. East Barnet Par. Reg.

[d] Richard Baldwin, esq. d. 12 July 1677, aged 66, and was bur. at East Barnet, where there was an inscription to his memory. Chauncy's Herts. fo. ed. 499[a].

[e] Will proved P.C.C. 3 Feb. 1670-1, by Abraham Campion, who had married Sarah his only child.

[f] The Christian name of *Gregory* points to a descent from the great Norfolk house of Lovell of Barton Bendish and East Harling.

called the Hall of the aforesaid house of my said brother Lovell. Also a great chest being in the Roome called the Passage Chamber in my s[d] brother Lovell's house in which is all the weareing Clothes of mee and of my late deare Wife and of my grandchild Anne Atkinson's Mother." To the poor of Hadley he gives £5, to be distributed at the discretion of the Minister and Churchwardens.

The name of Lovell appears in the Hadley registers or rate books as late as April 1668, in which year Gregory Lovell was assessed to the repairs of the church. It is probable, notwithstanding, that he did not occupy Ludgrove during the whole of this period. There are traces of his having resided at one time in a house not far from the church, where he was succeeded by the Stanyans.[a] We afterwards find the family at East Barnet, the registers of which parish contain entries relating to them down to 1695, on the 25 of April in which year Damaris Lovell was buried.

The later "messuage or mansion house," in which Gregory Lovell resided at Hadley, and which may have been the house now called The Priory, had been at one time in the occupation of Rowland Backhouse, esq. of London, afterwards of Oliver Reeve, esq. of London, and then of Robert Savery, who preceded the Lovells.[b] It apparently belonged to the Backhouse family and continued to be their property for many years subsequently. The name of Mr. Backhouse has already[c] occurred in mentioning the earlier survey of Enfield Chace. He was an alderman of London, "free of the Companie of Mercers," as he states in his will, and the son of Nicholas Backhouse,[d] also an alderman, who had been sheriff in 1577,[e] an office which he himself served in 1628.[f] In 1619 we find him one of the 29 Adventurers[g] of the New River Company, incorporated in that year by charter of King James I. Hugh Middleton was Governor, Rowland Backhouse the Treasurer, and among the remaining names are those of Samuel Backhouse, esq., his elder brother, and John, afterwards knighted, son and heir of Samuel.

Mr. Rowland Backhouse died in 1648, aged 89. His will bears date 12

[a] Col. Abraham Stanyan is first mentioned early in 1672.

[b] Title Deeds of the Manor of Hadley.

[c] *Supra*, p. 18.

[d] The family were originally of Whitrigg, near the Solway Frith in Cumberland.

[e] B. B. Orridge.

[f] *Ib.*

[g] Chauncy's Herts. fo. ed. 5[b]. Clutterbuck's Herts. *Great Amwell*, ii. 7, note 1.



ARMS OF BACKHOUSE: Per saltire or and az. a saltire erm. humetté.

CREST: Upon a snake embowed, nowed at the tail ppr. an eagle displayed vert. Harl. MS. 1463 f. 36b.

Pedigree of BA

Thomas Backhouse, of Whitrigg, co. Cumberland. = Eleanor, dau. of John Perkins, of Hartlow, co. Cumberland. Gu. two chev. between three escallops arg.

Anne, dau. of Thomas Curson, of Croxall, co. Derby, 1st wife. = Nicholas Backhouse, alderman of London; sheriff 1578; living in 1634. Harl. MS. 1444, f. 49. = Emme, dau. and heir of John Jordan, als. Carter, 2nd wife. = Owen W of Lo 1st hus

Samuel Backhouse, of Swallowfield, co. Berks, son and heir, d. 1626, æt. 72. = Elizabeth, dau. of John Borlase, of Little Marlow, co. Bucks, esq. Mar. there 6 Sep. 1581.

Miles, died s. p.

Mary, bur. 18 July, 1625. = Sir William Borlase, sen. of Little Marlow, knt. bur. there 5 Sep. 1629.

Sarah. = Nicholas Fulwer, of Chamberhouse, co. Berks, counsellor at law. Arg. three bars gu. Crest: On a mount vert a beacon with a fire, against it a ladder arg.

Rowland house, man of don; sh 162; b St. Hel Bishops, 7 Aug. æt. 90.

Sir John Backhouse, Knt. of the Bath to Car. I. Mar. lic. 11 July, 1615; d. 1649, æt. 66. = Flower, dau. of Thomas Henshaw, merchant taylor, and of Flower his wife. She re-mar. Henry Smith al's Nevile, of Holt, co. Leicester, esq.

John, Nicholas, Samuel, d. s. p.

William Backhouse, of Swallowfield, esq. d. 30 May, 1662, æt. 70. = Anne, dau. of Brian Richards, of Hartley Wespall, co. Hants, d. 1663.

Anne, bap. at Little Marlow 2 Sept. 1582, d. before her husband. = Thomas Chester, of Almondsbury, co. Glouc. Admin. 10 Sep. 1658.

Elizabeth, mar. —— Bellingham, of Brumby Wood, co. Linc. Mary, mar. William Standen, of Arborfield, co. Berks, esq.

John, eldest son, bur. at St. Helen's 22 Nov. 1648; d. s. p.

Nicholas Backhouse, of London, bur. at St. Helen's 21 Nov. 1650. = Christian, dau. of John Williams, of London, merchant, mar. at St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf, 24 May, 1638; bur. at St. Helen's 29 May, 1651.

Samuel, Rowland, d. s. p.

Margaret. Will proved as of Withyam, co. Sussex, 9 Nov. 1648. = William Gar of London. chant, broth of Sir Henr Garway, lo mayor 1639 Will provec May, 1642. Arg. a pile between fou leopards' h gu. over a fesse of the second.

John, son and heir, d. 4 Sep. 1660.

Samuel, died young.

William Bishop, of South Warnborough, co. Hants, esq. died circ. 1658; 1st husband. = Flower Backhouse, dau. and heir. She mar. 3rdly, Henry Hyde, 2nd Earl of Clarendon, and d. s. p. = Sir William Backhouse, bart. of Swallowfield; bapt. at St. Helen's 16 Feb. 1641-2; mar. at St. Andrew's Holborn, 13 Nov. 1662; high sheriff of Berks 1664; died 22 Aug. 1669; admin. 14 Oct. 1669.

Christian, John, Rowland, Christian, Christian, } died young.

William and Anne, both died young.

Dr. William King, of Cl Will prov

(1) *Backhouse*, Harl. MSS. 1096, f. 27b, Visitation of London 1664; 1444, f. 1483, ff. 66b, 67, 68, Visitation of Berks 1664; 1504, f. 87b. Add. MS. 5533, p. 4 of Surrey 1623. *Fulwer*, Add. MS. 5533, p. 60. *Lamott*, Harl. MSS. 1444, f.

(2) His funeral sermon, entitled "Abraham's Interment; or The good Old-m was printed in 1656 and dedicated "To the Right Worshipfull, the truely Religio the Inner Temple."

(3) Ashm. Lib. Wood MS. 8511.

(4) Anciently written Fulmore and Fowelmer. Calamy, Nonconformist's Me

Pedigree of BACKHOUSE and KING. (1)



ARMS OF BACKHOUSE: Per saltire or and az. a saltire erm. humetté.

CREST: Upon a snake embowed, nowed at the tail ppr. an eagle displayed vert. Harl. MS. 1463 f. 36b.

Thomas Backhouse, of Whitrigg, co. Cumberland. = Eleanor, dau. of John Perkins, of Hartlow, co. Cumberland. Gu. two chev. between three escallops arg.

Anne, dau. of Thomas Curson, of Croxall, co Derby, 1st wife. = Nicholas Backhouse, alderman of London; sheriff 1578; living in 1634. Harl. MS. 1444, f. 49. = Emme, dau. and heir of John Jordan, als. Carter, 2nd wife. = Owen Waller, of London, 1st husband.

Baldwin Lamott or La Mott, of Reynegelts, near Ypres in Flanders. = ...

Bartholomew Barnes, citizen and mercer, of London. Will proved Oct. 1606. = Margaret.

Mary. = Francis Lamott, came into England 4 Eliz. on account of Alva's persecution, and dwelt at Colchester. Died in London. Will proved 24 Dec. 1601. = Elizabeth Van Oeghem, living in Dec. 1601.

—— Le Roy, of Flemish or French origin. = ...

Samuel Backhouse, of Swallowfield, co. Berks, son and heir, d. 1626, æt. 72. = Elizabeth, dau. of John Borlase, of Little Marlow, co. Bucks, esq. Mar. there 6 Sep 1581.

Miles, died s. p.

Mary, bur. 18 July, 1625. = Sir William Borlase, son. of Little Marlow, knt. bur. there 5 Sep. 1629.

Sarah. = Nicholas Fulwer, of Chamberhouse, co. Berks, counsellor at law. Arg. three bars gu. Crest: On a mount vert a beacon with a fire, against it a ladder arg.

Rowland Backhouse, alderman of London; sheriff 1628; bur. at St. Helen's Bishopsgate, 7 Aug. 1648, æt. 90 = Elizabeth Barnes, dau and heir, d. 1664, æt. 95. Will proved 1 Feb. 1644-5.

Margaret. 2nd wife. = Sir Maurice Abbot, draper, M.P. for London 1625; lord mayor 1638, bro. of Geo. Abbot, abp. of Canterbury and Robert Abbot, bp. of Salisbury. = Joan, dau. of George Austen, of Shalford, co. Surrey.

—— Lamott = ...

David Lamott, born at Colchester. Will proved 29 May 1629. = Elizabeth.

Sara Lamott.

Abignel, mar. Jacob Aren.

Hester. Maria.

Elizabeth, widow of Levinus Monk, esq. one of the Six Clerks, mar. 1627, died s. p. circa 1645. = John Lamott, alderman of London, born at Colchester 1 May, 1577; d. 13 July, 1655. Arg. three bars humetté sa. Mar. 3 times. Will proved 8 Aug. 1655. (2) = Anne Tivelin, of a refugee family at Canterbury, 1st wife, bur. at St. Barthw Exchange, 30 Jan. 1625-6.

= David Le Roy, or King, merchant, 1st husband.

Ezechias Le Roy. Will proved 13 Jan. 1620-1. = Anne Oudart.

Sir John Backhouse. Knt. of the Bath to Car. I. Mar. lic. 11 July, 1615; d. 1649, æt. 66. = Flower, dau. of Thomas Henshaw, merchant taylor, and of Flower his wife. Shere-mar. Henry Smith al's Nevile, of Holt, co. Leicester, esq.

John, Nicholas, Samuel, d. s. p.

William Backhouse, of Swallowfield, esq. d. 30 May, 1662, æt. 70. = Anne, dau. of Brian Richards, of Hartley Wespall, co. Hants, d. 1663.

Anne, bap. at Little Marlow 2 Sept. 1582, d. before her husband. = Thomas Chester, of Almondsbury, co. Glouc. Admin. 10 Sep. 1658.

Elizabeth, mar. —— Bellingham, of Brumby Wood, co. Linc.

Mary, mar. William Standen, of Arborfield, co. Berks, esq.

John, eldest son, bur. at St Helen's 22 Nov. 1648; d. s. p.

Nicholas Backhouse, of London, bur. at St. Helen's 21 Nov. 1650. = Christian, dau. of John Williams, of London, merchant, mar. at St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf, 24 May, 1638; bur. at St. Helen's 29 May, 1651.

Samuel, Rowland, d. s. p.

Margaret. Will proved as of Withyam, co. Sussex, 9 Nov. 1648. = William Garway, of London, merchant, brother of Sir Henry Garway, lord mayor 1639. Will proved 16 May, 1642. Arg. a pile between four leopards' heads gu. over all a fesse of the second.

Elizabeth, bur at St. Helen's 22 Oct. 1646. = Thomas Wiseman, gent.

Julyan, bur. at St. Helen's, 5 Feb. 1656-7.

Sarah, mar. 29 Nov. 1631. = George Dodding, of Conishead, co. Lanc. esq. d. 1650.

Margaret Abbot, bur. 27 Aug. 1678. = Thomas Marshe, of South Mimms.

Gertrude, 2nd wife. = Maurice Abbot, entered gen. fil. of co. Middx. at Ball. Coll. Oxf. 15 Oct. 1619, aged 17. (3) = Elizabeth Lamott, younger dau. d. before her father. Mar. at St. Barth. Exchange 19 July 1632.

Hester, mar. 1st, John Manning, esq. merchant. = Sir Thomas Honywood, knt. of Markshall, co. Essex.

Ezekias King, of Cambridge Univ. clerk. Rector of Foulmire Cambridgeshire 1642—1666. Ejected for nonconformity; described as of Hornsey, Middx. in his will, proved 27 Sep. 1678. (4) = Mary, living in Sept. 1678.

William Le Roy.

Anne Le Roy.

Maurice Abbot, of the Inner Temple.

Elizabeth Honywood. Thomas Honywood. John Lamott Honywood.

John, son and heir, d. 4 Sep. 1660.

Samuel, died young.

William Bishop, of South Warnborough, co. Hants, esq died circ. 1658; 1st husband. = Flower Backhouse, dau. and heir. She mar. 3rdly, Henry Hyde, 2nd Earl of Clarendon, and d. s. p. = Sir William Backhouse, bart. of Swallowfield, bapt at St Helen's 16 Feb. 1641-2; mar at St Andrew's Holborn, 13 Nov 1662; high sheriff of Berks 1664; died 22 Aug. 1669; admin. 14 Oct. 1669.

William and Anne, both died young.

Christian, John, Rowland, Christian, Christian, died young.

James Wynn, 2nd husband, mar. before July 1684 = Elizabeth, bapt at St. Helen's 18 May, 1644. = Ezekias King, of London, gent admin. 16 July, 1684.

David King, eldest son. Maurice. Timothy.

John, deceased in 1678. = ...

Elizabeth, mar. —— Fox. Jane, mar. George Porter. Sarah, mar. —— Wright. Anne, mar. Nathaniel Carr.

Dr. William King, of Ch. Ch. Oxford, died 25 Dec. 1712. Will proved 2[illegible] Jan. 1712-13.

Elizabeth, living 21 Jan. 1712-13.

Ezekias. Mary.

(1) *Backhouse*, Harl. MSS 1096, f. 27b, Visitation of London 1664; 1444, f. 49, Visitation of London 1634; 1463, f. 36b, Visitation of London 1568, with Additions; 1483, ff. 66b, 67, 68, Visitation of Berks 1664; 1504, f. 87b. Add. MS 5533, p. 44. Pedigrees and Arms of London families. *Barnes*, Harl. MS. 1430, f. 141. Visitation of Surrey 1623. *Fulwer*, Add. MS 5533, p. 60. *Lamott*, Harl. MSS. 1444, f 96; 1476, f. 204; Add. MS 5533, p. 213. *Williams*, Add. MS. 5533, p. 139.

(2) His funeral sermon, entitled "Abraham's Interment; or The good Old-man's Buriall in a good Old Age," was preached, 24 July, 1655, by Fulk Bellers, M.A. It was printed in 1656 and dedicated "To the Right Worshipfull, the truely Religious The Lady Hester Honywood and To her most hopefull Nephew Mr. Maurice Abbet of the Inner Temple."

(3) Ashm Lib. Wood MS. 8511.

(4) Anciently written Fulmore and Fowelmer. Calamy, Nonconformist's Memorial 1 315. Foulmire Par Reg.

Nov. 1647.[a] A desire is therein expressed that his widow may "in her life-time soe order and dispose of the two cheynes of gold which shee hath and useth and which in the time of my Shreevalty I gave unto her, the one whereof I bought of my brother in lawe Sir Maurice Abbott[b] weighing twentie nyne ounces and a pennyweighte and the other which I bought of Mr. Wakefeild Goldsmith sett with a diamond, that the greater of them maie after my wife's decease be and remaine to my daughter Julyan and the other to my daughter Doddinge." He had married Elizabeth daughter and coheir of Bartholomew[c] Barnes of London, and had by this alliance acquired the manor of Widford in Hertfordshire. This estate had been already settled, at his marriage, upon his younger son Nicholas, whose son Sir William, created a baronet 9 Nov. 1660, sold it in 1668 to the Hamond family, its present possessors.[d] Upon his unmarried daughter Julyan, whom from this will and that of her brother Nicholas we may conclude to have been held in especial favour, and her heirs, he had, he remarks, "latelie settled conveyed and assured all my share part purparte[e] title and interest of in and to the Waterworke or New Cutte[f] and Ryver lately made or having Currant unto and towards the north parte of the Cittie of London."

The will of Nicholas Backhouse, a merchant of London, son of Rowland, was proved P.C.C. 12 March 1650-1.[g] By his wife Christian, daughter of John Williams, he left the above mentioned William and a daughter Elizabeth,[h] and made a very strict settlement of his landed property. Sir William married

[a] Proved P.C.C. 12 Aug. 1648 by Nicholas the son.

[b] Sir Maurice Abbott, a younger brother of George Abbott, archbishop of Canterbury, and of Robert Abbott, bishop of Salisbury, had married, secondly, Margaret daughter of Bartholomew Barnes. Harl. MS. 1430, f. 141. Visitation of Surrey 1623. He was sheriff in 1627. B. B. Orridge.

[c] Bartholomew Barnes, citizen of London, presented to the rectory of Widford 22 Oct. 1599. Clutterbuck iii. 324.

[d] Clutterbuck iii. 323. Chauncy says (fo. ed. 201a.) that he sold it to Thomas Byrd, who was still the owner in 1700. Thomas Bird, esq. was of Mardocks in the parish of Ware. Newcourt's Rep. i. 908. Clutterbuck iii. 306.

[e] Purparty (purpars). That part or share of an estate which after having been held in common by coparceners is by partition allotted to any of them. Holthouse's Law Dict.

[f] Cut, a canal. *Halliwell.* The term had been applied to the ditch by which Sesostris purposed to unite the Red Sea with the Mediterranean. Johnson's Dict.

[g] Book Grey 45.

[h] William, bapt. at St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, 16 Feb. 1641-2, and Elizabeth, bapt. at the same, 18 May 1644.

Flower,[a] the heiress of his cousin William[b] Backhouse, esq. of Swallowfield co. Berks, and widow of William Bishop of South Warnborough in Hampshire. Dying without issue in 1669, when the baronetcy expired, his sister Elizabeth,[c] the wife of Ezekias King of London esq. succeeded him under the entail. On 4 Jan. 1692-3 William King of Ch. Ch. Oxford, doctor of laws, son and heir of Elizabeth King, widow, executed a mortgage, which included the Hadley property. He was born in London in 1663, and matriculated, as a Westminster student, at Ch. Ch. 16 Dec. 1681, aged 18, was B.A. 8 Dec. 1685, M.A. 6 July 1688, and D.C.L. 7 July 1692. In 1694, having attracted the notice of Prince George of Denmark, he was appointed secretary to the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen. Dr. King was a well-known and versatile writer, and in 1711 Swift, who was his constant friend, procured for him the editorship of the Gazetteer. There is an Article upon him in the Biographie Universelle, in which it is recorded that "retenu par son indolence, il se montra rarement au barreau, quoique par ses talents et par son alliance avec les familles de Clarendon[e] et de Rochester,[d] il eût pu obtenir un avancement rapide. Il se faisait remarquer par un esprit original et mordant; plusieurs de ses écrits sont des modèles à citer en ce genre." His moral character did not stand high, though the same article allows that he was a diligent student of the Bible, and that, in his more questionable writings, "il a toujours su respecter la morale et la vertu." Dr. Johnson says of him that "though his life had not been without irregularity, his

[a] This lady married, thirdly, Henry Hyde, second earl of Clarendon, who was for a short time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland during the reign of his brother-in-law James II. Evelyn, on the 22 Oct. 1685, accompanied lady Clarendon to her house at Swallowfield, when she went thither to set things in order preparatory to her departure for Ireland. He speaks enthusiastically of the "gardens and waters" there, and pays a warm tribute to his entertainment "by that most religious and vertuous lady." They returned to London on the 26, and the next day he met the Lord Lieutenant at the house of Sir Stephen Fox, for the trial of a master cook, whom Sir Stephen had recommended to go with his lordship into Ireland. Evelyn Memoirs i. 577, 578. Harl. MS. 1483 f. 66[b]. Burke's Extinct Peerage. Lord Clarendon set out for Dublin in Dec. 1685, and received his dismissal in January 1687, when Tyrconnel was made Lord Deputy. Macaulay Hist. of England, 12[th] ed. 137-159.

[b] Fourth son, but eventual representative, of Samuel Backhouse of Swallowfield, the elder brother of Rowland.

[c] Mrs. King's name appears as a proprietor at Hadley 20 Sep. 1689, William Tate, esq. being her tenant. Hadley Rate Book.

[d] See note [a], *supra.*

[e] Laurence Hyde, 2[nd] son of the 1[st] earl of Clarendon, was cr. earl of Rochester 29 Nov. 1682, and d. in 1711. Henry, his son and successor, became 4[th] and last earl of Clarendon 31 March 1723, at the decease of his kinsman the 3[rd] earl.

principles were pure and orthodox, and his death was pious." A poem of his on the Art of Cookery, "humbly inscribed to the Hon. Beef-Steak Club," was first printed in 1708. In letters on the subject he draws as unfavourable a contrast between the relative progress of England and France in this direction, as might be expected from the most enthusiastic promoter of a School of Cookery at the present day. *Quot Galli, totidem Coqui.* "What hopes"—he writes—"can there be of any progress in learning whilst our gentlemen suffer their sons at Westminster, Eton, and Winchester, to eat nothing but salt with their mutton, and vinegar with their roast beef, upon holydays? What extensiveness can there be in their souls, especially when, upon their going thence to the university, their knowledge in culinary matters is seldom enlarged, and their diet continues very much the same, and as to sauces they are in profound ignorance?" Having dissipated his patrimony, he died in very reduced circumstances on Christmas Day 1712, and was buried two days afterwards, 27 Dec. in the north cloister of Westminster Abbey. From the previous Midsummer he had resided on the Surrey side of the Thames, and it was only on the day preceding his death that his connection, lord Clarendon,[a] with whom it is stated that he lived in constant intercourse, had sent his sister to fetch him in a chair to a lodging which he had provided for him in the Strand, opposite Somerset House. His will, dated the same day (24 Dec.) was proved on 21 Jan. following,[b] by his sister Elizabeth King, sole legatee and executrix. Some verses written in pencil, and found in his pocket at his death, may be almost taken as a delineation of his character.

> I sing the various Chances of the World,
> Thro' which Men are by Fate or Fortune hurl'd.
> 'Tis by no Scheme or Method that I go,
> But paint in Verse my Notions as they flow;
> With Heat the wanton Images pursue,
> Fond of the Old, yet still creating New;
> Fancy myself in some secure Retreat,
> Resolve to be Content, and so be Great.[c]

[a] Edward Hyde, 3rd earl of Clarendon, married, when viscount Cornbury, at Totteridge Herts, 10 July 1688, Catharine O'Brien, dau. of Henry lord Ibrackan, eldest son of Henry 7th earl of Thomond, who, at the decease of her mother, became baroness Clifton in her own right and ancestress of the present earl of Darnley. He succ. his father Henry, 2nd earl of Clarendon 31 Oct. 1709. His only son Edward, viscount Cornbury d. unm. 12 Feb. 1712-3. Totteridge Par. Reg. Burke's Extinct Peerage.

[b] P.C.C. Book Leeds 14.

[c] Dr. William King's Remains, pub. 1732, with portrait at the age of 49, after R. Dellow, facing the

The mortgage, to which reference has been made, in so far at least as the Hadley property was concerned, became eventually vested in the Chandler family.

Sir Roger Wilbraham, knt., of Ludgraves or Ludgrove, of whom more will be said hereafter, when we come to speak of the church and almshouse, left at his death, 29 July 1616, three surviving daughters, Mary, Elizabeth, and Catharine, of whom the eldest, Mary, was already[a] the first wife of Sir Thomas Pelham 2nd bart. of Laughton Sussex, M.P. for that county, who died in 1654. He had voted on the popular side in the parliaments held by Charles I., but retired into private life during the government of Cromwell. To the eldest son of this marriage, Sir John Pelham, bart., likewise M.P. for Sussex, the ownership of Ludgraves descended.[b] He married at Penshurst, 20 Jan. 1647, lady Lucy Sidney (born in 1625) 2nd daughter of Robert, 2nd earl of Leicester of that family, the sister of Algernon Sidney and of Dorothy, countess of Sunderland, Waller's Sacharissa, whose

——— "presence has such more than human grace,
That it can civilize the rudest place."

"To my young Lady Lucy Sidney" herself the poet addresses some graceful lines, commencing with the stanza:

"Why came I so untimely forth
Into a world which wanting thee,
Could entertain us with no worth
Or shadow of felicity?
That time should me so far remove
From that which I was born to love!"[c]

Sir John Pelham sold his property at Hadley to Ambrose Brunskell, esq., who in his will, dated 26 Dec. 1668,[d] speaks of it as "lately purchased." Mr. Brunskell, a London merchant, who was born at Barnard Castle in Durham, and at the time of his death still owned property there, as well as at Bowes and Startforth in the same neighbourhood, divided this and his estate at Northaw between

title-page. Bell's Poets 1781. Biog. Univ. Phillimore's Alumni Westmonasterienses 191, 192. Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers p. 275.

[a] *Vide* Sir R. Wilbraham's will, proved P.C.C. 12 Nov. 1616. Book Cope 109.

[b] Ancestor of the present earl of Chichester.

[c] Edmund Waller was born at Coleshill in Hertfordshire, 3 March 1605.

[d] Proved P.C.C. 2 Nov. 1670, by Jane Walton and Honor Asty. Book Penn. 146. He was rated to Hadley in 1668.



J P & W R Emslie, lith

OLD ELM TREE ON HADLEY COMMON

(LATIMER'S ELM)

from a drawing by Miss E C Wilde.

Pedigree of BRUNSKELL, of Barnard Castle, co. Durham; of B

ARMS. Arg. a chev. sa. on a dexter canto
CREST. A demi griffin......holding betwe
ANOTHER CREST. Out of a mural crown a



ARMS OF BRUNSKELL. Harl.

Philip Brunskell, of Barnard Castle, temp Hen. 8. (2) = ...

Dau. of —— Slater of co. York. = Reginald Brunskell, of Barnard Castle. Will dated 4 June 1583. = Elinor, 2 wife, living 1583.

Henry Brunskell, living 1583. = ...
- John Brunskell, living 1583.

Philip Brunskell, of Barnard Castle, eldest son. Purchased the manor, lay-rectory, and advowson of the vicarage of Bowes co. York in 1593. = Christian, dau. of Roger Alderson, of Barnard Castle.

Jane, living 1583. = Robert Taylor.

Reginald Brunskell, of Bowes, gent. eldest son, living 1615. Deceased before Dec. 1668 (will of Ambrose Brunskell). = Sythe, dau. of Thomas Appleby, of Clove Lodge, in the parish of Romaldkirk.

4. Roger Brunskell, of Barnard Castle, 1634-1647. d. s. p. bur. 8 Sep. 1666.

3. William Brunskell, of London, merchant. Named in the will of his brother Ambrose (3). = ...

Phillis. = Cuthbert Thursby, of Woolhouse, near Barnard Castle.
- Thomas Thursby, of Woolhouse, gent. bapt. 7 March 1613. bur. 21 Aug. 1683. d. unm.

Martyn Bradgate, of London, 1 Husband. = Rachel, dau. of —— Baker. Bur. at Northaw 6 Sep. 1666. = 2. Ambrose Bruns[kell], Hadley and No[rthaw]. Born at Barna[rd] Castle; alderma[n] Billingsgate (5) at Northaw, 2[..] 1670.
- Rachel Bradgate (4).
- Jane Brunskell. Mar. at Northaw, 30 Dec. 1653. = T[...]

Philip Brunskell, of Bowes, gent. bapt. 6 Nov. 1615. bur. at Bowes 20 March 1698. = Mary, dau. of Percival Phillip, of Brignall co. York gent. mar. art. 13 July 1640.

Isabel. Phillis.

Philip Brunskell, of Bowes gent. æt. 21 in 1665. Will proved at Richmond 1 July 1675. = Mary, dau. of Thomas Fetherstonhaugh of Kirkoswald, co. Cumb. esq. living 1 July, 1675.

Ambrose Walton, eldest son, living 1674.
Thomas 2 son. Will proved 19 Feb. 1677-8.
John Walton 3 son, of Ludgraves, Hadley. Will proved 12 Jan. 1713-4. = Mary, living Jan. 1713-4.
Philip, living Jan. 1713-4.
Jane, living 1674.

Ambrose Asty esq. of Hadley. Will proved 26 Jan. 1718-9. Bur. at Northaw, 29 Jan. 1718. = An[...]

Thomas Brunskell, of Bowes, esq. an infant in 1675. Bur. at Bowes 24 Apr. 1743. = Mary, dau. of Christopher Harrison, Clk, vicar of Brough, co. Westmoreland. Mar. circa 1695-6.

Thomas Walton, bapt. at Hadley 31 Jan. 1688-9, living Jan. 1713-4.
John bapt. 16 Feb. 1689-90.
Elizabeth bapt. 29 July 1684, mar. ——— Grevill living Jan. 1713-4.
Mary bapt. 18 Dec. 1686.
Ann bapt. 29 Dec. 1687.
Sarah.
Jane bapt. 1 July 1694.
Margaret bapt. 14 July 1695.
Susanna bapt. 27 Sep. 1696.

Francis Asty esq. of Hadley and Northaw. Will proved 7 March 1748-9. Bur. at Northaw, 13 March 1748. d. s. p. = Elizabeth Asty, dau. of Francis and Elizabeth. Bur. at Northaw 11 June 1753. Will proved 18 June 1753.

Nathaniel. In China at date of his father's will. d. unm. Bur. at Northaw 28 Nov. 1723. Admin. 11 Dec. 1723, as of parish of St. Margaret Moses, London.

Ambrose Asty, citizen and clothworker, d. 8 Nov. 1761. bur. at Market Weston co. (6) Suff. Will proved 17 Nov. 1761. = Elizabeth ——— living 17 Nov. 1761.

Franci[s] ... mond ... at No[rthaw] 17 J[...] 1708. ... min. ... 1728.

Ambrose Hammond, salter, of London, living 7 Aug. 1759.
Elizabeth Hammond, living 7 Aug. 1759.

Philip Brunskell, of Bowes, esq. bapt. 14 Feb. 1705-6; bur. at Bowes 31 Jan. 1794. = Mary, dau. of Charles Lowe Whytell, of Gilmondby. bur. 1 Nov. 1751.

Anne. Mary. Penelope d. unm.

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(1) William Brunskell, said to have been the ancestor of the family, was an archer under Henry sire Fitzhugh at the batt[le of] Agincourt. Muster Roll of the army of Henry V. taken in the neighbourhood of Southampton A.D. 1415. Public Record Office. A bea[utiful] document.

(2) Vide Surtees, Hist. of Durham, iv. 93. Harl. MSS. 1096 f. 3; 1468 f. 125[b]; 5533 f. 40; 1444 ff. 18[b]. 62.

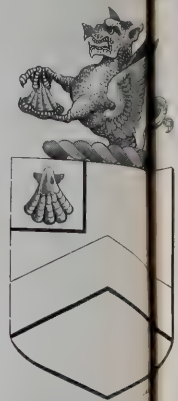
(3) The will of a William Brunskell, who may have been the same, was proved P.C.C. 9 Nov. 1674 (Book Bunce 123.) He left a w[ife] Susanna, and three daughters.

(4) Mrs. Rachel Bradgate, our good Benefactresse, bur. 18 July 1672, who died July 12. Northaw Par. Reg.

(5) Discharged the same year. Rep. 65. Town Clerk's Office, Guildhall, 4 Nov. 1656 to 28 Oct. 1657. A tablet in the south transe[pt of] Barnard Castle church recorded that Ambrose Brunskell of Northaw gave Dec. 26. 1668 one house in Barnard Castle, as a benefaction to [the] parish, worth £5 per ann. Surtees Hist. of Durham. iv. 83.

Pedigree of BRUNSKELL, of Barnard Castle, co. Durham; of Bowes, co. York; of Hadley, co. Middlesex; and of Northaw, co. Herts. (1)

ARMS. Arg. a chev. sa. on a dexter canton of the ... and an escallop or.
CREST. A demi griffin......holding between the ... an escallop.
ANOTHER CREST. Out of a mural crown a cubit ... vested . . . cuffed......grasping an escallop.



ARMS OF BRUNSKELL. Harl. MS. 1 ... f. 125b.



ANOTHER CREST. Harl. MS. 1096 f. 3. Surtees, Hist. of Durham.

Philip Brunskell, = ... of Barnard Castle, temp Hen. 8. (2)

Dau. of —— Slater of co. York. = Reginald Brunskell, of Barnard Castle. Will dated 4 June 1583. = Elinor, 2 wife, living 1583.

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Phillis. = Cuthbert Thursby, of Woolhouse, near Barnard Castle.

Martyn Bradgate, of London, 1 Husband. = Rachel, dau. of —— Baker. Bur. at Northaw 6 Sep. 1666. = 2. Ambrose Brunskell, of Hadley and Northaw. Born at Barnard Castle; alderman of Billingsgate (5); bur. at Northaw, 20 Oct. 1670. = ...abeth ... 2 wife.

Philip Brunskell, of Bowes, gent. bapt. 6 Nov. 1615. bur. at Bowes 20 March 1698. = Mary, dau. of Percival Phillip, of Brignall co. York gent. mar. art. 13 July 1640.

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Thomas Thursby, of Woolhouse, gent. bapt. 7 March 1613. bur. 21 Aug. 1683. d. unm.

Rachel Bradgate (4).

Jane Brunskell. Mar. at Northaw, 30 Dec. 1653. = Thomas ... London grocer. 166...

Philip Brunskell, of Bowes gent. æt. 21 in 1665. Will proved at Richmond 1 July 1675. = Mary, dau. of Thomas Fetherstonhaugh of Kirkoswald, co. Cumb. esq. living 1 July, 1675.

Ambrose Walton, eldest son, living 1674.

Thomas 2 son. Will proved 19 Feb. 1677-8.

John Walton 3 son, of Ludgraves, Hadley. Will proved 12 Jan. 1713-4. = Mary, living Jan. 1713-4.

Philip, living Jan. 1713-4.

Jane, living 1674.

Ambrose Asty esq. of Hadley. Will proved 26 Jan. 1718-9. Bur. at Northaw, 29 Jan. 1718. = Ann Tench. Bur. at Northaw 19 July 1706.

Thomas Brunskell, of Bowes, esq. an infant in 1675. Bur. at Bowes 24 Apr. 1743. = Mary, dau. of Christopher Harrison, Clk, vicar of Brough, co. Westmoreland. Mar. circa 1695-6.

Thomas Walton, bapt. at Hadley 31 Jan. 1688-9, living Jan. 1713-4.

John bapt. 16 Feb. 1689-90.

Elizabeth bapt. 29 July 1684, mar. —— Grevill living Jan. 1713-4.

Mary bapt. 18 Dec. 1686.
Ann bapt. 29 Dec. 1687.
Sarah.
Jane bapt. 1 July 1694.
Margaret bapt. 14 July 1695.
Susanna bapt. 27 Sep. 1696.

Francis Asty esq. of Hadley and Northaw. Will proved 7 March 1748-9. Bur. at Northaw, 13 March 1748. d. s. p. = Elizabeth Asty, dau. of Francis and Elizabeth. Bur. at Northaw 11 June 1753. Will proved 18 June 1753.

Nathaniel. In China at date of his father's will. d. unm. Bur. at Northaw 28 Nov. 1723. Admin. 11 Dec. 1723, as of parish of St. Margaret Moses, London.

Ambrose Asty, citizen and clothworker, d. 8 Nov. 1761. bur. at Market Weston co. (6) Suff. Will proved 17 Nov. 1761. = Elizabeth —— living 17 Nov. 1761.

Francis Hammond. Mar. at Northaw 17 June 1708. Admin. 26 Aug. 1728.

Philip Brunskell, of Bowes, esq. bapt. 14 Feb. 1705-6; bur. at Bowes 31 Jan. 1794. = Mary, dau. of Charles Lowe Whytell, of Gilmondby. bur. 1 Nov. 1751.

Anne. Mary. Penelope d. unm.

Ambrose Hammond, salter, of London, living 7 Aug. 1759.

Elizabeth Hammond, living 7 Aug. 1759.

Thomas Humble, = Agnes Johnson. of London, stationer.

George Humble, of London, stationer, deputy of Langbourne Ward in 1633. = Agnes, dau. of John Moody.

William Humble, esq. b. 1612; cr. a baronet in consideration of £20,000 furnished to Charles II. in exile; d. 26 Dec. 1686. Sa. a buck trippant or; a chief indented of the last. Burke's Extinct Baronetage. = ...

...n, of ... and ... Dec.

Honor Brunskell, bur. at Northaw, 15 Apr. 1692. = Francis Asty, of London, merchant. bur. at Northaw 5 Dec. 1694.

Mary deceased before Dec. 1668.

Elizabeth. Bur at Northaw 27 Aug. 1657.

Francis Asty of Hadley and Black Notley, co. Essex; bur. at Northaw 3 March 1711-2. Will proved 17 March 1711-2. = Elizabeth Tench. Mar. Lic. March 1694-5. Living in Jan. 1735-6.

...r Asty. = Mar. 2ndly ... 1733. Bur at Northaw 28 ... 1738. W. proved ... March 17..-9 (7). = Andrew Lilly, apothecary, of Cheapside, 2 Husband, living 1759.

Hannah. Sarah.

Ann Asty. 1 wife. Bur. at Northaw, 21 Nov. 1729. = Thomas Hammond, citizen and salter. Bur. at Northaw 12 June 1747. Will proved 18 June 1747.

Francis, Bur. at Northaw, (from Hadley) 9 Nov. 1707.
Nathaniel. Bur. at Northaw, 17 Nov. 1719.

Elizabeth of Black Notley, Mar. Francis Asty esq.

...n Hammond, Mar. John ... ...ly esq.

Mary Hammond, mar. —— Kingscote.

Rev. Christopher Wyvill, rector of Black Notley, co. Essex. = Elizabeth Wyvill d. s. p. 22 July 1733, aged 68 (8).

William Tench, of Shrewsbury, gent. Harl. MS. 1476, f. 331b. P.C.C. Books Smith 98 and Derby 258. = Eleanor, dau. of Richard Purcell, of Dintle, co. Salop.

Nicholas Tench, of London, merchant, Arms granted 1 July 1628. Arg. on a chev. betw. 3 lions' heads erased gu. a cross crosslet or. Crest, an arm vested gu. turned up arg. grasping a tench in the hand, all ppr. Harl. MS. 1533. f. 50b. Bur. at Low Leyton. = Mabel, dau. of Samuel Baker, of London. Bur. at Low Leyton.

William Fisher, alderman of London. Az. a fesse embattled counter-embattled betw. 3 dolphins naiant arg. Lysons iv. 168, note. = ...

Elizabeth, mar. at Northaw, 23 Aug. 1655, deceased before Dec. 1668. = Nathaniel Tench, of Low Leyton, co. Essex. eldest son and heir, d. 2 Apr. 1710, aged 78. Will proved 14 Apr. 1710. Bur. at Low Leyton. Lysons iv. 168. 170. 171. = Ann Fisher, d. 1696. 2 wife.

Ann. = Ambrose Asty.

Elizabeth. = Francis Asty.

Sir Fisher Tench bart. of Low Leyton, M.P. for Southwark; High Sheriff of Essex 1712. created a baronet 8 Aug. 1715. d. 31 Oct. 1736 aged 63. Will proved 23 Nov. 1736 (Gent's. Mag. 31 Nov. 1736). = Elizabeth, dau. of Robert Bird esq. of Staple Inn. Living 25 May 1737.

Christopher Wyvill, esq. auditor of excise. Gu. 3 chevronels interlaced vairé, a chief or. d. 26 Apr. 1752 mar. thirdly, Ann ..., living 1749. = Henrietta Asty, of Black Notley and of Northaw. 2 dau. and coheiress. Mar. 14 March 1738-9, (with £12,000. Gent's Mag.) d. 1742. 2 wife.

Sir Nathaniel Tench 2nd bart. d. unm. 2 June 1737 aged 40. Burke's Extinct Bar.(9).

Elizabeth. Living 4 July 1737.

Jane = d. s. p. 18 May 1752, 2 wife. Will proved 20 June 1752. = Adam Soresby of Chesterfield co. Derby esq. son of William Soresby esq. d. 5 June 1751. Admin. c. Test 20 Aug. 1751. = ...

Sir Marmaduke Asty Wyvill, of Constable Burton co. York. b. 10 Sep. 1740; succ his uncle as 7th bart. 27 Dec. 1754, d. unm. at Bath 23 Feb. 1774. Burke's Ext. Baronetage.

William. Helen.

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(1) William Brunskell, said to have been the ancestor of the family, was an archer under Henry sire Fitzhugh at the battle of Agincourt. Muster Roll of the army of Henry V. taken in the neighbourhood of Southampton A.D. 1415. Public Record Office. A beautiful document.

(2) Vide Surtees, Hist. of Durham, iv. 93. Harl. MSS. 1096 f. 3; 1468 f. 125b; 5533 f. 40; 1444 ff. 18b. 62.

(3) The will of a William Brunskell, who may have been the same, was proved P.C.C. 9 Nov. 1674 (Book Bunce 123.) He left a widow Susanna, and three daughters.

(4) Mrs. Rachel Bradgate, our good Benefactresse, bur. 18 July 1672, who died July 12. Northaw Par. Reg.

(5) Discharged the same year. Rep. 65. Town Clerk's Office, Guildhall, 4 Nov. 1656 to 28 Oct. 1657. A tablet in the south transept of Barnard Castle church recorded that Ambrose Brunskell of Northaw gave Dec. 26. 1668 one house in Barnard Castle, as a benefaction to that parish, worth £5 per ann. Surtees Hist. of Durham. iv. 83.

(6) 16 Nov. Market Weston Par. Reg.

(7) Recorded erroneously as Mrs. Honor *Hammond*, on the tablet in Northaw church. It is probable that the Hammonds were previously related by blood to the Astys. A connection is alluded to in the will of Francis Asty, dated 7 Sep. 1694.

(8) Died in London, after a long and painful illness, the lady of the Rev. Mr. Wyvill, rector of Black Notley Essex, and head of the Yorkshire Association. She was sister of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, whose large estate she inherited, and reserved to herself the disposal of a considerable part of. Gent's Mag. vol. 53.

(9) His will is in the form of a letter addressed to "Dear Jenny" (his sister Jane). The P.S. runs, "I think it very unnecessary that for want of Heirs the Estate should go to the *Astys*, I therefore beg of you when I am gone my mother and you will suffer a fine, before it is too late, and I give the estate to the eldest son of Jenny Bird, in case you have no children, for I think she mostly deserves it of all our relations. To Mrs Jane Bird, my last request."

his two surviving daughters Jane, the wife of Thomas Walton,[a] and Honor the wife of Francis Asty, strictly entailing them upon his said daughters and their issue, with cross remainders. He was buried at Northaw 20 Oct. 1670, when Mrs. Walton, his eldest daughter, succeeded to Ludgrove, and Mrs. Asty to the remainder of the Hadley property, tenanted by Robert Pecke and John Howkins.[b] To the poor both of Hadley and of Northaw he had bequeathed £5. In 1686 we find[c] John Walton, the third son of Thomas and Jane, living at the Blue-house. He appears to have taken an active part in parochial questions, and filled the office of churchwarden when Mr. Robert Tayler's right, as incumbent, to nominate that functionary, was violently assailed. On 17 Sep. 1691 he was elected a Governor of the Barnet Grammar School, where he signed the minute book for the last time 1 Sep. 1712. His will, dated 20 March 1710-1, in which he is described as of London, gent. was proved 12 Jan. 1712-3 by Mary Walton his widow.[d] A son and six daughters are mentioned therein, all, with one exception, baptized at Hadley, where he seems to have been last assessed to the rates 10 March 1696-7. The rate book shews that in 1726[e] and 1728 Simon Tarsey, a publican, rented the Blue-house, but for how long previously we have no means of telling. He was assessed at £40 for the same, and at £36 for New Pond land.

Lysons writes that he has been unable to learn anything relating to this estate, subsequently to the death of Sir Roger Wilbraham, beyond its purchase in the last century by admiral Temple West, the son of Richard West, archdeacon

[a] Married at Northaw 30 Dec. 1653.

[b] Mr. Francis Asty, of London, merchant, by his will, dated 7 Sep. 1694 (proved P.C.C. 28 Nov. 1694. Book Box 225), equalizes the distribution of property therein made between his sons, in order "to render to my son Francis some compensac'on for the weall and state which was left to or settled upon my son Ambrose by his grandfather Brunskell at Hadley in Middx. and Northaw in Hertfordshire." The Astys were originally from Suffolk, and the name occurs in the parish register of Market Weston as early as the year 1567, where a benefaction of 6*s.* 8*d.*, called "Asty's noble," payable from land once belonging to the family is still given annually in bread to the poor. A tablet in the church of Northaw records the burials of several members "of the family of Asty, of Market Weston in the county of Suffolk, that was sometime of the parish of Northaw." Above the inscription are the arms Bendy of six, arg. and az. Crest a griffin statant, gu. Beneath is the coat Quarterly 1 and 4 arg. on a chev. sa. betw. three pellets, each charged with a martlet of the first, three escallop shells or, within a bordure engr. vert, for *Hammond*, 2 and 3 as on the top of the monument. Crest out of a ducal coronet an eagle's head and wings sa. beaked or, enfiled with a rose gu. the rose issuing rays or. Clutterbuck's Herts. ii. 417. The death is recorded below, 26 Nov. 1850, of General Sir Francis Thomas Hammond of Potters Bar and Whepsted, Suffolk.

[c] Survey of Enfield Chace in 1686.

[d] Book Aston 15.

[e] Charles Polton, sen. was assessed for Mr. Asty's land, 22 May 1726.

of Berks, by Maria Temple, eldest sister[a] of lord Cobham and great-aunt of William Pitt, a younger brother of Gilbert[b] West of Christ Church Oxford, the translator of Pindar into English verse, who died in 1756. The admiral, who on 6 June 1737, as Temple West gentleman, had contracted a Fleet marriage with Frances daughter of Sir John Balchen knt. admiral of the white and Governor of Greenwich Hospital, was buried at West Wickham, 15 Aug. 1757. His will, dated 13 March 1739-40, when he was Commander of H.M.S. Deal Castle, "now riding at Spithead," was proved[c] by his widow 1 Sep. 1757. At this date he was described as vice-admiral of the blue and one of the lords of the admiralty. When Lysons' statement was published, Ludgraves or the Blue-house-farm was in the possession of Jane, the widow of Col. Temple West, second son of the admiral, who died in 1783, aged 43. It afterwards belonged to Archibald Paris esq. of Beech-hill-park, and is now the property of Mr. R. C. L. Bevan. From Tudor times, at least, it is evident that the better inhabitants of Hadley were mainly drawn, as at the present day is still the case, from the professional and mercantile classes of the metropolis, and that changes both of ownership and of occupation succeeded each other rapidly. Owing to this circumstance the labour of tracing the tenure of the different properties is considerably augmented.

Hadley is not mentioned by name in Domesday. It contained, according to Lysons, prior to the inclosure of Enfield Chace, 340 acres, to which, as we have seen, were added 240 of Chace land, making together 580. The last Ordnance Survey gives, however, rather over 641 acres as the area of the parish. In 1831 the population was 979 (Males 417, Females 562). As shewn by the census of 1861, there were 204 houses and a population amounting to 1053 (Males 441, Females 612). The more recent census of 1871 gave a population of 978 (Males 433, Females 545). The number of inhabited houses at this time was 200, of uninhabited 12, and in course of building 5. According to the Valuation of that date the gross estimated value of property was £5293 15*s.* 0*d.* which in May 1879 had advanced to £6481 19*s.* 0*d.* There is a mixed National School for boys and girls near the pleasant chestnut grove or avenue, at the upper part of the Common, and an Infant School on the Green, both in connection with the Church of England. Owing to its elevated situation the climate is keen in winter, though healthy and, for the same reason, the temperature is rarely oppressive in summer. Mr. Burrows, who was rector in the last century, makes

[a] Lysons ii. 519. Burke's Landed Gentry. *West, of Braywick Lodge.*

[b] Biographie Universelle.

[c] P.C.C. Book Herring 290.

sundry allusions, in his Diary and Letters, to these characteristics. The soil is chiefly clay, mixed with gravel.

Few early notices of Hadley have survived. An insignificant hamlet, hidden in the forest region of North Middlesex, lay out of the reach of history, and the little that has come down to us would in all probability have been less, had it not been for the connection with the important foundation of Walden, to which, as has been already stated, it was granted in 1136 by Geoffrey de Mandeville, first earl of Essex. This grant was confirmed by King Stephen, and subsequently by Henry II., but in neither document is Hadley specified. In a MS. however, preserved at the British Museum, and purporting to contain a record of the original[a] deed, we meet with the statement, "locum etiam de Hadleia ab Otuela constructū cū suis ptinentijs contulit (sc. to the abbey of Walden) et paduagiū[b] de porcis monachoꝝ in omnibus boscis suis quietum clamavit." The place or building erected at Hadley by Otuela was no doubt the hermitage of the original charter.

Lysons,[c] with a reference to the same MS. affirms that Hadley was formerly a hamlet to Edmonton parish. In a list of the Abbey's possessions is contained "heremitagium de Hadleia infra pochiam de Edelmetona sitũ cū terris decimis obuētioïbꝫ et ceteris oïbus ad eundē locū ptinentibus integre possedimus in hoibus etiã terras ibidē te"ntibus et xij solidos et sex denar' nobis annuatī solvētibus."[d] In Domesday we undoubtedly find *Mimes* included within Edmonton manor as part of the possessions of Geoffrey de Mandeville and, if this comprised the intervening region, the conjecture may not have been wholly unfounded. Ad hoc m̄ (Adelmetone) jacuit et jacet una Berew[e] quæ vocatur Mimes et est ap̄pciata cū Manerio.

In Abbot Pentelowe's beautiful chartulary, said to have been compiled in 1387, are contained several deeds, executed by successive bishops of London, confirmatory of Geoffrey de Mandeville's grant. The *church* of Hadley is

[a] Cotton MSS. Vespasian E. vi. f. 26. Liber de fundat. Abbatiæ de Waldene, co, Essex.

[b] Paduagia, pascua. Paduire, pascere animalia. Du Cange, Gloss.

[c] Lysons ii. 517.

[d] Cotton MSS. Vespasian E. vi. f, 55. In an inquisition taken at St. John's Street 3 Oct. 1 Eliz. after the death of William Rolfe on the previous 6 Dec. we find 1 mess. 38 acr. &c. in Hadley ten[r] de R. de m[o] Edmonton p' fidel. Harl. MS. 756 f. 488.

[e] Berewick, Berewita, Berewichus, Manerium, vel potius membrum manerii a corpore dissitum, villula, hamleta manerii, manerium ad majus pertinens, quasi berier-vic, Saxonicè. manerii vicus. Du Cange, Gloss. Berewic, *a corn village*, Bosworth Anglo Saxon Dict.

expressly referred to in all of them. Earliest in point of time is a charter emanating from bishop Gilbert Foliot, the date of which must necessarily have fallen between the years 1163 and 1188. Its purport is the confirmation of twelve churches, that of Hadley being of the number, to Walden Abbey, and it runs as follows:—

Carta Gilberti Londoñ epĩ de confirmacione duodecim eccliar'.[a]

Gilbertus[b] dei gracia londoñ epũs. Dilectis sibi in dño Archidiaconis decanis et om̃ibus qui in epãtu londoñ consistunt eccliar' p'latis. salutem g'ciam & benedictionem. Suscepti nos cura com̃onet & compellit officij ut beneficia que ecclijs & ecclesiasticis ꝑsonis in nr̃a diocesi religiosis contulit fideliũ deuocio aut collatura est impost'um in specialem dei & sancte eccl̃ie proteccionem suscipe eis q; ꝑ gubernacione & sustentacione pie concessa sunt ꝑpetua stabilitate comunire debeam^us proinde eccl̃ias de Waledena de Chisella & de Haydena de Walth^am de Estra de Henefeld de Hedelmetona de Mimmes de Norhala de Torleia de Gedelhestuna de Hadlega cũ cappellis terris & decimis & alijs quibuscũq; ꝑtinencijs que ad eas vel in p'senti ꝑtinent vel in futuro canonice ꝑtinebunt Quas quidem monast'io scĩ Jacobi de Waledena & monachis ibidem deo servientib; ear'dem fundatores & advocati eccliar' sicut ex autenticis eor' sc'ptis cognovim^us in ꝑpetuam destinarunt elemosinam ipĩs epat̃i concedim^us & confirmam^us autoritate Quod quia in dubiũ nolumus aut in irritũ decetero posse revocari Uni'sitati ũre p'senti sc'pto id notificare nr̃iq; testĩonio sigilli corroborare curauim^us Hijs testib; Ricardo[c] archid' Colocestr' magro Waltero de Hardeꝑier Walto' May Ricardo de Saresbir' Roberto de Clifford Hug' elemosinar' Ludivico clericis ep̃i Phil' decano Rob' de Audebia Gilleb'to de Metting' Mauricio de Sabricteswrd Willm̃o capellano de Storteford Godardo capellano de Waledena.

Subsequent confirmations of the same nature by three later bishops, William (1199—1221), Eustace (1221—1228), and Roger (1229—1241),[d] only require to be enumerated. It will be enough to note that the names and descriptions of the witnesses appended to the respective instruments enable us to arrive at a tolerably approximate notion of their dates.

In the same chartulary are likewise registered the deeds relating to transactions between the abbey and certain inhabitants of the different parishes in which its possessions lay. We have here a glimpse of the processes by which its

[a] Harl. MS. 3697 f. 22.

[b] Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford, was transl. to London 24 March 1162-3. He died 18 Feb. 1187-8. Le Neve Fasti Eccl. Angl. vol. ii.

[c] Richard Foliot was archdeacon of Colchester when Gilbert Foliot was bishop of London. Le Neve Fasti Eccl. Angl. vol. ii.

[d] William of St. Mary's Church; Eustace de Fauconberge; Roger le Noir, or Niger, de Bileye. Le Neve Fasti Eccl. Angl. ii. 283, 284.

property was gradually acquired, and at the same time become acquainted with the names of some of the persons who owned the soil as early as the reign of Henry III.[a] The titles borne by the parcels are recorded in some instances, as in the case of Burnildesfeld and Catilinescroft, and it would be of much interest if they could be traced universally in the present nomenclature. Catilinescroft, as we shall presently see, has come down to times comparatively recent, but it unfortunately stands alone, in so far as research has gone hitherto. It is observable, as illustrating the varied origin of surnames, that Richard and Acelina, wife of Stephen le Bray of Barnet, are described in the deeds as the children of Symon Catiline, Symon being their father, who had married Catiline, heiress of the lands in question and daughter of William de Cingerie and Acelina.

Hadleya jux[a] le Barnett.[b]

Carta Johannis Smallwud fil Burnilde de Hadleya de t'ra q°ndam Burnilde et alijs t'ř et tenementis et redditibȝ concess. monast'io de Waldeñ.

Sciant p'sentes et futuri qd Ego Johannes Smalwude concessi dedi et hac p'senti carta mea confirmaui deo et beate marie et eccl̃ie sancti Jacobi de Waledena et monachis ibidem deo servientibȝ pro salute aĩe mee et antecessor' meor' in liberam puram et ꝑpetuam elemosinam totum tenement' cũ ꝑtinent' scilicet t'ris redditibȝ edificijs messuagijs planis pasturis vijs semitis & omibȝ alijs ꝑtinent' quod quidem tenementum tenui de dño Abbate et Conventu de Waledena in ꝑochia de Hadleya. Et dimidiam acram t're cum ꝑtinent' quam tenui de dño Willm̃o de Say in eadem uilla que iacet iuxta t'ram Roberti Leyman et abuttat ad unũ caput ad parcum de Enefeld et ad aliud ad t'ram p'dicti Roberti. Et redditum septem denar' cum ꝑtinent' quem Bartholomeus Carettarius[c] michi solebat annuatim ꝓsolvere ad quatuor anni t'minos videlicet ad fm̃ scĩ michaelis tres obolos et unũ quadrantẽ[d] et ad Natale dnĩ tres obolos et unũ quadrantẽ et ad

[a] See infra. p. 41.

[b] Harl. MS. 3697, f. 208.

[c] In a lease granted for life by Abbot Michael (de Mentmore) of St. Alban's to William atte Penne and Elena his wife of messuages and land at Barnet and Southmymmes, at a fixed rent-service, A.D. 1347, we find it recorded that septemdecim acræ terræ arabilis & prati jacent inter Le Southawe et terram Johannis Heued, vocatam "Le Newelond," et "Thetcheslond;" quas quondam Bartholomews Carectarius et Henricus Geffrey tenuerunt ad voluntatem domini, per virgam. Et duæ acræ jacent inter Le Southawe et terram Johannis filii Henrici Nichole. Et una acra terræ jacet sub Le Eldefolde. Data apud Sanctum Albanum, die Jovis proxima post Festum Sancti Matthiæ Apostoli, anno regni Regis Edwardi Tertii post Conquæstum, vicesimo primo, Gesta Abbatum Mon. S. Albani. Walsingham ed. Riley ii. 327.

[d] Quadrans. Monetæ minutioris species apud Anglos, pars quarta denarii. Matthæus Westmon. ann. 1279: Quia denarius findi in duas partes pro obolis, et in quatuor partes pro Quadrantibus con-

Nativitatem beati Johannis Baptiste tres obolos et unũ quadrantẽ pro dimidia acra terre quam de me tenuit in eadem uilla que iacet iuxta p'dictam dimidiam ac^a^m. Et unam acram t're cũ ꝑtinent' quam tenui de dño com' Herefordie in eadem uilla iacent' int' ꝑcum de Enefeld ex una ꝑte[a] et t'ram dictor' Abbatis et Conuent' de Waledena ex altera. Et unũ mesuagiũ cũ ꝑtinent' in villa de la Barnett[b] quod tenui de Stephano de Bray cũ omibȝ ꝑtin' iac' int' mesuagiũ p'dicti Stephani ex una ꝑte et mesuag' Golimiggi ffabri ex altera et abuttat ad unũ caput ad forũ de la Barnett et ad aliud ad t'ram predicti Stephani et redditum duodecim denar' cum ꝑtinent' quem solebam annuatim ꝑcipe de Xpina Mokul de quodam mesuagio quod tenet de dño Abbate et Conuentu de sancto Albano in eadem uilla. Et quatuor seldas[c] quas tenui in eadem uilla de p'dco Abbate et Conuentu cum libertatibȝ et omibȝ alijs ꝑtinent'. Et redditum quatuor solidor' cum ꝑtinent' quem Heysent uxor q^o^nd^a^m Gilberti de Wudegate m^i^ solebat annuatim ꝑsolvere ad quatuor anni t'minos videlicet ad festum sancti michaelis sex denar' & ad Natale dnĩ sex denar' & ad Pascha sex denar' & ad Nativitatem beati Johannis Baptiste sex denar' pro quodam tenemento quod de me tenuit in eadem uilla. Habend' & tenend' totum p'dictũ tenementũ cũ ꝑtinent' & totum p'dictũ redditũ cũ suis ꝑtinent' scilicet wardis releuijs eschaetis & omibȝ alijs ad p'dcm tenementũ sive redditũ spectantibȝ p'dictis Abbati & conuentui & eor' successoribȝ impp̃m libere quiete integre bene & in pace faciendo debitũ & consuetũ p'dictor' tenementor' & reddituũ serviciũ capitalibȝ dñis feodor.' In hui^s^ autem rei testimoniũ p'senti sc'pto sigillũ meũ apposui. Hijs testibȝ dño Ricõ de Plessetis milite Willmõ de fforda Godefrido de ffleg Dauid Ailberij Willõ de Welles Reginaldo Blundo Willmõ de Melho Johanne Bugecance & alijs.

2. Carta Johannis Smalwude de redditu in foro de la Barnett concess. Thome de Wellis.[d]

Sciant p'sentes & futuri qd Ego Johannes de Smalwude concessi dedi & hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Thome de Welles pro homagio & seruicio suo & ꝑ quadam sum̃a pecunie sue quam m̃ dedit in gersum̃am[e] totum tenementũ qd tenui in foro de la Barnett de feodo dnĩ Abbatis & conuentus de sancto Albano cũ om̃ibȝ ꝑtinentijs Habend' & tenend' de me & de heredibȝ meis p'dicto Thome & heredibȝ suis ul suis assignatis & eor' heredibȝ libere quiete bene & in pace &

suevit: ordinatum fuit ad tollendam occasionem defalcationis monetæ, quod rotundi essent denarii, oboli et Quadrantes. Du Cange.

[a] The property here alluded to most likely lay near the church.

[b] Throughout these documents Barnet is always described as le Barnett or la Barnett. The present Bosworth Professor of Anglo Saxon at Cambridge, the Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. says that Barnet is a purely Anglo Saxon word, and, no doubt indicates the scene of some extensive conflagration :—*Baernet*, a fire, a great burning, pronounced precisely as Barnet is pronounced now. A variation to Bernet, as we often find the name written, would be quite natural as the verb to burn is usually spelled *berne* in old books.

[c] Selda, Taberna mercatoria, a stall. Du Cange.

[d] This deed, though relating to Barnet, forms one of the series, in the chartulary, which are concerned with Hadley.

[e] Garsummune; a fine or amerciament. Spelman writes it *Gersuma*. Cowel. Holthouse's Law Dict.

hereditar' reddendo inde annuatim capitalibꝫ dñis feodi debitum tenementi seruiciũ & m̃ & heredibꝫ meis tria grana pipis scilicet ad pascha ꝑ oĩbꝫ seruicijs consuetudinibꝫ sectis cur' & demandis secular' Et ego p'dictus Johannes & heredes mei warantizabim[s] defendem[s] & acquietabim[s] totum predictum tenementũ cũ ꝑtin' p'dicto Thome & heredibꝫ suis vel assignatis & eor' heredibꝫ ꝑ p'dictum seruiciũ cont[a] omnes gentes impp̃m. In hui[s] autem rei testimoniũ p'senti sc'pto sigillũ meũ apposui Hijs testibꝫ Thoma de la fforde Ric' fil' Jordan' Dauid Ailberij Willm̃o filio suo Johanne de Lega ctico et alijs.

3. Indentura de cultura que uocat[r] Burnildesfeld in Hadleya dimiss' Johanni Couhird & Alic' uxori sue ad t'minũ vite eordem.

Anno regni Regis Edwardi filij Regis Henrici octauodecimo conuenit int' dũm Willm̃[a] dei gratia Abbatem de Waledena & euisdem loci conuentũ ex ꝑte una & Johannẽ le Couhird & Aliciam uxorem suam ex alt'a videlicet qd p'dicti Abbas & conuent[s] dimiserunt & concesserunt p'dictis Johanni & Alicie ad t'minũ vite eordem vnam culturam terre apud Hadley que uocat' Burnildesfeld iacent' infra parcum de Enefelda int' t'ram dictor' religiosor' & t'ram Martini de la Barnett Reddend' inde annuatim dictis viris religiosis octodecim denar' ad duos anni t'minos scilicet ad pascha Nouẽ denar' & ad festum sancti Michaelis Nouem denar' pro oĩbꝫ consuetudinibꝫ & secularibꝫ demandis salũ p'dictis religiosis una secta annuatim ad visum suũ franc' pleg' ibidem & em̃dacione[b] panis & c'uis' si suꝑ dictũ tenementũ fuerit furmatũ aut braciatum. Et si contingat dictos Johannẽ & Aliciam uel eor' alt'um in solucione dicti annui redditus t'minis sup[a]dictis defic'e licebit dictis religiosis post tres ammoniciones ꝑ eodem redditu factas p'dictum tenementũ i' manus suas caꝑe & sine cont[a]dictione alicui[s] impp̃m retinere. Et similit' si p'dictam t'ram p'dicti Johannes & Alicia suo tempore a se quoquo alienauerint cũ autem de eis humanitus contig'it[c] dicta t'ra ad manus dictor' religiosor' sine aliqua contradictione plene & integre revertat[r]. In cui[s] rei testimoniũ huic sc'pto i' modũ cirographi[d] confecto cui' alt'a ꝑs sigillo comuni dictor' religiosor' signat[r] sigilla dictor' Jоћis & Alicie sunt apposita.

[a] William Polley, the 10[th] abbot, appointed in 1285, died in 1304. Dugdale iv. 134. The 18 Edw. I. would have been 1300.

[b] Emendatio Panis et Cervisiæ. Jus statuendi pondus panis et mensuram cervisiæ feudorum Dominis olim in Anglia concessum; unde in qualibet ejusdem regni jurisdictione inferiori etiamnum exstat *Ale-taster*. Du Cange.

[c] *Postquam de me humanitus contigerit.* Id est, postquam me mori contigerit. Du Cange. *Humanitus si quid mihi accidisset.* Cicero.

[d] Anciently, when they made a *Chirograph*, or deed which required a counterpart, they engrossed it twice upon one piece of parchment contrarywise, leaving a space between, in which they wrote in great letters the word CHIROGRAPH, and then cut the parchment in two, sometimes even, and sometimes with *indenture*, through the middle of the word, concluding the deed with, *In cujus rei testimonium utraq; pars mutuo scriptis presentibus fide media sigillum suum fecit apponi.* The first use of these Chirographs was in Henry the Third's time. Cowel. Holthouse's Law Dict.

4. Littera obligatoria Rogeri filij Godardi & Agnet' uxĩs sue qd nō petať aliqua escamƀ[a] de octo acrs terre & una roda cū ꝑtinent' fact' Abbati de Waledeñ.

Notum sit omĩbꝫ p'sentibꝫ & futuris qd Ego Rog'us filius Godardi de la Hale obligaui me & Agnetem uxorem meam & heredes meos Absalom'[b] Abbati de Waldena & eiusdem loci conuentui ꝑ p'sentem paginam nulla pet'e escambia de octo ac's & una roda t're cum ꝑtinent i' uilla de Hadleya quam quidem t'ram nobis dederūt & carta sua confirmauerunt & Reginaldus Rotarius uel aliquis heredũ suor' ꝑ placitũ t'ram p'dictam de nobis possit recupare. In cuis rei testimoniũ pro Agnete uxore mea & heredibꝫ meis p'sens sc'ptum sigilli mei apposicione duxi roborand' Hijs testibꝫ Bartholomeo vicario de Enefeld Henrico capellano de Hadleya Symone de Pirho Reginaldo Blundo magr̃o Willm̃o Carpentario Roberto Goet Thoma de Wellis Roberto Clerico de Waledeñ et alijs. Dať apud Enefeld quarto kl ap'lis Anno dñi millim̃o ccmo xliiiio.[c]

5. Quieťclam̃ Johannis le Paum' & alior' de una acra t're & dimidia cũ mesuagio & alijs ꝑtinent' ad Hadleyã fact' monast'io de Waledeñ.

Nouerint vniu'si hoc sc'ptum visuri uel audituri qd nos Johannes le Paum' de Londoñ & Matild' uxor mea Robertus de mymmes & Cristina uxor mea pro nobis & heredibꝫ n'ris remisimus & quieťclamauimus deo & beate marie & ecclĩe sancti Jacobi de Waledena & monachis ibidem deo seruientibꝫ totum ius & clamiũ quod habuimus uel habere potuimus in vna acra & dimidia t're cum mesuagio & om̃ibꝫ ꝑtinent' suis quos Ricardus Pogeis pat' dictar' Matild' & Cristine quondam tenuit de dictis monachis ad Hadleyam. Pro hac autem remissione & quieťclamacione dederunt nobis dicti monachi duas marcas argenti. Et ut hec nostra remissio & quieťclamacio ꝑ nobis & heredibꝫ n'ris dictis monachis rata stabilis & inconcussa ꝑmaneat impꝑm̃ p'sens sc'ptũ sigillor' n'ror' imp'ssionibꝫ corroborauimus. Hijs testibꝫ Ricardo de Plesseto Johanne de Marisco Thoma de fforda Sayero de Mymmes Willm̃o Broun Johanne Blundo[d] Reginaldo le Roux Johanne fil Burwenild David fil Ailberij & multis alijs.

6. Carta Ric̃i filij Symonis Cateline de Hadleya de dimidio mesuag' & iij ac's terre concess' monast'io de Waldeñ.

Sciant presentes & futuri qd Ego Ricardus filius Simonis Cateline sursum reddidi remisi & omnino quieťclamaui pro me & ꝑ omiƀꝫ heredibꝫ meis impꝑm̃ deo & beate marie & ecclĩe sancti Jacobi de Waledena & monachis ibidem deo seruientibꝫ pro salute anime mee & om̃i antecessor'

[a] Escambium, Permutatio. Gall. *Echange.* Du Cange.

[b] Absalom, abbot of Walden, died in 1263. His predecessor Roger, the 2nd of the name, died in 1251. Dugdale iv. 134.

[c] This date is not in agreement with that of Absalom's abbacy, unless Dugdale be in error. See preceding note.

[d] Blundus = Blondus, color capillorum flavus, qui nostris *Blond.* Du Cange.

& successor' meor' & p̱ quad^a^m sum̃a pecunie quam dicti monachi m̃ dederunt p^s^ manibȝ totum ius & clamiũ quod habui uel aliquo modo habere potui in dimidio mesuagio & t'bus ac's t're adjacentibȝ ex p̱te austri cũ omib̃ȝ p̱tinent' scilicet sepibȝ fossatis pasturis & grauis & t'bus denariat' annui redditus quẽ redditum Juliana fil. Walteri Quic m̃ solebat annuatim p̱solv'e quam quidem t'ram & dimid' mesuagiũ Catelina mat' mea aliqũ tenuit de dictis monachis in p̱ochia de Hadleya Ita scilicet qd nec Ego nec heredes mei nec aliquis p̱ me nec pro me in dicto tenemento cũ p̱tinent' p'dictis sive in dicto redditu aliquid iuris vel clamij decet'o exig'e vel uendicare pot'imus impm̃ Vt autem hec remissio & quietaclamac̃o p̱petue firmitatis robur obtineat presens sc'ptum sigilli mei imp'ssione roboravi Hijs testibȝ Thoma de Welles Thoma de Dunham Rog'o Quic Roberto Rotario Roberto Smalhat Johẽ Smalwud Henr' de Welles Johanne de Lega & alijs.

7. Quiet̃clam̃ Cateline fil. Willm̃i de Cingerie de vno mesuag' & vi ac's t're in villa de Hadleia c'cess monast'io de Waledeñ.

Nouerint vniu'si hoc scriptũ visur' uel audituri qd Ego Catelina fil. Will̃i de Cingerie in pura uiduitate & legitima potestate mea remisi & quiet̃clamaui Abbati & conventui de Waledena totum ius & clamiũ quod habui uel habere potui in mesuagio & sex ac's t're adiacentibȝ cũ p̱tin' i' villa de Hadleya quas Acelina mat' mea quond^a^m tenuit de dictis Abbate & conuentu. Ita qd nec ego decet'o aliquid iuris in dicto tenemento pot'o uendicare In cuius rei testimoniũ p'sens sc'ptũ sigilli mei imp'ssione corroboraui Hijs testibȝ Sayro de Mymmes Willm̃o de Onelade Gregorio de Wrobbeley Dauid Ailbery Johanne le Bor Regin' le Roux Johanne de Smalwode & multis alijs.

8. Carta Stephani le Bray & Aceline ux'is eius filie Simoñ Cateline de Hadleya de dimidio mesuag' & tribȝ ac's t're in p̱ochia de Hadleya concess' monast'io de Waldeñ.[a]

Sciant p'sentes & futuri qd Ego Stephanus Bray & Acelina uxor mea & filia Symonis Cateline sursum reddidimus remisimus & oiño quietclamauimus p̱ nobis & p̱ om̃ibȝ heredibȝ n'ris imp̱pm̃ deo & beate marie & ecclĩe sancti Jacobi de Waledena & monachis ibidem deo seruientibȝ p̱ salute aĩar' n'rar' & om̃i antecessor' & successor' n'ror' & pro quadam summa pecunie quam dicti monachi nobis dederunt p^s^ manibȝ totum ius & clamiũ quod habuimus uel aliquo modo habere potuimus in dimidio mesuagio & t'bus acris t're adiacentibȝ ex p̱te aquilonis cum om̃ibȝ p̱tinent' scilicet sepibȝ fossatis pasturis & grauis & t'bus denariat' annui redditus quem redditũ Juliana filia Walt'i Quic nobis solebat annuatim p̱soluere quam quidem t'ram & dimidiũ mesuagiũ dicta Catelina aliquando tenuit de dictis monachis in p̱ochia de Hadleya. Ita scilicet qd nec nos nec heredes n'ri nec aliquis p̱ nos nec p̱ nobis in dicto tenemento cum p̱tinent' p'dictis sive in dicto redditu aliquid iuris uel clamij decet'o exig'e uel vendicare pot'imus imp̱pm̃. Vt autem hec remissio & quiet̃clamacio p̱petue firmitatis robur optineat p'sens sc'ptum sigillor' n'ror' imp'ssione roborauimus

[a] Evidently the same property to which the charter of her brother Richard refers, *supra* N° 6.

Hijs testibȝ Thoma de Welles Thoma de Dunham Rog'o Quic Roberto Rotario Roberto Smalhat Johanne Smalwud Henr' de Welles Johanne de Lega & alijs.

9. Obligacio Stephani Bray & uxoris eius ne alienarent t'ram quã tenent in Hadleya sine licencia Abbatis.

Nouerint vniu'si hoc sc'ptum visur' uel auditur' qd Ego Stephanus le Bray de la Barnett & Acelina uxor mea filia Symonis Cateline concessimus & hoc p'senti sc'pto nos pro nobis & heredibȝ n'ris obligauimus qd t'ram quam a dño Abbate & conuentu de Waledeñ recepimus in uilla de Hadleya p't'q^{a}m domui de Waledeñ dare uendere legare seu quocũqȝ modo alienare nõ pot'imus nec in dicta t'ra uel bosco cũ ꝑtinent' vastum extirpaconē sive aliquam destructionē sine bona uoluntate dictor' Abbĩs & conuentus facere ualebimus si ipãm t'ram cum bosco & ꝑtinent' habere uoluerunt. In cuius rei testimoniũ huic sc'pto sigilli mei imp'ssionē apposuimus. Hijs testibȝ Saero de mymmes Johanne le Blunt Roberto de la Hale Galfrido Thorkil Johanne le Bore Regin' le Roux & multis alijs.

10. Carta Reginaldi de Hadleya de duabȝ ac's t're i' uilla de Hadleya concess' monach' de Waleđ.

Omnibus Xp̃i fidelibȝ ad quos p'sens sc'ptum ꝑuenerit Reginaldus de Hadleya clericus salutem in dño Nouerit vniuersitas v'ra me ꝑ salute anime mee & omñ an'cessor' & successor' meor' concessise dedisse & hac p'senti carta mea confirmasse deo & sancte marie & sancto Jacobo de Waledena & monachis ibidem deo seruientibȝ duas acras t're mee i' villa de Hadleya cũ om̃ibȝ ad easdem ꝑtinentibȝ quar' vnũ caput abuttat sup̱ grauam Robt̃i de Leya & aliud caput sup̱ grauam Kat'ine de Leya in liberam purã & ꝑpetuã elemosinã sicut unq^{a}m aliqua elemosina melius uel liberius concedi uel dari p̃t Ut autem hec mea concessio donacio et carte mee p'sentis confirmacio ꝑpetue firmitatis robur obtineat p'senti sc'pto sigillũ meũ apposui Hijs testibȝ Ricardo de Barbeflee Henr^{o} Janitore Dauid fil Aylberti Reginaldo Rotario Walt'o Wyck Rado Wombe Johanne fil Burnilde & alijs multis.

11. Quiet̃clamac' Edithe fil Reginaldi Cler' de Hadleya sup̱ iur' quod huĩt in terr' et tenem̃tis concess' monast'io de Waldeñ in Hadleya et Barnet.

Sciant p'sentes & futuri qd Ego Editha filia Reginaldi Clerici concessi & relaxaui & oiño quiet̃clamaui in viduitate mea & in ligia potestate mea deo & beate marie & ecclĩẽ sancti Jacobi de Waledena & monachis ibidem deo seruientibȝ ꝑ salute anime mee totum ius & clamiũ quod habui uel aliquo modo habere potui in t'ris & redditibȝ & om̃ibȝ alijs que occasione dicti q^{o}ndam Reginaldi patris mei et Rogeri Ruffi q^{o}ndam mariti mei michi accidere poti'int in ꝑochia de Hadleya & la Barnett sine aliq^{o} retenemento mei uel heredũ meor' siue assignator' in puram et ꝑpetuã elemosinam Habend' & tenend' dictis monachis & eor' successoribȝ impp̃m libere quiete bene & in pace. Et ego p'dicta Editha et heredes mei warantizabimus defendemus & acquietabimus predictis monachis et eor' successoribȝ totam p'dictam terram & redditũ cũ om̃ibȝ ꝑtinent'

p'dictis cont[a] omnes hoīes & feminas imp̄pm̄. Et ut hec mea concessio relaxacio & quietclamacio p̄petue firmitatis robur obtineat p'senti sc'pto sigillum meum apposui. Hijs testib3 Dauid Aylberii de Enefeud Willm̄o Pistore Johanne de Templo Mauricio Pistore Robto Rotario de Hadleya Rog'o Quic de eadem Johanne Higte Johanne Osemund[a] & alijs.

12. Quietclam[o] Gu'nilde filie Regin' de Hadleya de graua ibidem dat' monachis de Waledeñ.

Notum sit om̄ibus hoc sc'ptum visuris uel audituris qd ego Gunnilda filia Reginaldi de la Haya remisi & quietclamaui de me & heredib3 meis deo & beate marie & sancto Jacobo de Waledena & monachis ibidem deo seruientib3 totum ius & clamiū quod habui uel habere potui in toto tenemento in vno mesuagio & una graua que consueui tenere de p'dictis monachis ex dono Reginaldi p'dicti patris mei in villa de Hadleya cum om̄ib3 libertatib3 & eschaetis que conting'e possunt & cum om̄ib3 p̄tinent' in pratis pascuis vijs semitis & in om̄ib3 alijs locis sine ullo retenemento. Tenend' & habend' in liberam puram et p̄petuam elemosinam. Pro hac autem remissione & quietclamacione dedert michi p'dicti monachi viginti quatuor solidos st'lingor'. Et ut hec mea remissio & quietaclamacio rata sit & stabilis p'sens sc'ptum sigilli mei imp'ssione corroboraui. Hijs testibus Domino Seero de mymmes Willm̄o de Onlade Johanne le Blunt Johanne le Bor Reginaldo Rotario Roberto de la Hale Galfrido Thurkill & alijs.

13. Carta Agnetis de Leya de una pecia t're continent' spacia duar' p̄ticar in latitudine i' Hadleya concess' monast'io de Waldeñ.

Omnib3 Xp̄i fidelib3 p'sentib3 & futuris Agnes de Leya salutem in dn̄o Nou'it vniu'sitas v'ra me pro salute anime mee & om̄i an'cessor' & successor' meor' concessisse dedisse & hac p'senti carta mea confirmasse deo & sancte marie & sancto Jacobo de Waledena & monachis ibidem deo seruientib3 vnam peciam terre mee in villa de Hadleya continentē spaciū duar' p̄ticar' in latitudine que iacet iuxta sepe ex p̄te orientali & abuttat ad vnū caput sup̄ t'ram dictor' monachor' v'sus aquilonē & aliud caput sup̄ t'ram que fuit Reginaldi clerici v'sus austrū. Habend' & tenend' in liberam puram & p̄petuam elemosinā sicut umq[a]m aliqua elemosina melius uel liberius concedi uel dari p̄t. Vt autem hec mea concessio donacio & huius carte mee confirmacio p̄petuū robur obtineat p'sentē paginā sigilli mei imp'ssione corroborare curaui Hijs testib3 Ric̄o de Barbeflee Henrico Janitore Dauid filio Aylbti Reginaldo Rotario Walto Wyck Radulpho Womb Joh̄e fil. Burnilde & multis alijs.

14. Sc̄ptum Albrede de duabus acris terre in Hadleya concess' monach' de Walden.

Omnib3 Xp̄i fidelib3 ad quos p'sens sc'ptū p̄uenerit Albreda de Hadleya salutē in dn̄o Nouerit vniu'sitas v̄ra me pro salute aiē mee & om̄ an'cessor' & successor' meor' concessisse dedisse & hac presenti carta mea confirmasse deo & sancte marie & sancto Jacobo de Waledena & monachis

[a] The name of Osmond is still met with in the neighbourhood.

ibidem deo seruientibꝫ duas acras terre mee i' villa de Hadleya cum om̄ibꝫ ad eas ꝑtinentibꝫ que iacent iuxta mesuagiū meū & abuttant suꝑ terram Abbatis de Waledena ex ꝑte orientali. Habend' & tenend' in liberā purā & ꝑpetuā elemosinam sicut unq^ua^m aliqua elemosina melius uel liberius concedi uel dari p̄t. Ego u° Albreda & heredes mei Warantizabimus p'dictam elemosinā p'nomi'atis monachis & eam defendemus cont^a omnes hom̄es & feminas. Vt autem hec mea concessio donacio & carte mee p'sentis confirmacio ꝑpetue firmitatis robur obtinent p'sentem paginam sigilli mei imp'ssione corroboraui Hijs testibꝫ Ric̄o de Barfle[a] Henrico Janitore Dauid fil. Alberti Reginaldo Rotario Walto' Quic Rad' Wombe Joh' fil Burnilde & alijs.

15. Sc'ptum indentatum Johannis Wedōn de crofta t're uocat' Catelinescroft in ꝑochia de Hadleya sibi concess' ad feodi firmam ꝑ s'uic' quatuor solidor' & vj denar' annuatim Abbati & conuentui soluend'.

Uniuersis Xp̄i fidelibꝫ hoc sc'ptum visuris uel audituris Andr^s[b] ꝑmissione diuina Abbas de Waledena & eiusdem loci conuentus salutem i' dn̄o. Sciatis qd cū nuꝑ concessimus & ad firmam tradidimus Johanni de Wedon del Barnett quand^a^m croftam uocat' Catelinecroft[c] in ꝑochia de Hadleya ꝑ quadraginta annos sibi heredibꝫ sive assignatis suis tenend' ꝑ seruiciū quatuor solidor' & sex denar' annuatim soluend' & sectam ad cur' dictor' relig' apud Hadley releuiū & heriettū cum acciderit prout in quad' indentura int' nos & eundem Johannē confecta plenius continetur quā quidem concessionē & tradicionē ratificamus ꝑ p'sentes Prete'a concessimus pro nobis & successoribꝫ nr̄is ad feodi firmam p'dicto Johanni heredibꝫ siue assignatis suis tenere & habere p'dictam croftam de nobis & successoribꝫ nr̄is ad feodi firmam impp̄m. ffaciendo & reddendo

[a] Ricardus de Barfle is called Ricardus Barflete and Henricus Janitor, Henry Porter, in certain deeds relating to Enfield in the same MS.. Harl. MS. 3697, f. 180.

[b] Abbot Andrew is not mentioned in Dugdale, iv. 134. William Polley, 10th abbot, died in 1304, and abbot William is mentioned in 1359.

[c] Croft, in conveyances, signifies a small piece of land or ground. Holthouse. The designation of Catiline field has been retained until a late date, and must have referred to a part of the parish situated to the rear of the house formerly called the White Bear. On 23 July, 1650, Michael Grigge, of Hadley, esq. and others, bargain and sell to Edward Nicholls, of South Mimms, yeoman, " a messuage known by the name or signe of ye White Beare, in Hadley, now in the tenure of Richard Timberlake, abutting upon the shire ditch or com'on shoare (sewer) between Barnet and the county of Midds. on the south." One of the parcels is said to have abutted upon a garden occupied by William Dry on the west and on a field called Catiline field on the north. On 1 Sep. 1704, John Nicholls of Knightsland, son of Edward, mortgaged the same. The White Bear was then in the occupation of William Parme, and Catiline field continues to be spoken of, as well as in subsequent deeds, at least as late as the year 1781. The house, now called Boundary House, for some years past a chemist's shop, is the last in Hadley parish on the eastern side of the High Street. Until recently it was an inn, bearing the sign of the New Salisbury Arms, but almost within living memory was still designated the White Bear.

nobis totum annuũ redditũ & seruic' p'nomi'at' salũ eciam racõnabil' chemin'[a] ad fugand'[b] & cariand'[c] cum libero introitu & exitu om̃ib3 temporib3 anni pro uoluntate nr̃a a regia via usq3 ad boscum nr̃m ibidem. Et nos & successores nr̃i p'dictam croftam p'dicto Johanni her' siue assignatis suis cont[a] omnes gentes in forma p'dicta warantizabimus. In cuius rei testĩoniũ ꝑti huius indenture reman' penes p'dcm̃ Johanne᷈ sigillũ nr̃m cõe p'sentib3 est appensũ & ꝑti penes nos residenti sigillũ dicti Johĩs est appens'. Dat' apud Waleden' vicesimo die Novembr' Anno regni Regis Edwardi t'cij a conquestu sexto.

THE MANOR.

The great abbey of Walden was surrendered in 1538 and, with the manor of Hadley, which had continued to form a part of its possessions, was granted, 14 March 1538-9,[d] to Sir Thomas Audley knt.,[e] then Chancellor, in compensation, as he alleged, "for having in this world sustained great damage and infamy for serving the King." These expressions may have had reference to the share assigned to him in the proceedings against Queen Anne Boleyn. He was one of the special commission appointed to try her supposed accomplices and was present on the scaffold, by the King's desire, on the day of her execution.[f] The terms of the grant included totum nup monast'ium nr̃m de Walden in com̃ Essex—necnon man'm nr̃m de hadley cum ꝑtiñ in com Midd. ac R'corias & eccliãs de Edelmeton Enfeld et Southmymes &c p'dc̃o nup monastĩo ꝑtineñ. It is observable that no mention is made of the church or, as it is styled at this period, *free chapel* of Hadley; from which we may conclude that it was regarded simply as an appendage of the manor. Sir Thomas Audley, created by letters patent, dated 29 Nov. 1538, baron Audley of Walden, died 19 Apr. 1544, aged 56, without heirs male,[g]

[a] Cheminus, via, iter, Fr. *chemin*. Du Cange.

[b] Fugare, venari Fr. chasser. Du Cange. A reservation of the right of chace.

[c] Cariare, carro vehere. Fr. *charier*. Du Cange.

[d] Patent Rolls, 30 Hen. VIII. p[t]. 5. March 14, at Record Office. Letters patent, dated 12 Jan. 31 Hen. VIII., teste meipso at Westminster, in confirmation of the previous grant to Thomas Audeley, knt. lord Audeley, and Elizabeth his wife. Trin. Rec. 3 Edw. VI. rot. 26. Lysons ii. 518.

[e] The son of Geoffrey Audley of Earl's Colne. The following entry occurs in the Burgesses' Oath book at Colchester: "A. D. 1516, Thomas Audley Gen. natus in Colne Comitis in com. Essex, Burgens." Nicolas' Historic Peerage. Burke's Extinct Peerage.

[f] Froude ii. 484, 503.

[g] Thomas Howard 4[th] duke of Norfolk, eldest son of Henry Howard, K.G. the celebrated Earl of Surrey, married 2[ndly] Margaret dau. and heir of Thomas, lord Audley of Walden. His eldest son by her, lord Thomas Howard, was summoned to parliament 24 Oct. 1597 as baron Howard de Walden, and cr. Earl of Suffolk in 1603. He built the mansion of Audley End.

when his title became extinct. According to his own desire he was buried in a chapel which he had erected at Saffron Walden, where a splendid monument was raised to him.[a]

Subsequent dealings with the manor are a little intricate. Lysons states that lord Audley re-surrendered it to the King four years after the original grant and, on the authority of Pat. Rolls 4 and 5 Ph. and M. pt. 14. m 41. June 29, that it was granted by Queen Mary, in 1557, to Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity College Oxford, but at a previous date there is evidence of the Goodere family having possessed an interest in it. In his will[b] of 15 Dec. 1546, 38. Hen. VIII. Francis Goodere esq. imposes a condition upon his younger son Thomas, that quietly and without any molestation and interruption he permit and suffer William Stanford esq. his heirs and assigns to have hold and enjoy the manor of Hadley and the parsonage of South Mimms with their appurtenances in the county of Middlesex. On 3 Dec. 1538 Joan or Jane Wroth widow, his mother,[c] had presented *pro hac vice* to the vicarage of South Mimms. William Staunford, esq. on 15 March 1553, and Alice Staunford widow, on 31 March 1558, presented to the same.

William Staunford, Stamford, or Stanford,—we meet with the name in each form,[d]—the son of William Staunford, of London, mercer, by his wife Margaret Gedney,[e] and grandson of Robert Staunford of Rowley in Staffordshire, was born at Hadley, where his father had purchased lands, 22 Aug. 1509.[f] Having been educated at Oxford, and being afterwards called to the bar at Gray's Inn, he rose to eminence in his profession and wrote several law treatises held in estimation. In 1545, 36 Hen. VIII. he was Attorney General, and on 17 Oct. 1552 was advanced to the dignity of a "serjeant of the coyffe,"[g] to which, according to

[a] The site of Walden Abbey was near the great pond, at Audley End, by the bowling-green, where foundations and bones have been disinterred. Dugd. Mon. iv. 138; Morant, Hist. of Essex ii. 548.

[b] P.C.C. Book Alen 45.

[c] Jane Hawte, after the death of her first husband Thomas Goodere, in 1518, had married Robert Wroth of Durants, Enfield, who died 27 Hen. VIII.

[d] Robert, son of William, signs himself *Staunford.* On the monumental tablet in Hadley church the spelling is *Stamford.*

[e] The will of Margaret Stamford, late of London, widow, dated 19 Oct. 1541, was proved P.C.C. 7 Dec. 1542. (Book Spert 13.) She desires to be buried in the parish church of Islington, in the south aisle, beneath the same stone as her father.

[f] Wood's Ath. Oxon. i. 262; Fuller's Worthies, Middlesex ii. 323.

[g] Machyn's Diary, Camden Soc. Pub. 1848, p. 27.

Strype,[a] he had been nominated in the preceding May. In 1553 he was made queen's serjeant, and acted in that capacity at the memorable trial, 17 Apr. 1554, of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, for complicity in Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion.[b] The prisoner, on this occasion, defended himself so resolutely and confronted the charges laid against him with so much dexterity and skill, that the jury, notwithstanding pressure brought to bear upon them, returned a verdict of acquittal.[c] On being nominated one of the judges of the Common Pleas he was among "the Knyghtes mayde by King Philip in his chambre upon Sunday the xxvijth of January in an. 1554."[d] It is reported that he was a zealous Roman Catholic, and perhaps owed his advancement to this circumstance.

In the Order of the Lady Elizabeth's Grace's Voyage to the Court, appointed to commence from Ashridge on Monday 12 Feb. 1553-4, the day of Lady Jane Grey's execution, it had been prescribed that she should reach Sir Thomas Pope's, at Tyttenhanger, on Tuesday and sleep at Mr. Staunford's, a distance from that place of seven miles, on Wednesday.[e] There can be little doubt but what this referred to his residence at Hadley. Owing, however, to indisposition, real or feigned, she did not begin her journey until the 18th, and selected other halting places than those originally marked out for her. The peril which she was preparing to encounter was no slight one, and it is likely that both Pope and Staunford would be well affected towards the Court. Carried in a litter sent for her by the Queen she reached Mr. Dodde's at North-Mimms-park on the third day of her journey and Mr. Cholmely's at Highgate on the fourth, thus avoiding Hadley. Here, notwithstanding, it is most probable that she rested on a later, and even more memorable occasion,—an occasion as bright with promise as the other was overshadowed by apprehensions. Mary died on Thursday 17 Nov. 1558 and the next day Sir Thomas Gresham and Cecil proceeded to Hatfield. By Saturday night, says Froude, the Privy Council, with every statesman of any side or party of name or note, had collected at that place. On Sunday Elizabeth gave her first reception in the hall. Two days later the Court removed to London. This must have been on Tuesday the 22, on which night it may be assumed that the new Queen slept at Hadley, perhaps at the house of Sir William Staunford's widow, for Henry Machyn, already quoted, writes in his diary: "The xxiij day of

[a] Strype M. ii. 7. [b] Strype M. ii. 1, 554; M. iii. 2, 117.

[c] Froude's Hist. vi. 218.

[d] Machyn, p. 342. Harl. MS. 6,064, f. 80 b; Cotton MSS. Claudius, c. iii. f. 192.

[e] Strickland's Lives iv. 74, 75.

November the Queen Elsabeth('s) grace toke here gorney from Hadley beyond Barnett toward London, unto my Lord North(s') plase (the Charterhouse), with a M and mor of lordes, knyghtes, and gentyllmens lades and gentyllwomen; and ther lay V days."

Sir William Staunford purchased the manor of Handsworth, near Birmingham, of Sir John St. Leger, knt. As old Fuller quaintly expresses it,—"There is a spirit of retraction of one to his native country, which made him purchase lands, and his son settle himself again, in Staffordshire."[a] According to Anthony à Wood, his descendants were still living in that and the adjoining county of Warwick at the close of the following century. He had issue six sons and four daughters, and died 28 Aug. 1558, having just completed his 49th year. Directions were given in his will[b] that his body should be interred in one of the parish churches of Islington, Hadley, or Handsworth, and on Sep. 1 he was buried at Hadley. An entry in Machyn's Diary records that "the same day was bered beyond Barnet . . . . [ju]ge Stamford, knyght, with standard, cotte armour, penon of arms, elmett, targett, sword, and the mantylles; and iiij dozen of skachyons, and ij dozen of torchys, and tapurs; and Master Somerset the harold of armes."[c] These insignia still hung suspended in Hadley church when it was visited by Nicholas Charles, Lancaster herald, in 1608.[d] The armorial bearings of Staunford of Hadley and Staffordshire appear to have been granted 2 May[e] 1542. (Arg. three bars az. on a canton or a fesse sa. in chief three mascles of the last. Crest. A gauntlet or, grasping a broken sword arg. hilt and pommel sa.) There were likewise existing in the church at the same time the escutcheons of his daughter Anne, who died young, with the inscription, "Here lyeth Anne Stamford, daughter of William Stamford and of Alice his wife, which deceased in the moneth of February, 1551," and of dame Alice his widow, daughter of John Palmer of Middlesex, who died in 1573. Attached to the latter

[a] Worthies, Middlesex ii. 323.

[b] Dated 4 Apr. 1558, and proved by dame Alice, P.C.C. 11 Oct. 1558 (Book Noodes 53). He mentions his three daughters, Dorothy, Katharine, and Margaret, not yet of age, and four sons, William, Henry, Ralph, and John. Ralph Stanford, from Oxford, was ordained priest at the English College at Douai in Dec. 1584 and sent into England, in messem Anglicanam, 28 Jan. 1586. The college, founded in 1568, by Dr. Allen, was supplied with pupils by refugees from Oxford and the Grammar Schools, and its "seminary priests" began to pass over into England in 1576. 1st and 2nd Diaries of the English College, Douay. T. F. Knox, D.D. 12, 30, 192, &c. History of the English People, ii. 407.

[c] "Septemb. *initio*, Judge Stamford was buried at a town beyond Barnet." Strype M. iii. 2, 117.

[d] Lansd. MS. 874, f. 56.

[e] Burke's General Armoury.

was the coat of Staunford impaling Palmer, 1 and 4, Sa. a trefoil slipped in chief arg. above two mullets or, a bordure engr. of the last; 2. Harthill. Barry of six arg. and vert; 3. Cotton. Gu. a bend cotised betw. six martlets or.[a]

In the year 1575 William Dodde of North Mimms and Katharine his wife aliened the manor of Williotts[b] in South Mimms to Robert Staunford, of Perry Hall in Staffordshire, eldest son and heir of Sir William, who again conveyed it in 1594 to Robert Taylor, his kinsman, and Elizabeth his wife. We have no evidence of Robert Staunford having resided at South Mimms, but the register of that parish contains the baptisms of Anne (22 Aug. 1591) William (10 Jan. 1594) and Robert (15 Sep. 1598) Staunforde, who were probably the children of Edward his eldest son. Robert Staunford of Perry Hall, born 31 Jan. 1539, was knighted at Whitehall 23 July 1603,[c] previous to the coronation of James I. and died 20 March 1606-7.[d]

Sir William Staunford's widow married, secondly, Roger Carew esq. of Hadley, and on 4 July 1573, 15 Eliz. the manor and free chapel of Monken Hadley were held by one Thomas Smalwood to him and his heirs of the Queen *in capite* to the use of the said Roger and Alice during the life of the said Alice. She died at Hadley, and was there buried 3 Nov. 1573.[e] It would appear that the premises were then conveyed to Robert Staunford, her eldest son, without the royal licence having been first obtained, but this oversight was pardoned and, on the 20. of the same month, (20 Nov. 16. Eliz.) they were by him aliened to William Kympton senr. citizen and merchant tailor of London, and Robert Kympton one of his sons, who shortly afterwards acquired seisin of the same.[f] The licence of alienation expresses "all that manor and demesne of Monken Hadley, otherwise Hadley, in the county of Middlesex, with all and singular the rights members, and appurtenances, together with a free chapel called Monken Hadley (unam lĩbam capellam vocat' monken hadley) and all lands belonging to the same or by reputation part

[a] Lansd. MS. 874, f. 56. Harl. MS. 6,072.

[b] Lysons v. 228. Hist. of South Mimms, 38, 39.

[c] Cotton. MSS. Claud. c. iii. f. 244[b].

[d] There is a pedigree of the family in Rev. Stebbing Shaw's Hist. of Staffordshire, ii. 108, 109, with MS. notes by Samuel Pipe Wolferstan of Statfold. Br. Mus.

[e] Monumental inscription in Hadley church.

[f] Pat. Rolls. 16 Eliz. pt. 13, m. 11. Nov. 20. Licen' alienand' p' Rob'to Staunford armig'o. Lord Treasurer's Remembrancers of Exchequer, Memoranda. Hil. 16 Eliz. Rotulo 41. De Willielmo et Roberto Kympton occasionatis ad ostendendum quo Titulo tenent Manerium de *Hadleigh Monachorum*, in comitatu Middlesex.

and parcel of the same and one messuage or tenement with a furnace for making bricks, Anglicè a tile kiln, and all lands, containing by estimation twelve acres of land or thereabouts, which Thomas Lee holds or lately held by a lease from the aforesaid Robert Staunford, situate and being in the aforesaid parish of Hadley and now in the tenure of the said Thomas Lee, by virtue of a lease to him given to that effect for forty-one years at an annual rent of £3. 6. 8 and two capons and two hens, likewise one messuage or tenement with the appurtenances in Hadley aforesaid called the Vicarage-house and all those parcels of land situate and lying in the parish of Southmyms in the said County of Middlesex called and commonly known by the name of Pynchbank [a] containing by estimation 14 acres be the same more or less now in the tenure of Robert Holowey gent. by virtue of a lease for 17 years yet to come or thereabouts made to him of the same messuage called the Vicarage at an annual rent of £1. 6. 8 and of the same parcels of land called Pynchbank at an annual rent of £2. 13. 4 And also all that messuage house or tenement with orchard gardens backsides (et lez backsides) and other appurtenances and all lands tenements and hereditaments in the said parish of Hadley now in the tenure of George Lole by virtue of a lease to that effect granted to him by the aforesaid Robert Staunford for 21 years at an annual rent of £1. 6. 8 likewise all that messuage or tenement with the backsides of the same containing by estimation two acres of land with all other the appurtenances in the said parish of Hadley now in the tenure of Gregory Dyett or his assigns by virtue of a lease to him granted to that effect for 19 years yet to come or thereabouts at an annual rent of £1. 6. 8 and all that tenement and an acre and a half of land in Hadley aforesaid now in the occupation of Richard Shad situated within the same manor And also one other messuage and tenement and 3 acres of land there in the occupation of the relict of Hugh Nightingale and one other messuage and tenement and 3 acres of land there in the occupation of —— Fyllarye and all that half part moiety and purpart of and in one tenement and rood of land be the same more or less in Hadley aforesaid occupied by —— Johnson and all that parcel of land there held by Bellamye and all that cottage and the backsides there in the parish of Hadley aforesaid in the said county of Middlesex in the occupation of Robert Crante and the reversion and reversions rents out-

[a] Mentioned in the will of Mr. John Howkins, of South Mimms, proved P.P.C. 6 Nov. 1678 (Book Reeve 126), as his dwelling-house called Pinchbank, in South Mimms parish. He was churchwarden of Hadley in 1669. "Sara, wife of John Howkins sen. gent. of Birchbanke" was bur. at Hadley 12 July 1660. Par. Reg.

goings and profits of the aforesaid manor and of all and singular other the premisses and all and singular other manors messuages lands tenements rents reversions and hereditaments which the said Robert Staunford hath or ought to have in possession reversion or remainder in the parish of Hadley aforesaid except the moiety of a field there called Catlyn field &c. To have and to hold &c. to the said William and Robert Kympton to the sole and proper benefit and use of the same for ever. At Westminster 20. Nov."

William Kympton was the 5th son of William Kympton of Weston co. Hertford.[a] On 20 July 1559 he was appointed a trustee under the will[b] of his elder brother Edmund Kympton gent. of Weston and Clothall, and guardian of his infant children. As mentioned in the records of the Merchant Tailors' Company, he "brought great trouble upon himself, in the year 1562, for having, contrary to the ordinances, called Stephen Misney, a 'brother of this mystery,' a *crafty boy*. For this misdemeanour he was fined 40*s*. and not having so much with him, he leaves a gold ring with the master in pawn as security for the amount."[c] On Tuesday, 16 Feb. 1573, he was elected alderman of Portsoken Ward,[d] but afterwards transferred to Bread Street.[e] He served the office of sheriff in 1576,[f] but was never Lord Mayor. On Tues. 26 Oct. 27 Eliz. he relinquished the aldermanic gown at his own request, on paying the sum of £200; which fine was subsequently "remitted and pardoned," Thurs. 13 Jan. 28. Eliz.[g]

On 3 April 1574, the year following his acquisition of the manor of Hadley, he received a grant of Arms from Robert Cooke Clarenceux:—Az. a pelican vulning herself betw. three fleurs-de-lis or. Crest: A demi-goat erm. horned and

[a] Harl. MSS. 1546, f. 144; 1547, f. 56[b].; 1551, f. 64.

[b] Proved P.C.C. 19 June 1560 by Thomas Upton, attorney of Lucie Kympton the relict, sole executrix. Book Mellerche 36.

[c] Entries in the Merchant Tailors' Records, as quoted in the "History of Merchant Tailors' School," p. 190, note. Arundell, p. 166.

[d] Rep. 18, ff. 157, 158. Town Clerk's Office, Guildhall.

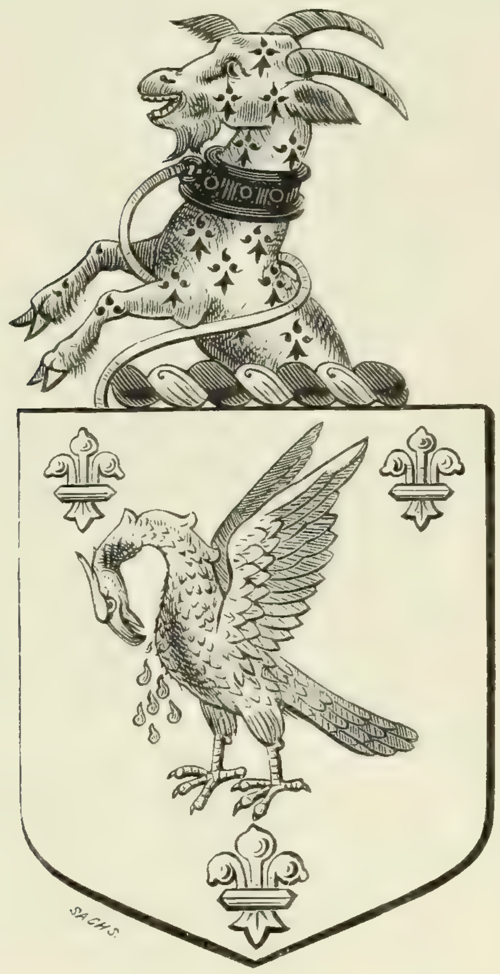
Martis xvj[to] die ffebruarij, 1573.

It'm at this courte my Lorde maio[r] p'sented unto this courte these names ensueinge viz. John Hardinge, salter, Martyn Caltrope, drap[r], Will'm Kympton m'chauntt[r] & Richard Peacock leather seller heretofore named by thinhabitants of the warde of portesoken, to thintent that one of the same accordinge to thauncyent custome of the citie might be elected by the courte to be Alderman of the same warde of portesoken, where upon by scruttany accordinge to the custome M[r] Will'm Kympton m'chauntt[r] was by this courte elected to be Ald'r'an of the same warde of portesoken. It'm at this courte M[r] Will'm Kympton m'chauntt[r] accordinge to the elecc'on afforesaid was sworne Alderman of the warde of portesoken.

[e] Rep. 20 f. 94[b]. [f] B. B. Orridge. [g] Rep. 21 ff. 226[b]. 253[b].

hoofed or, collared and chained sa. The grant describes him as "Lorde of Monken Hadley, and now Alderman of the Citie of London." The original is in the British Museum,[a] and the quaint phraseology of the Heralds' College in the reign of Elizabeth is perhaps worthy of reproduction.

To all and singular aswell Nobles and Gentills as others to whom these presentes shall come Robert Cooke Esquier alias Clarencieulx principall Herehault and Kinge of Armes of the south este and west partes of this Realme of England from the River of Trent sowthwards sendith greeting in oure Lord God everlastinge.



Beinge credibly enformed that William Kimpton Lorde of Monken Hadley in the Countie of Middlesex esquier and now alderman of this citie of London hath longe continued in vertue and in all his affaires hath so well and worthelie behaved himself that he hath well merited and is worthie from henceforth to be in all places of honor and worship with others renouned accepted and taken into the number and fellowship of other auncient gentilmen.

For remembrance wherof I the saide Clarencieulx Kinge of Armes by power and aucthoritie vnto my office annexed and graunted by letters patentes vnder the greate seale of England have devised assigned geven and graunted vnto and for the said William Kimpton esquier the armes and creaste hereafter following. That is to say asur a Pellicane betwen thre Flower de luces golde and to the creast vppon the healme in a wreath golde and asur a demi Goate ermyns horned and cleaed (*sic*) golde a coller and chayne aboute his neck sables manteled gules dobled silver as more playnly apperith depicted in this margent.[b] To have and holde the saide armes and creast to y[e] said William Kimpton esquier and to his posteritie with their due differences and he and they the same to vse beare and shewe in Shilde cote-armour or otherwise and (therein) to be revested at his and their liberty and pleasure without impediment let or interruption of any person

[a] *Add. Charters.* No. 6,218.

[b] Cf. Harl. MS. 1,551, f. 64.

or persons. In witnes whereof I the saide Clarencieulx Kinge of Armes have sett hereunto my hande and seale of Office the third of Aprill Ao do'i 1574 and in the sixtenth yere of the raigne of oure soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth &c.

Robert Cooke alias Clarencieulx
Roy Darmes.

On 1 Dec. 1582[a] a licence was granted to William Kympton citizen and alderman of London and Robert Kympton gent. to alienate the manor of Hadley al's Monken Hadley &c. and the free chapel of Hadley al's Monken Hadley, held of the Queen *in capite*, to Ralph Woodcock citizen and alderman of London and Solomon Pordage[b] gent. to the use of the said William Kympton his heirs and assigns for ever. The occasion of this conveyance was most probably the marriage of Robert Kympton and Margery daughter of Ralph Woodcock; Solomon Pordage the co-trustee having married Ursula, another daughter. Woodcock had succeeded Kympton in the ward of Portsoken,[c] but was afterwards transferred to Coleman Street. He served the office of sheriff in 1580,[d] and died early in September 1586, his will being dated on the 1st of that month and proved,[e] P.C.C. by his son Thomas on the 7th. His birthplace is therein stated to have been Holmes Chapel, in Cheshire, and he desires to be buried in the parish church of Our Lady, in Aldermanbury, where he now dwells, near his late wife Helen, "requiring my executor to rayse a Tombe with the figure of me my wives and xxiiij children." The will contains a bequest to his son in law Robert Kympton of "three hundred poundes, in performaunce of the promise and covenant to hym made at the marriage of my daughter now his wief."

Mr. William Kympton was chosen a governor of the Barnet Grammar School 10 Oct. 1591, and was among those present when his son Robert was elected 27 March 1598. He was living 10 Sep. 1601, though absent from a meeting then held, but deceased previous to 24 Feb. 1608.[f] Burghley writes from the Court to Walsingham, 14 Aug. 1587, that he means to ride this night to Barnet, to

[a] Pat. 24 Eliz. p[t]. 9. m. 12. Dec. 1.

[b] Lysons erroneously substitutes the name of Simon Hayes for that of Solomon Pordage, and is quite at fault in relation to the vicissitudes of the manor until its acquisition by the Hon. Vere Booth a century later. (Lysons iii. 518.)

[c] Rep. 20 ff. 96, 97[b]; Rep. 21 f. 48; Town Clerk's Office, Guildhall.

[d] B. B. Orridge. [e] Book Windsor 47.

[f] Grammar Sch. Minute Book.

alderman Kympton's house.[a] The alderman had, however, resigned his gown at an earlier date, as has been already mentioned.

From time immemorial the privilege of common on Enfield Chace has been a fruitful source of controversy, and in the days of Elizabeth, no less than in our own, occasions arose in which it gave rise to contention. The records of the Duchy of Lancaster exhibit the worthy alderman in the light of a strenuous maintainer of his manorial franchises. On 26 May 1582,[b] 24 Eliz. he bases certain claims on the fact that "the Manor or Lordship of Hadley in auncient tyme was knowen by the name of the heremytage of Hadley and was sometime peell of the possessions of the late dissolved monastery of Walden." Six years later (30 Eliz.) the allegations made against him on the score of infringement of the right of common and of unlicensed building seem to have been brought forward according to due course of law. We meet with an answer[c] of William Kympton, citizen and late alderman of London, to an information against him preferred on Her Majesty's behalf, and on the behalf of Her Majesty's tenants of Enfield, by John Spurling esq. serjeant of Her Majesty's Court of the Duchy of Lancaster. The defendant asserts a right to free common of pasture for all commonable beasts sanz nomber, levant et couchant, within his manor of Hadley, at all seasons of the year, without payment, and alleges that he has been accustomed to take certain loads of *Bruse Wood* upon the day of April called the *view day,* paying to Her Majesty's use twelve pence for every load. And he justifies these claims by the fact that he stands in the place of the late dissolved monastery of Walden and, by virtue of divers mesne conveyances since the original grant to Sir Thomas Audeley, holds his manor, bordering upon the chace, in as large a manner as if it were still in the hands of the abbot. He goes on to state that, by force of the said title of prescription, ten kine and about twenty or forty sheep represent his reasonable common of pasture; and that he is in the habit of taking annually some four loads of *Bruse Wood,* and no more, for his necessary firewood and fuel to be had and expended at his house in Hadley. Dealing in the next place with the accusation that he has erected new tenements to the number of twenty, he replies that "the vicar or curate of the same church of Hadley being an

[a] State Papers Dom. Lemon. 1581—1590, p. 422.

[b] Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings, 24 Eliz. vol. lxxix. p. 71. Attorney General, &c. *v.* W. Kympton.

[c] Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings, vol. cviii. No. 32. 30 Eliz.

In 1613, 11 James, a warrant was issued to the earl of Salisbury for the reviving of a Court of Round-hedge within the chace of Enfield. The people of Hadley, Edmonton, and Mimms, had previously made an appeal for this (24 Eliz.).

honest and learned preacher, whereof this defendant is patron, not having any convenient place or dwelling house to abide in, he this defendant did about ten years past, upon his own soil in the said town of Hadley, erect, build, and set up three or four several little tenements or dwelling houses, in one of which he this defendant hath placed and settled the said curate or vicar to dwell in, and in the other three tenements hath settled three other honest and quiet livers, such as depend and maintain themselves and their families by their trade and several occupations."

The will of Robert Kympton, of London, gent. eldest son of the alderman, is dated 15 Sep. 1624.[a] His wife, Mary Woodcock, must have predeceased him. To the three children of his brother Thomas Hitchcocke[b] (William, Edward, and George) he gives the lease of his house and garden in Goldsmiths' Alley London, wherein he now dwells, equally between them. All his lands and tenements, as well at Hadley as elsewhere, are bequeathed to his loving kinsmen William Kympton and William Hitchcocke and their heirs equally. The William Kympton just mentioned, his younger brother, did not long survive him. His will, in which he is described as of Hadley gent. "weake in body," is dated 26 May 1625. 1 Charles, and was proved P.C.C. 8. June 1625[c] by Catharne the widow. To her he bequeathed for life all and singular his lands and tenements in Hadley and South Mimms, in the City of London and wheresoever, the same to descend afterwards to his sons in law William Oxenbridge and Mary his wife and Thomas Hilliard and Elizabeth his wife and to their heirs equally. He states that he has already assured to his son Robert and the heirs of his body an annuity of £40, issuing out of his lands at Hadley, after the decease of his widow. To the poor people of the town of Hadley £5 is given "to be ymployed in a continewall Stocke for their use." To Ely Tournor minister of Hadley he leaves £5, to his wife forty shillings, to Bridget Tournor his god-daughter £3, and to the other children of the said Ely Tournor ten shillings each. His wife Catharine is appointed sole executrix and Thomas Hilliard and his loving kinsman Thomas Kympton[d] overseers, Ely Tournor being one of the witnesses.

[a] Proved P.C.C. 22 Sep. 1624 by Rowland Squire sole executor. Book Byrde 81.

[b] Thomas Hitchcocke, gent. was an active Governor of the Barnet Grammar School. He held lands in Hadley of the value of x[li], circa 1584. Harl. MS. 366 f. 78[b].

[c] Book Clark 65. June 5, 1625, Mr. William Kempton bur. Hadley Par. Reg.

[d] The family of Kympton was widely spread, as we learn by their wills, over the northern part of Hertfordshire, at Weston and in its neighbourhood. A Thomas Kympton, lately deceased in 1636 (Vide supra pp. 18. 20) occupied a house at Cockfosters in right of Elizabeth his wife, and was probably the person here alluded to.

Pedigree of KYMPTON, of Weston co. Herts and Hadley co. Middlesex.

William Kympton of Weston, co. Hertford.=Agnes, living 1559.

- Edmond Kympton of Weston, gent. Bur. in St. John's Friday St. Will proved 19 June 1560. Melerche 36. = Lucy dau. of George Hyde esq. of Throcking co. Herts. Living in 1579.
- Thomas Kympton.
- John Kympton of Steple Morden, co. Camb. yeoman. Will proved 6 Dec. 1564. Stevenson 33. = Jane, dau. of — Humberstone of co. Herts.
- Robert Kympton.
- William Kympton, citizen and merchant-tailor in 1559. Alderman and Sheriff of London. Lord of the manor of Hadley. = — dau. of Brooke.
- William.
- Edward d. of the sweating sickness.
- Thomazin. = Reginald Barker, of Chartham co. Kent.

Anthony Wingfield 4th son of Sir Anthony Wingfield K.G. = Katharine dau. of Thomas Bleverhassett, widow of John Gosnold.

Children of Edmond Kympton and Lucy:

- George Kympton of Weston. Eldest son. Admin. 8 Apr. 1609. = Catharine dau. of – Brooke of High Cross co. Herts. Living 1609.

Children of John Kympton and Jane:

- Edward of London. = Catharine, dau. of — Edy of co. Devon.
- Robert Kympton of Gray's Inn, barrister at law, d. 10 Feb. 1579. Bur. in St. John's Friday St. Will proved 11 Feb. 1579—80. Arundell 9. = Margaret Hewes, sister of Robert Hewes.
- Elizabeth mar. Edward Wilson, of Walkern co. Herts.

Children of William Kympton, citizen and merchant-tailor, and — dau. of Brooke:

- William Kympton of Steple Morden. = Alice, dau. of — Dutton, of co. Cheshire.

Francis Gray, of Girton co. Cambr. = Margaret dau. and co-heir.

Children of George Kympton and Catharine:

- George Kympton, of Weston in 1634. = Dorothy dau. of Henry Beecher and sister of Sir William Beecher.
- Jane. See will of Robert, her uncle.

Child of Edward and Catharine:

- Elizabeth. Will of Robert, her uncle.

Children of William Kympton of Steple Morden and Alice:

- William 2 son.
- Henry 3 son.
- Robert Kympton of Steple Morden in 1619 and of Hitcham co. Suff. = Mary Gray.

Children of Francis Gray and Margaret:

- Mary Gray.
- Helen. Bur. in St. Mary's Aldermanbury. = Ralph Woodcock of London, alderman, born at Holmes Chapel in Cheshire. Bur. in St. Mary's Aldermanbury. Will proved 7 Sep. 1586. Windsor 47. Had 24 children. = Mary 2. wife living 1586.

Children of George Kympton and Dorothy:

- Robert Kympton 13 years old in 1619.
- Samuel.
- William.
- Francis.

Children of Ralph Woodcock and Helen:

- Ursula mar. Solomon Pordage.
- Margery Woodcock. = Robert Kympton of London, d. s. p. Oct. 1624. Bur. at St. Giles' Cripplegate.

Sons of William Kympton, Alderman and Sheriff of London:

- Robert Kympton of London, d. s. p. Oct. 1624. Bur. at St. Giles' Cripplegate. (= Margery Woodcock.)
- William Kympton of Hadley. Bur. at Hadley 5 June 1625. Will proved 8 June 1625. = Catharine.

Children of William Kympton of Hadley and Catharine:

- Robert living in 1625.
- Thomasin.
- Elizabeth. = Thomas Hilliard.
- Mary. = William Oxenbridge of Durley co. Southampton.

Harl. MSS. 1043 f. 83b; 1401 f. 69b; 1531 f. 90; 1546 f. 144; 1547 f. 56b; 1551 f. 64; 4962 f. 65b; 6769 f. 19b. Add. MSS. 6830 p. 75.

About three years before his death Robert Kympton, then described as of Woolwich co. Kent esq. had by indenture, dated 1 Sep. 19 Jac. A.D. 1621[a], being seised in his demesne as of fee, sold to Thomas Emerson of Monken Hadley esq. and Nicholas Hawes of London gent. the manor of Monken Hadley als Hadley, as well as a free chapel called Monken Hadley, and the advowson, donation, free disposal and right of patronage of the same (una cum advocacione donacione libera disposicione et jure patronatus p'dce libere capelle et ecclesie de Hadley) together with a capital messuage and five acres of land, and certain closes called Upper and Nether Brickfield, Upper and Nether lofts land, Bakers and Stockfield, containing by estimation 30½ acres &c. all which premisses were already in the occupation of the said Thomas Emerson. From this sale were excepted[b] and reserved by Robert Kympton divers messuages at Hadley in the respective tenures or occupations of Mounsloe (with 20 acres of land), Hunte, Yonge, Hucklowe, William Kympton gent. (with 3 acres), Smyth, Dodd, Rippon, Gale gent.[c] (with 3 acres) Nightingale, Offlett (with 3 acres), Tibballs, Apslyn, Cowper, Rolfe, Yonge, Ball, Percye,[d] Robbes, Throppe, and Rowland Backhouse gent. (with 8 acres).

Mr. Emerson, before acquiring possession of the manor, had been a liberal benefactor to the church, and it must have been with a pang of deep regret that Mr. Ely Tournor wrote down the entry in the burial register:

> 1624 June 20. Thomas Emersom armig. dominus huius manerii et donator huius libri, est sepultus.[e]

In this one instance only does Mr. Tournor depart from his custom of making the entries in English. To the generous lord of the manor he concedes the distinction of Latin.

The date of the earliest extant register is 1619, when a book was given for the purpose by Mr. Emerson. It contains the following title in the handwriting of Mr. Ely Tournor: Incipit Ely Tourno[r] (Deo auspicante) decimo tertio die

[a] Inrolled 23 Nov. 19 James.

[b] The enumeration of these excepted messuages goes some way towards supplying a list of the inhabitants of Hadley at that time.

[c] This was Mr. John Gale, who will be mentioned hereafter.

[d] John Peirsye witnessed the will of Mr. William Kympton.

[e] 31 Aug. 1624. Admin. granted to Jane Emerson, relict of Thomas Emerson, esq. late of Hadley co. Middlesex deceased.

mensis Martii Anno dõi 1618 (1618-9). There is also a list, in the same hand, of this and other benefactions of the patron at this date.

"This booke was the free gift of Thomas Emersom, Esq. sometimes L[d] of the Mannor of this parish of Hadly, and this booke was given in the yeare of o[r] L[d] 1619.

Itē in the same yeare he gave to the use of the poore of this parish of Hadley the some of thirty pounds of lawfull english mony, the pfitts thereof yearly to be given to the poore.

Itē in the same yeare at his owne pp coste he beawtified the Chancell and both the Isles, and the whole body of the Church with wanescott pews and sieled the church with wanescott.

Itē in the same yeare he sieled the Chancell.

Itē in the same yeare he built the screene betwixt the Chancell and the Church.

Itē he built the pulpitt, and the cover for the font the same yeare, and all this at his owne pp coste.

Itē in the same yeare he gave the Clock and Clockhouse and sett it up at his own pp coste.

Itē in the same yeare the said Thomas Emersom gave three pieces of plate, that is to say one faire guilt spout pott, one Com̃union Cupp with a Cover all guilt, one guilt plate for the bread at the Com̃union, with a Cover to putt the said plate into.

Itē at the same time the said Thomas Emersom gave a faire greene Carpett with silk frindg for the Com̃union table.

Itē he gave a faire damaske table Cloth for the Com̃union table and also a damaske napkin.

Itē a faire greene velvet Coishon for the pulpitt, with a greene Cover.

Itē he gave a faire trunck to put these ornaments into.

Itē he gave the Com̃union table.

The said Thomas Emersom, Esq. departed this mortall life the 18[th] day of June 1623 (sic), and lieth buried in the north Isle of this parish church of Hadly under the north window of the said Isle.

Judged by the standard of an improved taste these renovations were no doubt barbarisms, and what the eyes of simple Ely Tournor regarded with complacency would have met with unreserved condemnation in our own day. Still Mr. Emerson dedicated, we may be sure, the best in his power and, like David of old, in the matter of Araunah's threshing floor, would have scorned to offer unto the Lord his God of that which had cost him nothing. The actors in any given age, however uncongenial to them, cannot shake themselves altogether free from its prejudices. We must place ourselves in imagination in the year of grace 1619, in order to estimate aright what might or might not then have been done.

In 1619 the tide which, in the latter portion of Elizabeth's reign, had set steadily towards Puritanism, was now widening its channel and flowing apace, soon to carry everything before it—church, crown, constitution—in the reaction against Rome and prerogative. Laud vainly endeavoured to stem it a few years

later, and æsthetic beauty stood little chance of being understood, much less considered, under any circumstances where the merest utility was in question. The erection of a screen seems notwithstanding to indicate a certain amount of respect for ecclesiastical arrangement, unless the object were simply to separate from the rest that portion of the sacred edifice to which the lord and patron laid claim. At the same time we know that Ely Tournor was himself deprived under the Commonwealth, and any influence he may have possessed, at the period of which we are now speaking, may consequently have been, as far as it extended, on the side of decency and order. Those wainscot pews synchronized nevertheless with the introduction of that new order of things when parishioners, and even non-parishioners, if persons of weight and dignity,[a] were permitted to fence off such unsightly inclosures for the benefit of themselves and their families, and to erect galleries here there and everywhere, in defiance of the most elementary principles of architectural design. It is likely too that the wainscot ceiling now first intervened between the worshippers and the timbered roof of Tudor times, and that the beautiful arch between nave and tower was now first concealed from view. These evidences of his handiwork have all been swept away, but the name of Emerson will not be forgotten, so long as the Communion plate which he bestowed is still in use to attest his munificence. The family arms are visible upon the three pieces given by him: Az. on a bend arg. three torteaux.

The connection of this family with the parish was not of long duration. The register records the burial of Mr. Thomas Emerson, probably a grandson, 31 Dec. 1624, and by letters patent dated 2 Jan. 2 Car. A.D. 1627, the Sovereign gave his royal licence to Jane Emerson widow, Thomas Emerson esq. son and heir of Thomas Emerson esq. deceased, and Nicholas Hawes gent. to alienate the manor and free chapel to Michael Grigge esq. of London and Mary his wife, during their lives and the life of the longest liver of them, and afterwards to their heirs and assigns for ever, to be held of the King his heirs and successors in capite p servicia inde debita et de jure consueta. On the 15 of the same month,[b] by virtue of the letters patent, Michael Grigge and Mary his wife became the purchasers of the premises in question, and on the ensuing 12 Feb. (Hil. T. 2 Car. I.) presented themselves in person and demanded seisin.[c]

[a] Witness Mr. Henry Coventry of West Lodge. Supra p. 26.

[b] The deed was inrolled 5 Feb. 2 Car.

[c] De Michaele Grigge & Uxore occasionatis ad ostendendum quo Titulo tenent Manerium de *Hadley*, in Comitatu Middlesexiæ. Hilarij Recorda. 2 Car. I. Rotulo 227. Lord Treasurer's Remembrancers of Exchequer. Memoranda. Hil. 2 Car. I. No. 8. at Record Office.

On one later occasion only are the Emersons met with in connection with Hadley. A deed still extant,[a] under the date of 30 Aug. 1626, 2 Car. and made between Thomas Emerson of Monken Hadley co. Middx. esq. and Jane Emerson, mother of the said Thomas Emerson, of the parish and county aforesaid, widow, *of the one part*, and Ely Tournor of Hadley aforesaid Clerk and minister of God's word there, John Gale, Thomas Sadler, John Howkins, Godfrey Maidwell, Robert Boucher, Francis Atkinson, of Monken Hadley, gentlemen, Thomas Fletcher, Thomas Prudden, Richard Gould the elder, John Sage the younger, Thomas Bigg, John Pierson, and Thomas Huckle of Monken Hadley, yeomen, *of the other part*, witnesses that Thomas and Jane Emerson, in consideration of £40[b] paid to them by the said fourteen persons, bargain and sell all that messuage or tenement with a garden, then in the tenure of William Bowman, To have and to hold the same for ever, upon trust, nevertheless, to "ymploie all and every the anuall yssues and proffitts of all and singuler the said premisses to and for the Comon good benefitt and advantage of ye Inhabitants of the said parish." Provision is made that so often as the number of Co-feoffees is reduced to six, the vacancies are to be supplied by the inhabitants, and the vendors constitute William Cattle of Hadley, yeoman, their attorney to enter into and deliver up the premisses to the Co-feoffees.

In a report of the Commissioners of Inquiry concerning charities, dated 23 Jan. 1823, it was found that the trust had been duly kept up agreeably to the provisions, that the premises had been demised in 1728 to Charles Poulton for 99 years, from Michaelmas 1719, at 40*s.* per ann: and that the lease having become vested in Andrew Hopegood, he surrendered the same, on condition of receiving a new lease for 61 years from Lady Day 1808, at an annual rent of £8. The premises consisted of a small house and garden, abutting east and south on the premises of the said Andrew Hopegood, and formed the eastern portion of the present residence of E. H. Hay, esq.[c] who holds of the Hopegood family. In pursuance of a resolution of the Trustees made in April 1809 the rent was applied to the purchase of coals for the church stove. It had previously been laid out in coals for the poor. The house was afterwards sold to meet the contribution

[a] In the possession of the late Francis Vere Hopegood, esq.

[b] Mention is frequently made in early times of the *parish stock*, which was probably the aggregate of divers legacies and benefactions. It is not unlikely that the purchase money was supplied from this source.

[c] Rector's Churchwarden since Easter 1868 to the present time.

required of Hadley towards the erection of the Barnet Union House, and this Charity, which had been known as *Emerson's,* thus came to an end.

Mrs. Jane Emerson was buried at Hadley 29 Feb. 1628,[a] and her son Thomas Emerson esq. 30 Sep. 1631.[b] The grave had consequently closed over three generations, each bearing the same Christian and surname, within the short interval of seven years.

Concerning Mr. Michael Grigge's tenure of the manor and patronage of the free chapel nothing has come down to us. Neither have I been able to discover the date and circumstances of their next transfer. Clutterbuck,[c] in mentioning the marriage of Rechard Grigge, his daughter, to Richard Peacocke esq.[d] of Finchley, lord of the manor of Totteridge, says that he was a London alderman, but the name is not met with in the lists. Both he and his son-in-law were elected Governors of the Barnet Grammar School 29 May 1634. It was during his connection with Hadley that the country was convulsed by the Civil War, and its vicissitudes had affected the little village in the deprivation of Mr. Ely Tournor. The name occurs only once in the parish register,[e] but that of South Mimms contains the marriage of his daughter Mary, 23 Dec. 1646, and Sir Richard Gamon,[f] whom his brother-in-law, Richard Peacocke, under date of 28 Feb. 1664, constituted one of the overseers of his will. The will of Anthony Grigge, citizen and goldsmith of London, in which he bequeaths everything to his loving father Mr. Michael Grigge, was proved 9 Oct. 1621,[g] but several members of the family died intestate.[h] Letters of administration were granted,

[a] 15 Nov. 1628. Admin. granted to John Emerson, son of Thomas Emerson of Hadley, esq. of goods unadministered by Jane his relict, now also deceased.

25 Nov. 1628. Admin. granted to John Emerson the son of Jane Emerson, widow, late of the parish of St. Andrew's Holborn, deceased.

[b] 2 Dec. 1631. Admin. granted to Mary, relict of Thomas Emerson of Ratcliff in the parish of Stepney co. Midd. esq. deceased.

[c] Hist. of Hertfordshire ii. 449.

[d] Buried at Finchley, 15 Aug. 1671. Will proved P.C.C. by Rechard Peacocke, the relict, 1 Nov. 1671. Book Duke 127. Mr. Thomas Peacocke, son of Richard Peacocke esq. was bur. at Hadley 12 Aug. 1641. Par. Reg.

[e] 18 Aug. 1636, Joseph son of Michael Grigg and Mary his wife bapt.

[f] His name is not amongst the knights made by Charles I. between 1625—1645. Lansd. MS. 870 f. 68.

[g] P.C.C. Book Dale 84.

[h] 5 March 1656-7. Admin. of Michael Grigge, late in the parts beyond the sea, bachelor, granted to Benjamin his brother, to administer what has been left unadministered by Abraham, his late brother, the former admin. having been in Nov. 1645.

31 Jan. 1650-1, to Abraham, son of Michael Grigge, deceased, late of the parish of St. Gregory in the city of London, the relict renouncing. A few years later, 16 Nov. 1657, there was a renewal of the same to Benjamin, another son, in consequence of Abraham's death,[a] Mary the widow again renouncing.

Some obscurity hangs over the dealings of this period. The last recorded act of Michael Grigge bears the date of 23 July 1650,[b] when he, with John Langham,[c] of London, esq. Sir Edmund Pye,[d] of St. Martin's in the fields, knt. and bart. Sir Thomas Allen, of Finchley, knt. Richard Peacocke, of Finchley, esq. and John Musters, of Lincoln's Inn co. Middx. esq. bargained and sold the White Bear to Edward Nicholls, of South Mimms, yeoman. This could not have been long before his death, and his widow, who possessed, as we have seen, an interest in the manor and free chapel during their joint lives and the life of the survivor, was still living. We find, notwithstanding, in the parliamentary survey of 1650,[e] that the Commissioners returned Monken Hadley as a Donative presentative and that Aston esq. hath the presentation thereof.

There was at this period residing at Hadley one William Ashton son and heir of William Ashton esq. of Tingrith in Bedfordshire. He married Mary, the surviving daughter of Henry Ewer, of South Mimms, by whom he had an only child, also named Mary, who was one year old in 1634.[f] At a later date we find his widow in possession of the manor house, with a life interest therein, of which an intimation is likewise met with in Harl. MS. 5801 f. 28.[g] Mr. Ashton died 3 Oct. 1651, having signed his will[h] the previous day, and was buried at Hadley,

[a] 13 Feb. 1656-7. Admin. of Abraham Grigge, late of Warfield, co. Berks, esq. granted to Margaret his widow.

[b] Vide supra p. 46, note c.

[c] Eldest son of Edward Langham, of Gillesborough, and born at Northampton in 1584. Alderman of Portsoken Ward, and thence transferred to Bishopsgate. Elected a Governor of the Barnet Grammar School, as of Hadley, 20 July 1637. Cr. a baronet 7 June 1660. Died 13 May 1671 at Crosby House in Bishopsgate Street. Will proved P.C.C. 21 June 1671. (Book Duke 79.) The name appears in the Hadley register in 1636-7. See Burke's Peerage. Harl. MSS. 1358, f. 12^{b}; 1476, f. 84; 5533, f. 134. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, iii. 333.

[d] Edmund Pye, esq. of Leckhampstead and Bradenham co. Bucks, cr. a bart. 27 Apr. 1641, d. s.p.m. 1673.

[e] Parliamentary Surveys, Lambeth Libr. vol. xii. 134.

[f] Harl. MSS. 1234 f. 138^{b}; 1546 f. 112. Hist. of South Mimms.

[g] Le Neve's Knights. Cf. Harl. Soc. Pub. vol. viii. 87.

[h] Proved P.C.C. 14 Nov. 1651 by Mary Ashton, the relict. Book Grey 201. He leaves all his land in Faversham in Kent to his daughter Mary and her heirs for ever, speaks of his mother as still alive, of his brother Robert, of William eldest son of his brother George, of his sister Elizabeth deceased, and of his sister Worsop.

though no entry occurs in the register, at this time very defective. The tablet to his memory described him as one, "who injured no man and departed in peace."[a] As the sequel shews, such a departure may have been enviable, for a few years afterwards Mrs. Ashton contracted a second marriage with Sir Edward Turnor[b] or Turnour, who had been elected Speaker of the House of Commons in 1661, and became Chief Baron 23 May 1671. In an evil hour for his happiness this eminent lawyer espoused the widow,[c]—in his case likewise it was a second marriage,—and the terms of a bequest in his will indicate that the union turned out unfortunately. At the same time, being a just man, he could not find it in his heart to pass her over altogether without notice. Accordingly, having taken care that her jointure should be secured to her, he leaves her £20 to purchase a mourning ring, coupled with his forgiveness of all her past unkindness.

Previously, however, to September 1661, the manor and patronage of the donative had become the property of the family of Hayes.[d] John Hayes esq. of Hadley, citizen and salter of London, in his will,[e] dated the 14 of that month, "being sicke in body," devises all that the manor of Hadley *al's* Monken Hadley, and the capital messuage or manor house there, and the advowson of the church of Hadley *al's* Monken Hadley, and all other the messuages &c. at Hadley, and all that the manor of Meshaw *al's* Meshath *al's* Meshwitt co. Devon &c. and the messuage called Mynch in Bradford in the parish of Witheridge co. Devon, and lands at Ridge co. Herts, occupied by John Huddle the younger (excepting only a freehold messuage &c. at Leighton Buzzard, which he gives to his wife Margaret for life), to his executrix and overseers in trust for sale, to secure the payment of his debts and legacies. Should any portion of the preceding remain unsold, he settles it upon his son John and the heirs male of his body, with remainder to his sons William, Simon, Samuel, James, and Benjamin in succession, limited in like manner, with remainder to their heirs female, and with an ultimate remainder to his daughters Bridget, Elizabeth, Margaret, and

[a] MS. Peter le Neve, Norroy King of Arms. Monumenta Anglicana, by John le Neve. A.D. 1718.

[b] Ancestor, through females, of the Turnours, earls of Winterton. He was born in Threadneedle Street in 1617, the eldest son of Arthur Turnor, serjeant at law.

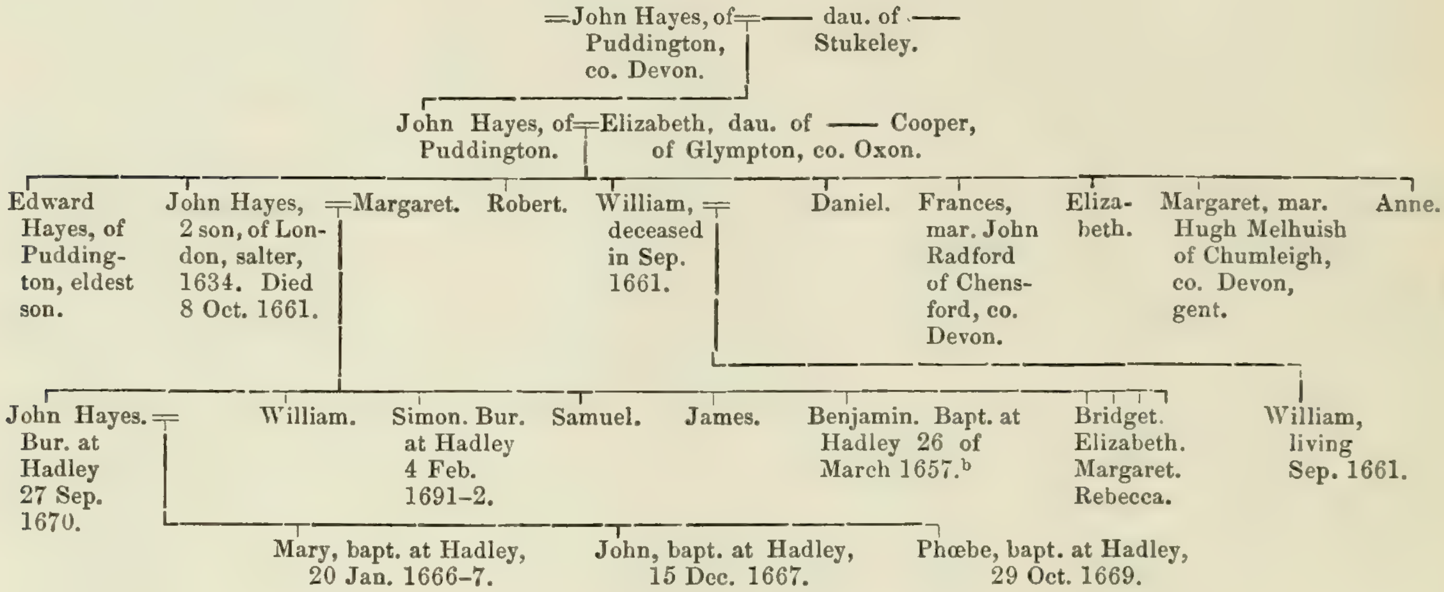
[c] The marriage must have taken place before 22 May 1665, when Mrs. Joan Ewer, the mother of Lady Mary Turnor, speaks of him, in her will, as her son-in-law, and for some reason appears to have regarded him with disfavour. P.C.C. Book Carr 19.

[d] Benjamin, son of John Hayes esq. was bapt. 26 March 1657. Hadley Par. Reg.

[e] Proved P.C.C. 22 Nov. 1661 by Margaret, the relict, sole executrix. Book May 179. On 6 June 1664 a commission was issued to John Hayes esq. the son, to administer what was left unadministered by Margaret the widow, deceased.

Rebecca and their heirs. To his daughter Bridget he gives £1500, to his daughters Elizabeth and Margaret £1000 each, and to Rebecca £800, the three younger daughters being under age. To his son William and his heirs for ever he devises the messuage or inn called the Rose and Crown and Mitre in Chipping Barnet, and he stipulates that his four younger sons shall be kept at school until they are fifteen years of age, and then apprenticed. To the poor of Hadley there is a bequest of £5 and an equal sum to the poor of High Barnet. A codicil gives authority to his executrix to grant leases for 21 years or three lives.

Pedigree of HAYES.[a]



Mr. Hayes had constituted his "worthy friend," Sir Edward Turnor knt.[c] one of the overseers of the will, and in the rate book of 1678[d] we find Lady Mary Turnor occupying the manor house for her life, probably by virtue of the power created by the codicil. However this may have been, she carried herself in that position with a high hand. The parish records speak of her as the lady of the manor, and in February 1693-4 she appears to have taken possession of the

[a] Harl. MS. 1476 f. 458[b]. Visitation of London 1633, 1634. A marginal note states that the arms are respited for a fortnight for proof. Cf. Harl. MS. 1538 f. 96[b]. Burke's General Armory gives for the bearings of Hayes of Hadley, Az. on a pale or, three bulls' heads couped sa.

[b] Admin. of the goods of Benjamin Hayes, bachelor, late of the ship Bengal, merchant, in the East Indies, was granted, 7 Oct. 1678, to Simon Hayes, the brother and next of kin.

[c] He died on circuit at Bedford, 4 March 1676.

[d] With the exception of the year 1668, this is the earliest date, to which these records go back. She may have taken up her abode at Hadley upon becoming a widow for the second time.

church key and to have delivered the same to Mr. Lee, when appointed to succeed Mr. Tayler. The patronage had, notwithstanding, passed previously to this, at least by way of mortgage, from the Hayes family to the Hon. Vere Booth. This lady was the only child (by his first marriage with Lady Katharine Clinton, dau. and coheir of Theophilus earl of Lincoln), of Sir George Booth bart. cr.[a] 20 Apr. 1661, baron Delamere, *of Dunham Massie co. Chester*, in recognition of his past services to the royal cause. Her father, dying 8 Aug. 1684,[b] was succeeded by her half-brother Henry, 2nd baron, who played so conspicuous a part in the events which led to the accession of William and Mary. A Whig of some eminence, he had been committed to the Tower on an accusation of having been concerned in Monmouth's insurrection, and in the month of Dec. 1685 was brought to trial in the Lord High Steward's court and acquitted. The law was strained to the utmost to procure a condemnation, whilst Jeffreys, who presided, owed him a personal grudge, and bore himself with extreme insolence and injustice towards the prisoner. After the acquittal Lady Rachel Russell wrote to her correspondent, Dr. Fitzwilliam, 15 Jan. 1686, "I do bless God that he has caused some stop to be put to the shedding of blood in this poor land." On 16 Nov. 1688 he took up arms in Cheshire in behalf of the Prince of Orange, and on the 17 of the following month was sent with Halifax and Shrewsbury from William, then at Windsor, to James, to demand the fallen monarch's removal from Whitehall. He married Mary dau. and sole heiress of Sir James Langham bart.[c] of Cottesbrooke, and in April 1690 was advanced to the dignity of earl of Warrington.[d]

By indenture bearing date 7 March 1683-4 Simon Hayes, therein described as citizen and druggist of London, being entitled to the fee simple of the estate,

[a] The elder son of William Booth, who had died 26 Apr. 1636 in the lifetime of his father Sir George Booth, the first baronet, by Vere, second daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Egerton, eldest son of Thomas, viscount Brackley, Lord Chancellor. Burke's Ext. Peerage.

[b] Will dated 1 Aug. 1671; proved P.C.C. 14 Jan. 1698 by George, earl of Warrington, his grandson.

[c] The son and successor of Sir John Langham, 1st. bart. of Cottesbrooke, co. Northants (supra p. 64 note [c]). The will of Sir James Langham was proved by dame Dorothy, his widow, P.C.C. 15 Sep. 1699 (Book Pett 147).

[d] Macaulay, Hist. of England ii. 36. 38. 40. 511. 581. iii. 539. Burke's Extinct Peerage. Clarendon remarks that a little thing sufficed to put lord Delamere into a passion. In a poem entitled the King of Hearts, he is described as "a restless malcontent even when preferred," whilst his countenance itself furnished a subject for satire:

"His boding looks a mind distracted show;
And envy sits engraved upon his brow."

subject to the life interest of dame Mary Turnor, mortgaged the same to the Hon. Vere Booth, of the parish of St. Giles' in the Fields, to secure the sum of £1600. The indenture in question conveys "all that the manor of Hadley *al's* Munken Hadley and the Courts & Perquisites thereto belonging; and all that capital messuage or Manor House situate and being in Hadley *al's* Munken Hadley aforesaid &c. then or then late in the possession of dame Mary Turnor her undertenants and assignee, & all those 14 acres of meadow and pasture ground therewith enjoyed or thereunto belonging & all those two messuages then or late in the several tenures of — Howard and of her the said dame Mary Turnor, & all other the messuages &c. of him the said Simon Hayes expectant upon the death of the said dame Mary Turnor" &c.

Mr. Simon Hayes was buried at Hadley 4 Feb. 1691-2, and a year afterwards, 7 Feb. 1692-3, letters of administration of the goods of Simon Hayes, late of Hadley, bachelor, deceased, were granted to the Hon. Vere Booth, Spinster.[a] In the mean time we may surmise that dame Mary Turnor reigned supreme as titular lady of the manor, and no doubt caused her will to be felt. This singular person, whose remarkable testament will be found in the History of South Mimms, to which her own family more directly belonged, passed the latter years of her life at Hadley, and there died in January 1701. She was buried at South Mimms on the 16 of that month, and must have lived to a very advanced age,[b]—a circumstance which may have aggravated, though it could scarcely have originated, her eccentricities. It is likely enough that Mrs. Vere Booth, residing at a distance, and having at best a deferred interest in the parish during Lady Turnor's lifetime, may have been content to let her act in all things without being interfered with.

From the will[c] of Vere Booth herself it may be concluded that she had taken care to secure her reversion, by foreclosing the mortgage effected by Simon Hayes. It is at all events open to conjecture that there must have been a certain amount of doubt respecting the title. "I give devise and bequeath," she says in that instrument, wherein she is described as of Adderbury co. Oxon, spinster, "unto my dear brother the Hon. George Booth esq. and to the Right Hon. the Lady Lucy Booth[d] his wife, and to their heirs executors administrators and

[a] Act Book 1693, f. 22.

[b] Hist. of South Mimms 63 note [b].

[c] Dated 16 March, 1 Geo. A.D. 1714-5, and proved P.C.C. 21 Feb. 1717-8. Book Tenison, 24. She was in her 74th year at the time of her decease. Burke's Extinct Peerage.

[d] Daughter of Robert, viscount Bodmin (ob. v. p.) eldest son of John Robartes, earl of Radnor. Henry the only son of George and Lady Lucy Booth had died before his parents, unmarried.

assigns, the manor of Hadley *al's* Monken Hadley in the county of Middlesex, and all and every other the manors messuages lands tenements and hereditaments whatsoever with their and every of their rights members and appurtenances, which have at any time heretofore been conveyed to me or to trustees for me by Simon Hayes, late of London druggist, or his trustees, as and for a security for £1600, principal money and interest, and all my estate right title and interest of in to or out of all and every the manors lands tenements and hereditaments, which I am or at the time of my death shall be any way intituled unto by virtue of any conveyance or assignment from the said Simon Hayes, or his trustees, or any claiming under him, or by virtue of any decree of foreclosure of the equity[a] of redemption of the manors lands and hereditaments mortgaged to or in trust for me by the said Simon Hayes, and all and every sum and sums of money that shall at the time of my death be due to me by virtue of any mortgage or mortgages from the said Simon Hayes and the whole benefit and advantage of the same."

By indenture dated[b] 28 Oct. 1724 the Hon. George Booth, described as of St. James' Westminster, Lord of the Manor of Hadley, "did demise grant and to farm let, for 38½ years, to Percival Chandler, all the ground belonging to the Old Manor House of Hadley aforesaid together with all the stables and other buildings (except the stone pavement which the said George Booth did thereby reserve to his own disposal) as also all the timber trees &c. and also all and singular the fish ponds and other ponds in and upon the Common belonging to the said manor of Hadley." In the will of Mr. Booth, a very brief document, published and declared 18 Feb. 1717, shortly after his acquisition of the manor, there is no mention of his wife Lady Lucy, who was probably already deceased. Commencing with the words, "Being in Christian charity with all the world," after a few small bequests, he appoints Mrs. Hester Pinney to be his sole executrix. In a codicil, dated 31 March 1726, he releases the same lady from all claims upon her and confirms the previous will, which was proved 4 July 1726.[c]

[a] From the title deeds of the manor we learn that, in 1731, a suit in Chancery was instituted by the only son and heir at law of Thomas Hayes, nephew and heir at law of Simon Hayes, against Hester Pinney and the surviving executor of Vere Booth, to redeem the mortgage, but it does not seem to have been proceeded with. It was alleged, to account for the delay, that, when Simon Hayes died, his nephew Thomas was in the East Indies, and died in Guinea, without returning to England, leaving plaintiff an infant.

[b] Deeds belonging to the manor, to which access has been allowed me through the kindness of Mrs. Hyde, the present lady of the manor.

By Hester Pinney, spinster. P.C.C. Book Plymouth 139.

Hadley is not even mentioned in this will, which contains no disposition that might be construed to affect the manor. Hester Pinney seems, notwithstanding, to have assumed possession of it, as executrix, nor is there a trace of her title having been contested. There is a certain ambiguity as to her connection with Mr. George Booth. In the title deeds it is broadly asserted that she had been his mistress, but it is fair to remember that assertion is not proof. At the date of the will she had attained the mature age of fifty-nine, having been born, it is said, in 1658; besides continuing to live, as is undoubted, on terms of intimate relationship with her own family. She was the eighth of ten children of Mr. John Pinney, a nonconformist minister, who, having originally received episcopal ordination, renounced it under the Commonwealth, and was re-ordained by the Presbyterians. Upon the ejection of Thomas Fuller, he succeeded to the vicarage of Broadwinsor, in Dorsetshire. Dr. Fuller, when he came back at the Restoration, is reported to have heard Mr. Pinney preach and to have found him so acceptable to his flock, that he declined to dispossess him. The Bartholomew Act nevertheless compelled him to retire, and he was subsequently, during ten years, pastor of a congregation in Dublin, only returning to England at the accession of James II. He resided for some years after this at Bettiscombe, in the parish of Broadwinsor, where he had property, and was there buried in 1705. On his tombstone he is, or was, described as John Pynney, gent. Minister of the Gospel. Calamy says of him that "he was much of a gentleman, a considerable scholar, a very facetious yet grave and serious companion, and an eloquent, charming preacher."[a]

It is evident that Hester Pinney had misgivings as to the security of her title under Mr. George Booth's will, and she adopted precautions in consequence with a view to strengthening it. With this object before her, by lease and release, dated 9 and 10 March 1737, wherein she was described as of the parish of St. Andrew's Holborn, in consideration of natural love and affection, she conveyed, subject to her life interest, to her nephew Azariah Pinney[b] of Bettiscombe co. Dorset esq. and his heirs for ever, the manor of Hadley, together with the capital messuage, formerly in the occupation of dame Mary Turnor, and 14 acres of land, as well as the advowson and perpetual donation of the church at Hadley. Her will, in which she was similarly described, dated 13 Feb. was proved P.C.C.

[a] Nonconformists' Memorial ii. 119.

[b] High Sheriff of Dorsetshire in 1749. Burke's Landed Gentry.

Pedigree of PINNEY.

John Pynney, of Broadwinsor, co. Dorset, nonconformist minister, b. 1620, d. 1705. = Jane Ffrench.

Their children:

- John d. young.
- Jane. = William Hoare.
- Mary b. 1648 mar. 1675. = William Clarke of Leigh in Halstock, gent.
- Sarah. = Hugh Gundry.
- Rachel. = ... Scrimshire, al's Scrimshaw, of London. Will proved P.C.C. 3 Mar. 1742.
- John d. unm. 1679.
- Caleb d. an infant.
- Hester, lady of the manor of Hadley, b. 1658 d. unm. 1739.
- Nathaniel Pinney, barrister at law, b. 1659 d. 1724. Admin. 15 Mar. 1725-6. = Naomi, dau. of Anthony Gay, mentioned in the will of Hester Pinney. Admin. 7 Nov. 1741.
- Azariah Pinney b. 1661, of the island of Nevis. Will dated at Nevis 28 March 1718, d. in London 1719. = Mary ...... living 1718.

Children of Jane and William Hoare:

- Grace mar. ...... Snayden. Mentioned in the will of Hester Pinney.
- Mary.

Children of Mary and William Clarke:

- William Clarke, of Newlands in Halstock d. unm. 1733.
- John Clarke of London, attorney, d. 1730. = Martha dau. of alderman James Gomm.
- Joseph Clarke d. 1724.

Child of Sarah and Hugh Gundry:

- John Gundry, mentioned in the will of Hester Pinney.

Children of Nathaniel and Naomi Pinney:

- John Pinney, d. unm. 1715.
- Azariah Pinney, b. 1708, of Bettiscombe, esq. succ. to Hadley 28 Feb. 1739-40, d. s. p. 1760. High Sheriff of Dorset 1749. = Jane dau. of Rev. Joseph Paull. Mar. 1746.

Child of Azariah and Mary Pinney:

- John Pinney, of the Middle Temple. Chief Justice of Nevis; d. in Nevis 1720. Admin. 26 June 1720. = Mary dau. and heiress of William Helme of Nevis.

Children of John Clarke and Martha:

- Martha Clarke, mentioned in the will of Hester Pinney, m. 1st Rev. William Harland, 2nd Rev. William Dawson.
- Alicia Clarke dau. and coheir mar. 1st in 1737, mar. 2ndly, in 1747, John Hayne, by whom she had issue. = Michael Pretor, gent. of Okehampton, co. Devon, and Chard, co. Somerset. Will proved P.C.C. 13 July 1744. Anstis 176.

Children of John Pinney and Mary Helme:

- George William, living 1718. Will of Azariah Pinney, of Nevis.
- Sophia, living 1718.
- John Frederick Pinney, b. in Nevis 1718; a West India planter; succ. to Hadley; d. unm. 11 Nov. 1762. Will proved P.C.C. 4 Dec. 1762. St. Eloy 521.

Children of Alicia Clarke and Michael Pretor:

- Azariah Pretor, b. 1738, d. 1744.
- John Pretor esq. b. 1740, d. 23 Jan. 1818. Assumed the surname and arms of Pinney, by royal licence, under will of John Frederick Pinney. Gu. three crescents or, issuing from each a cross-crosslet fitchée arg. Crest. An armed hand and arm ppr. holding a cross-crosslet fitchée arg. His grandson is the present William Pinney esq. of Somerton Erleigh, co. Somerset.

3 March[a] 1739-40 by her sister, Rachel Scrimshire or Scrimshaw, widow, and the said Azariah Pinney.

Azariah Pinney, who had built for himself a good house at Bettiscombe, being now in possession, a fine was levied in Trinity term, 25 Geo. II. of the Hadley property, between Joseph Paull,[b] clerk, plaintiff, and the said Azariah and Jane his wife deforciants. He made his will 4 Jan. 1758-9[c] and, having no issue, devised all his manors, messuages, advowsons, &c. to his cousin John Frederick Pinney[d] and his assigns for life, remainder to his sons and daughters successively in tail male, remainder to John Pinney, of Horwood, in the parish of Thorncombe, co. Devon, clothier, (who had married Sarah the sister of Azariah's brother-in-law Mr. Joseph[e] Paull), and his heirs male, remainder to John Pretor, son of Michael Pretor, deceased, and his heirs male, remainder to the daughters of the said John Pinney of Horwood, remainder to the daughters of the said John Pretor; the name of Pinney to be assumed in case of the succession of a female. He desired to be buried with his late wife in the chancel of the parish church of Wayford.

The said John Frederick Pinney dying unmarried 11 Nov. 1762, aged 44, John Pinney[f] of Horwood entered, and died leaving John Pinney of Blackdown, esq. his only son, who accordingly became tenant in tail male, an estate which, by a common recovery, suffered in Michaelmas term, 20 Geo. III. 1779, he converted into one of fee simple. The result of this procedure was the eventual separation of the advowson from the manor, with which it had previously been held uninterruptedly during more than 200 years. William Baker esq. of Bayfordbury purchased the patronage of the donative of Mr. Pinney, 14 Sep. 1786, and a few years afterwards, by lease and release of 14 and 15 Jan. 1791, the manor, together with the house formerly dame Mary Turnor's, and 14 acres of land, was sold to Peter Moore esq, of Hadley and Edward Moore, his brother,

[a] Book Browne 85. Hester Pynney was bur. at Hadley 28 Feb. 1739-40. Hadley Par. Reg.

[b] Probably Joseph Paul, of Trin. Coll. Oxford, B.A. 22 Feb. 1728. Azariah Pinney married the daughter of Joseph Paul, clerk.

[c] Proved P.C.C. 20 June 1760, by John Frederick Pinney esq. sole executor. Book Lynch 252.

[d] The only surviving child of John Pinney, only son of Azariah Pinney of the island of Nevis in the West Indies, merchant, by Mary his wife. John Pinney survived his father, Azariah, but died before he had proved his father's will.

[e] Probably Joseph Paul of New College Oxford, B.A. 18 April 1755.

[f] Letters of administration of the estate of Bernard Pynney of Thorncombe were granted, 27 May 1676, to John the son. On 5 March 1736-7 was proved P.C.C. the will of John Pinney of Thorncombe, clothier, who left Ann his wife and a son and heir John, besides Mary, Richard, Ann, Hannah and Robert. He was possessed of a leasehold estate called Hewood or Heiwood, the same, no doubt, which is elsewhere called *Horwood.* (Book Wake 66.)

to the use of the former. A further disintegration of the property took place in 1795, when, Mr. Moore continuing to hold the manor, the house and 16 acres of land were purchased by Sir Charles Pole, bart. of London, as trustee for one Eleazar [a] Philip Salomons, then in occupation. In 1805 Sir Charles Pole, his sons and partners, and Eleazar Philip Salomons conveyed the house and land, still styled in the deed the Manor House, to Bennis Berry, of Dover St. who in 1809 mortgaged it to Sir Charles Blicke and others. In 1810 it was sold to Mr. Nathaniel Harden, and in 1859, after several intermediate tenancies, passed from the Harden family into the possession of Louis Charles Tennyson d'Eyncourt [b] esq. the police magistrate, its present owner.

After parting with the house in 1795 Mr. Moore, as we have seen, retained the manor, consisting of little else than certain manorial rights over 28a. 0. 6. of uninclosed ground, now Hadley Green. His will, dated 11 May 1827, wherein he is described as of Edwards Street Portman Square, and by which he devised all his real and personal estate to his daughter, Maria Sarah Moore, spinster, subject to the payment of a legacy to his son Macartney Moore, was proved 3 June 1828. In early life he had gone out to India in the civil service, and on his return furnished Burke and Sheridan with important materials for their attack upon the administration of Warren Hastings. This circumstance and the intimacy of his brother Edward with lord Holland brought him into relations with the leading members of the opposition, and he remained a staunch Whig from first to last. Having previously sat for Tewkesbury, in 1802 he unsuccessfully contested Coventry, but one of the members returned being unseated on petition, the seat was gained in the election that followed. It is said that this election cost him £25,000, but he continued to represent Coventry for twenty-five years, having for his colleague, during a portion of the time, the late Right Hon. Edward Ellice.[c] At the erection of Drury Lane Theatre he became Chairman of the Committee of management, and his well-known aptitude for business caused him in 1824 and 1825 to be much sought after by the projectors of new companies. His affairs becoming involved in consequence, he was compelled to leave England for the Continent in order to escape arrest. He first resided at Dieppe, occupying himself in writing the memoirs of his own life and times, but

[a] Incapable at that time, as a Jew, of holding lands.

[b] Third son of the late Right Hon. Charles Tennyson d'Eyncourt, of Bayons Manor, Lincolnshire, M.P. fer Lambeth, and first cousin of Mr. Alfred Tennyson, the Poet Laureate. Burke's Landed Gentry; *Tennyson d'Eyncourt, of Bayons Manor.*

[c] Died 20 Sep. 1863.

Pedigree of THACKERAY and WEBB.

ARMS OF THACKERAY (granted 10 Feb. 1755 to Dr Thomas Thackeray, of Harrow.) Vert, a dart, point downwards, betw. two garbs or; on a chief purp. a cherub's head ppr. betw. two estoiles of six points arg.

CREST. An eagle, wings elevated ppr. charged on the breast with a cherub's head of the last, and holding in the beak an arrow as in the arms. Burke's Gen. Armory. Her. and Gen. J. G. Nichols, ii. 450.

Timothy Thackeray, parish clerk of Hampsthwaite, near Harrogate, co. York, where the family had been long seated. bapt. 24 Nov. 1664, bur. 5 Apr. 1722.

Richmond Webb, captain in the Guards, descended from the family of Richmond *alias* Webb, of Rodborne Cheney, co. Wilts, bur. at St. Margaret's Rochester. Will proved P.C.C. 18 Dec. 1734. Arg. a cross moline az. betw. four estoiles pierced gu. Crest. A tilting spear arg. headed or, broken in three parts, one piece erect, the other two in saltire, enfiled with a ducal coronet of the last. = Anne —— bur. at St. Margaret's Rochester 1733.

Thomas Thackeray, D.D. eldest son, scholar of Eton and fellow of King's Coll. Cambridge, head master of Harrow 1746. born at Hampsthwaite 1693, d. 1760. = Anne, dau. and coheir of John Woodward esq. d. 23 Jan. 1797, aged 88.

Lieut Col. Richmond Webb, only son and heir, commanded a company at Culloden. Of Great Queen St. Westminster, d. 27 May 1785, aged 70, and bur. in east cloister of Westminster Abbey. (1) = Sarah, dau. of J. Griffyths, of Downton, co. Radnor, esq. d. in Upper Seymour St. Portman Sq. 8 June 1789, aged 65, and bur. in east cloister of Westminster Abbey.

Thomas Thackeray, of Cambridge, surgeon, 6th son. b. at Eton 26 March, 1736, d. 27 Nov. 1806. Gent's Mag. vol. 76. p. 1176. = Lydia, dau. of Richard Whish, of Cambridge. d. 8 Oct. 1830, aged 93.

William Makepeace Thackeray, 7th son and youngest and 16th child, b. at Harrow 20 June 1749, of Bengal Civil Service, d. 11 March 1813 and bur. at Hadley. = Amelia Webb, d. 29 Apr. 1810, aged 52, and bur. at Hadley.

Richmond Webb.

Sarah. = Peter Moore, esq. **lord of the manor of Hadley.**

Charlotte.

Augusta, mar. Thomas Evans.

Rev. John Richard Thackeray, **rector of Hadley,** 4th son. d. 19 Aug. 1846, aged 74. = Marianne, dau of William Franks esq. d. 17 March 1855, aged 72.

William, a member of the Council in India.

Amelia, bapt. at South Mimms, bur. at Hadley 12 Apr 1780. (Amelia Thackeray from Kits Inn).

Richmond Thackeray, of Indian Civil Service, bapt. at South Mimms, 5 Dec. 1781, d. 13 Sep. 1815. = Anne Becher, d. 18 Dec. 1864 aged 78. Mar. secondly, Major Henry Carmichael Smyth, bro. of Sir J. C. Smyth, bart.

Emily m. Dr. Halliday in India.
Selina m. Robert Langslow esq.
Augusta b.* 17 Feb. 1785, m. John Talbot Shakespear, esq. (2)
Charlotte-Sarah * b. 2 Sep. 1786 m. John Ritchie, esq.

Webb, b.* 31 March 1788, d. unm. in India.
Thomas,* b. 10 July 1789, d. unm. in India.
St. John, b.* 22 Apr. 1791, d. unm. in India.
Francis* b. 13 May 1793, of Pemb. Coll. Cambr B.A. 1814, M.A. 1817, in Holy Orders, mar. Mary Anne Shakespear, d. 1842.
Charles,* b. 11 Aug. 1794, a barrister, d. unm.

Rev. Richard William Thackeray, b. 6 May 1815, scholar at Eton 1830, B.A. of Pemb. Coll. Cambr. 1837, rector of Hunsdon co. Herts 1845, d. 1 June 1861, leaving issue. = Anne, dau. of William Grasett, esq. of Sundridge Kent. mar. 6 Dec. 1849.

Marianne Emma b. 20 Oct. 1812, d. unm.

Georgiana-Hodgson, b. 7 Jan. 1814, mar. at Hadley 12 May 1842. = Rev. Joseph Taylor M.A. incumbent of St. Thomas' Stockport, d. 24 May, 1876, leaving issue.

William Makepeace Thackeray, *the Author*, b. at Calcutta 18 July 1811, d. suddenly 24 Dec. 1863. = Isabella, dau. of Col. Matthew Shawe.

Anne Isabella m. Richmond Ritchie.
Jane d. young.
Harriet m. Leslie Stephen.

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(1) Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers, 439. 446. Of this family was Major Gen. John Richmond Webb (d. 1724), mentioned in *Esmonde*, who received the thanks of Parliament for his successful action at Wynendael, 28 Sept. 1708, which led to the surrender of Lille. Marlborough Despatches, iv. 242, v. 653. Lord Stanhope's Reign of Queen Anne, 357.

* Bapt. at Hadley. Hadley Par. Reg.

(2) Of this marriage were the late Sir Richmond Shakespear and a dau. Augusta, who m. 1828, the distinguished General Sir John Low, K.C.B., G.C.S.I., of Clatto, Fifeshire, who d. 10 Jan. 1880, aged 91.

Pedigree of MOORE (claiming descent from the Chancellor, Sir Thomas More).

Arms of Moore. 1 and 4. Arg. a chevron engr. betw. three moorcocks. 2. On a chev. betw. three unicorns' heads erased sa. as many bezants. 3. Or three lions rampant purp. for Cresacre.

Crest. A moor's head, affrontée, ppr. wreathed round the temples, a jewel pendent in the ears, arg.

Rev. Edward Moore, L.L.B. vicar of Over, co. Chester, son of John More, b. 1696, d. 1755. =

Arthur Windus M.A. vicar of Hormead Magna and afterwards rector of Little Munden co Herts. d. 1742. = Elizabeth, dau. of William and Susannah Plummer, of Westmill-Bury.

Children of Rev. Edward Moore:

- Edward Moore esq. of the Inner Temple, of Stockwell House, Surrey, b. 1735, d. 1792. = Sarah Gray Saunders, 2 wife.
- George b. 1740.
- Thomas b. 1745.
- Paul b. 1750.
- Bernard b. 1753, twin with Peter.
- Peter Moore esq. lord of the manor of Hadley, b. 1753, d. at Abbeville, 5 May 1828. = Sarah, dau. of Lieut. Col. Richmond Webb. Bur. at Hadley (from London) 17 June 1797.
- Robert b. 1754.
- Esther. = Arthur Windus.

Children of Edward Moore and Sarah Gray Saunders:

- Rev. William Moore D.D. vicar of Spalding co. Linc. b. 1785, d. 1866. Canon of Lincoln. Chairman of Quarter Sessions. = Anne Elizabeth Johnson.
- Rev. Charles Moore, rector of Wyberton, co. Linc. J.P. 1859, b. at Stockwell House, 11 Sep. 1787; living 1880. = Elizabeth Anna, dau. and heir of Thomas Tunnard esq. of Frampton Hall.

Children of Peter Moore and Sarah Webb:

- Richmond d.unm. 14 Oct. 1796 aged 20, bur. at Hadley (from London).
- Edward E.I.C.S. d.s.p. in India.
- George-Peter M.P. for Queenborough 1802. Accepted the Chiltern Hundreds March 1806.
- St. John b. 11 Apr. 1787, bapt. at Hadley, E.I.C.S. d. s. p. in India.
- Macartney Moore b. 7 June 1788, bapt. at Hadley. E.I.C.S. d. 15 June 1831, bur. at Hadley. = Henrietta, youngest dau. of John Halhed esq. d. at Yately Hants. 25 Aug. 1837 aged 35. Bur. at Yately. (1)
- Thomas Perring b. 10 July 1789, bapt. at Hadley. E.I.C.S. d. s. p. in India.
- Maria Sarah Moore d. 26 Jan. 1842, aged 61. Bur. at Hadley.
- Louisa mar. General Jones.
- Amelia.

Child of Esther and Arthur Windus:

- Thomas Windus, of Stamford Hill, bur. at Hadley 22 Dec. 1854, aged 76.

Son of Rev. William Moore and Anne Elizabeth Johnson:

- Rev. Edward Moore M.A. vicar of Spalding 1866. Now of Stockwell. F.S.A. Canon of Lincoln.

Son of Rev. Charles Moore and Elizabeth Anna Tunnard:

- Charles Thomas John Moore esq. of Frampton Hall, co. Linc. D.L. F.S.A. Col. of Royal South Lincoln Militia. Chairman of Quarter Sessions.

Children of Macartney Moore and Henrietta Halhed:

- Mary Anne dau. of Lieut. Col. Olivier of Potterne Wilts. = Richmond Moore captain R.N.
- Rev. Peter Halhed Moore M.A. vicar of Chadkirk Cheshire. = Edith Georgiana youngest dau. of Lieut. Col. Olivier. 1 wife.

(1) The inscription on her memorial tablet in the N. transept of Hadley church states that it was placed there by her four children.

his mind was much harassed by his reverses, and he removed thence to Abbeville, where he died on the 5 May 1828, and was there buried.[a]

> Nessun maggior dolore,
> Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
> Nella miseria.[b]

In Nov. 1831, the Rev. William Moore, of Spalding, co. Lincoln, D.D. and the Rev. Charles Moore, of Moulton, co. Lincoln, clerk, as trustees for Maria Sarah Moore, sold the manor to John Bonus Child esq. for £300. Mr. Child died 10 July 1832, and after the decease of his relict, Mrs. Frances Child, in Feb. 1855, her residence, together with the manor, was purchased by the late Henry Hyde esq. of Ely Place Holborn, who, dying at Hadley 25 May 1877, aged 68, was succeeded by Mrs. Julia Hyde, his widow, now lady of the manor. The house, in which Mr. Child resided, has been known as the manor-house since the date of his purchase. It was occupied for many years by William Makepeace Thackeray,[c] esq. brother-in-law of Mr. Peter Moore and grandfather of the late distinguished author. The Indian Civil Service was largely recruited from both these families, as well as from the Garrows, resident at the same time at Hadley. Many, as will appear from the pedigrees, went out and never returned.

THE FREE-CHAPEL AND DONATIVE.

Whatever church or other ecclesiastical structure originally existed at Hadley, there can be little question of its direct dependence upon Walden Abbey. The references met with to a hermitage in very early documents, even so early as Geoffrey de Mandeville's grant, would seem to point to some monastic cell, on the outskirts of or embosomed in the great forest of North Middlesex, which, however founded in the first instance, was afterwards served by ecclesiastics connected with that monastery. It has been mentioned[d] above that, in certain benefactions of the Frowyk family, in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II., they distinguished it by the appellation, not of the church of Hadley but, of Monkeschurch, and such a distinction was perhaps significant. Hadley may have been commonly regarded at that period less as a separate parish than as an outlying possession of the monks. In the deeds quoted from abbot Pentelowe's

[a] Gent's Mag. vol. 98, p. 567.   [b] Dante, Inf. v. 121.

[c] Upon first coming into the neighbourhood we find him living at Kits End, or Kicks End, in the parish of South Mimms, where he probably preceded Mr. Francis Barronneau at New Lodge. South Mimms. Par. Reg. Hadley Par. Reg. Mr. Thackeray was elected a Governor of the Barnet Grammar School, 6 July 1782, and Mr. Peter Moore, 22 May 1790.

[d] Supra, p. 7.

chartulary we have seen that these possessions were gradually acquiring augmentation through the piety or superstition of the previous owners of the soil. It is scarcely to be expected that much additional light will be thrown upon this subject, but we at least possess the certainty that a church of some kind was erected here at a remote date, and that the little memorial brass relating to the Grene family, and still extant, formed a feature in it after the year 1442. The manor houses of Old Fold and Ludgraves already occupied the positions which still bear those names, and there may have been, but here we have only the merest tradition to rest upon, a building inhabited by the chaplain on the site of the residence now known as The Priory.[a] One is led to regret in this instance that there is nothing more solid than tradition to rest upon.

The spot must have been picturesque enough in those early days. Many a wanderer through the wild and tangled chace would have rejoiced to hear the sound of the monks' bell and thereby draw an assurance that the little chapel of Our Lady of Hadley was not far distant, with the market town of Chipping Barnet beyond. Nor should considerations of a yet higher import be excluded from the reflection. In a rude unsettled age the testimony of religious truth was by this means preserved in many a remote and obscure region, where otherwise only the grossest darkness could have prevailed. The hunter, as he pursued his game, or the woodman, whenever the note borne on the breeze arrested his uplifted axe, would have been conscious at all events that the sound had to do with the concerns of another state of existence and implied in some sort a summons from the world unseen. Ridicule may attach to many of the puerilities and vain superstitions that accompanied the decadence of the monastic system in England, whilst a stronger feeling than ridicule will be aroused in thoughtful minds over the recollection of its ignorance and immorality, but who that has read Macaulay's glowing tribute to the action of the monasteries during the dark middle ages can fail to contemplate the part they fulfilled with tender interest? Even their bitterest detractors must allow that art and letters, with civilization in their train, were kept alive by such instrumentality, at a season when otherwise they must have perished out of the land.

We must, however, pass on to the Reformation period, when it will be remembered that, in the conveyance of the manor by Robert Staunford to William Kympton, was included the free chapel of Monken Hadley.[b] The word *donation*

[a] The illustrated copy of Lysons in the Guildhall Library contains a drawing of this house at the end of the last century, with an assumption that it belonged anciently to the Abbey of Walden.

[b] Supra, p. 51.

occurs in the nomination of Barnard Carrier to the cure, and the benefice is styled a Donative in the Parliamentary Survey of 1650. Concerning the origin and peculiar attributes of Free Chapels opinions have varied, but there can be no doubt that the distinction is grounded on their freedom or exemption from all *ordinary* jurisdiction, and it has been said that they may continue such, in point of *exemption from ordinary visitation*, though the Head or Members receive Institution from the Ordinary.[a] It would seem that they partook of the nature of private chapels,[b] founded by wealthy persons residing at some distance from their parish church, except that originally, either directly or indirectly, they were probably all of royal constitution; as if the King, for example, should *license any subject* to found such a chapel. Bishop Tanner[c] says of them,—"Free chapels were places of religious worship, exempt from all ordinary jurisdiction, save only that the incumbents were generally instituted by the bishop, and inducted by the archdeacon of the place. Most of these chapels were built upon the manors and ancient demesnes of the crown, whilst in the King's hands, for the use of himself and retinue, when he came to reside there. And when the crown parted with those estates, the chapels went along with them, and retained their first freedom; but some lords having had free chapels in manors that do not appear to have been ancient demesne of the crown, such are thought to have been built and privileged by grants from the crown."

To meet the expenses of his wars with France and Scotland, Henry VIII., in 1544, obtained a parliamentary grant of all chantries, colleges, hospitals, and free chapels, with the lands thereunto belonging, to be united to the crown.[d] Dying, however, before he had taken the benefit of this grant, the subject was again brought forward soon after his son's accession. On 6 Dec. 1547[e] a bill with this object was brought into the House of Lords. It encountered a strong opposition from Cranmer on the one hand, and from the popish bishops on the other. The former, in the interest of the impoverished clergy, pleaded for delay until the majority of the Crown, but an Act was rapidly passed,[f] giving the King "all such colleges, free chapels, and chantries as were in being within five years of

[a] Gibson's Codex i. 210.

[b] Treatise on the law relating to the Church and Clergy, by H. W. Cripps, 3rd ed. 1857, pp. 414-5.

[c] Notit. Monast. Pref. 28.

[d] 37 H. 8. c. 14. Heylyn, Ecclesia Restaurata i. 25, 102 (Ecclesiastical History Soc. 1849).

[e] On 17 Nov. 1547, the rood was pulled down in St. Paul's and throughout England. Stow's Annals, ed. 1615, p. 595.

[f] 1 Edw. 6. c. 14. Heylyn i. 102

the present Session, which were not in the actual possession of the said late King, &c. other than such as by the King's commissions should be altered, transported, & changed; together with all manors, lands, tenements, rents, tithes, pensions, portions, and other hereditaments, to the same belonging; after the feast of Easter then next coming." On 24 Dec. the parliament was prorogued.[a]

According to lord Herbert of Cherbury,[b] there were no fewer than 2374 free chapels and chantries and, at the beginning of March 1548 (2 Edw. VI.), the King's commissioners were despatched into every county to take a survey of all that fell within the compass of the Act.[c] The example was not lost upon the nobility and laity in general, who had acquired the ownership of this description of patronage. Forgetting that they had only been intrusted with the presentations, they proceeded to take into their own hands the yearly profits of these benefices, reserving to themselves and their heirs a certain portion of the income.[d] As a result of this, the position of the incumbents, after the Reformation, became worse instead of better. While the abbeys stood, a small stipend had been allowed to chaplains out of the vicarage tithes, which they had the power of supplementing by fees, chiefly by singing masses for the deceased poor; and masses, according to Burnet,[e] went generally for two pence, a groat being esteemed a great bounty. These fees no doubt amounted, under favourable conditions, to no inconsiderable sum, sufficient, at all events, to furnish a maintenance adequate to the support of the chaplain or vicar. Bishop Latimer, in his sermons, describes vividly the mischiefs and abuses that followed. He denounces the gentry of that time as invading the property of the church, leaving the title only to the incumbent, and asserts that chantry priests were put into several cures to save their pensions. Many benefices, he says, were let out in fee farms, or "given unto servants for keeping of hounds, hawks, & horses, and for making of gardens."[f] In the conveyance from Robert Staunford to William

[a] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation ii. 101. Pocock's ed. 1865.

[b] Life of Henry VIII. p. 218, ed. of 1719.

[c] Heylyn i. 123.

[d] Ib. i. 126, sub. anno 2 Edw. VI. 1548.

[e] Burnet ii. 68. Cf. a specimen of some errors and defects in Burnet's History, by Anthony Harmer (i.e. Henry Wharton) London 1693, p. 66.

[f] Latimer's Sermons, ed. Parker Soc. i. 122, 123, 203. In a list of the clergy who conformed in the year 1576, preserved in the Lambeth Libr. (Cartæ Miscell. vol. 12) we find, amongst others in this neighbourhood,—"Johannes Spendlowe, Finchley, conjugatus, presbyter, nullius gradus, gravis, Latine intelligit at in sacris mediocriter." "Edmundus Thompson habet vicariam de Southmyms ex patronatu

Kympton,[a] in the year 1573, allusion was made to a vicarage house at Hadley, then let to Robert Holowey gent., to the advantage, it may be conjectured, of the lord of the manor. It would perhaps be hard to say that this vicarage had been confiscated by the patron. Notwithstanding, in 1588, alderman Kympton takes pains to show that the vicar or curate "being an honest and learned preacher," and having no convenient dwelling house, was residing in one which he, the alderman, had lately built and assigned to him.[b]

Every trace of this later residence has likewise vanished. Possibly, after Ely Tournor's deprivation, and amid the troubles of the Civil War, it may have ceased to be the abode of the incumbent. Certain at all events it is that, in the year 1678, Justinian Pagitt esq. of Hadley and Anthonina his wife conveyed to trustees[c] a house for the minister, on the site of the existing rectory, with which was connected a residence for the parish clerk and rooms for six poor parishioners. These buildings, originally united, have long since been detached from each other, and the tenement, known as Pagitt's alms-cottages, was erected anew some years ago on a piece of ground which previously had formed a part of the rectory garden. The rectory itself was rebuilt by the parishioners in 1824,[d] during the incumbency of the Rev. J. R. Thackeray, and considerably enlarged when Dr. Proctor succeeded to the living.

In speaking of the manor, it was mentioned that the advowson or donative rectory of Hadley became separated from it in 1786, when John Pinney of Blackdown conveyed the same, for the sum of £800, to William Baker esq. of Bayfordbury. Mr. Baker died 20 Jan. 1824, and by his will, dated 10 Oct. 1823, devised it in trust for his grandson, William Robert Baker,[e] an infant. He had subsequently entered into a contract for its sale to Mr. Thackeray, at that time rector but, dying before the sale had been completed, it was ordered by a decree of the Court of Chancery, 27 July 1827, that the proper parties should carry out the negotiations already commenced, which was accordingly done by indenture bearing date 1 Nov. 1827.

In pursuance of a contract entered into by the said Mr. Thackeray, previous to his unexpected death on the preceding 19 August, the advowson was conveyed 29 Sep.[f] 1846 by the Rev. Richard William Thackeray, rector of Hunsdon, his

Roberti Standeford (Staunford) armigeri. Residet in Civ. London cœlebs, minister nullius gradus, gravis, Latine parum intelligit, in sacris similiter."

[a] Supra, p. 52. [b] Supra, p. 56. [c] This trust still continues.

[d] Note in the handwriting of the late Rev. J. R. Thackeray.

[e] The present Mr. Baker of Bayfordbury. [f] Inrolled in Chancery, 3 Oct. 1846.

only son[a] and heir, to the Rev. George Proctor, D.D. of Brighton, for the sum of £2100. It was again sold, 26 Nov. 1857, by Dr. Proctor to Frederick Cass esq. of Little Grove, East Barnet, from whom it descended, at his death, 17 May 1861, to his eldest son, the Rev. Frederick Charles Cass, the present patron and rector.

The incumbents of Monken Hadley have been styled at various periods, and almost indifferently, Chaplains, Vicars, Curates or Rectors. Very little has to be said in relation to those who served the cure previous to the nomination of Barnard Carrier in 1580. Their very names are with few exceptions unknown. Such as are preserved have only been met with accidentally in wills or other documents, wherein casual references have been made to them. One **HENRY** is mentioned as *chaplain* in 1244.[b] **SIR JOHN** was priest of Monkeschurche[c] on 20 Nov. 1374, and a little later, in 1384,[d] Sir John, probably the same person, is spoken of as the priest of Hadley. On 10 Jan. 1494[e] **ROBERT HILL** was *chaplain*, and a few years afterwards, on 30 Nov.[f] 1500, we still find **SIR ROBERT HILL**, but then called *vicar*. This was he, who subsequently became vicar of South Mimms, and to whom the unnamed tomb in the chancel there was at one time assigned. The dates shew that the building of the present church at Hadley must have taken place, or at least must have been commenced, during his incumbency. **SIR JOHN COLLWELL**, *curate* of Hadley, was one of the witnesses of the will of Alice Goodyer 20 April 1519. In his will, dated 18 Nov. 1523, Henry Frowyke of the Wilde, or Weld, mentions **SIR WILLIAM** as *curate* of Hadley.[g] On 20 Aug. 1547 **SIR JOHN GURLEYE**, curate of Hadley, witnessed the will[h] of Anne Withers of Hadley, widow, and on the 1 July 1566, the will of William Withers, of the same, was not only[i] witnessed but written by **HUGH LEWES**, at that time curate.

[a] The Rev. J. R. Thackeray's will, dated 12 March 1831, not being attested so as to pass real estate, administration with the will annexed was granted in the P.C.C. 17 Sep. 1846, to his son.

[b] Harl. MS. 3697. Cf. supra, p. 42.

[c] Will of Thomas Frowyke. Hist. of South Mimms, p. 77.

[d] Will of Henry Frowyke. Ib. p. 82.

[e] Will of Walter Tornor of Hadley.

[f] Will of William Turnour of Hadley. Sir Robert Hill witnessed the will of John Wright of Monken Hadley, 17 March 1506.

[g] Hist. of South Mimms, pp. 43, 94.

[h] Proved P.C.C. 19 Dec. 1547. (Book Alen 51.)

[i] Proved P.C.C. 13 July 1566. (Book Crymes 21.)

After alderman Kympton's acquisition of the patronage the succession of incumbents becomes more definite. This hasty-tempered citizen followed the example of other holders of ecclesiastical property at that day and, in providing for the interests of the church, took care at the same time to secure his own. The pelican vulning herself for the support of her young has been adopted as a symbol of the Church from the earliest ages of Christianity, but the terms of Barnard Carrier's nomination to the cure of Hadley read like a satire upon a device which must have been continually before the patron's eyes in his own recently obtained armorial ensigns.

BARNARD CARRIER, clerk, was appointed 5 Aug. 1580. On this day, according to Newcourt, William Kympton "gave this Church, by the name of a Free Chappel, & *pleno jure* of his Donation, to Bernard Carrier, clerk, during the life of him the said William, if he the said Bernard should live so long, upon these Conditions, viz. that he should bear Fealty to him the said William; that he should demean himself well in his Life and Conversation; that he should perform Divine Offices & administer the Sacraments as he ought; that he should keep the Chancel in Repair and pay xxvj[s] viij[d] to the said William & his Heirs according to Custom, out of which the said William was to pay back vj[s] viij[d] for his Tyths according to like Custom." His licence was dated on the 25 of the same month. Andcō die ema[t] Liniã ex parte Barnardi Carrier clici ad inserviend cure de Hadleigh et ubicũq. infra Decanat. Middlesex donec et quousq. se laudabiliter et honeste gesserit, prestito per eũ prius juramento supremitatis Regie mat[s], &c.[a]

In spite of the terms imposed upon him, it is presumable that he found the preferment to his liking. Outliving his first patron, he continued to enjoy it for the long space of nearly thirty-nine years, and did not die until the month of March 1618-9. His will[b] is extant, and gives us an insight into the circumstances of a village clergyman of that day.

In the name of God amen. I Barnard Carrier of Hadley in the Countie of Midd. Clerke beyng sicke in bodie but of good and perfect memorye (thankes be to god), Do ordayne and make this my last will and

[a] Vic. Gen. Hamond. f. 221.

[b] Proved P.C.C. 19 March 1618-9 by Richard Carrier, the son. (Book Parker 25.)

testament the second of Marche Anno Domini one thousand sixe hundred and eighteene, in manner and forme folowing, ffirst I bequeth my soule into the handes of Almightie god my Creator and maker, trusting thoroughe a true and livelie faithe in the meritts of Christe Jesus that I shalbe presented free and faultles before hym in the daye of grace: And I will that my bodie be buried after a decent and comelie manner in my Chauncell of Hadley: ffirst I give unto the poore of Hadley parishe three pounds sixe shillinges eight pence towardes the encrease of theire stocke to be payed unto them within one yere next after my decease. Item I give unto Agnes Reve the wife of Robert Reve, sometymes my Mothers servaunte, fortie shillinges, I give unto my sonne Richard Carryer three bookes of Perkins works so that he give unto his brother Bernard one parte which he the sayed Richard hath besides. I allso give unto my sonne Richard Carryer my Nagg, a greate bible in the parlor, and the Deske whereon yt lyes. Item I give unto his twoe children Abraham and Robert fortie shillings apeece. Item I give unto Bernard Carrier twentie poundes for a Legacy Allso I give unto hym a bond for his owne use, in the which bond my sonne Richard standeth bownde to pay to his Brother Bernard one hundred poundes the nyne and twentith daye of September next, Provided allwayes that yf my sonne Bernard dye unmarryed he shall take order in his lifetyme by his last will and testament or some other sufficient meanes to convey over unto his three sisters Elizabeth Mary and Christian and to eache of them out of his good estate & within sixe monethes after his decease twentie poundes a peece, the Rest I leave to his owne discrecõn. I give allso to my sonne Bernard my feildbed in the greate chamber, the downebed lying uppon it with all the furniture thereunto belonging, the Court Cupboard standing in the parlor, & a litle Table with a Cupboard in yt in the same parlor, three platters, three Dishes, three porringers, three Sawcers, twoe brasen Candlesticks, twoe paire of sheetes, twoe tableclothes. Item I give unto my sonne in Lawe ffrauncis Andrewes tenne poundes. Item I give unto my sonne in lawe Godfrey Cade tenne poundes: I will allso that Tenne poundes be lent unto hym for a yere uppon his owne bond by my executor and the same to be payed to my daught[r] Xp̃ian at the end of the yeare. I give unto hym allso one featherbed and one Bolster. Item I give unto my daughter Carrier twoe of my best silver spoones. Item I give unto Elizabeth Cade [a]

[a] An Elizabeth Cade was bur. 15 Sep. 1626. Hadley Par. Reg. His daughter Elizabeth was Mrs. Cade.

my graundchilde fyve poundes to be payed at Michaelmas next, and to be ymploied for and towards her stocke. Item I give unto my daughter Christian fiftie pounds to be paid within twoe yeres after my decease or at the daye of her marriage, which shall first happen, and three Kyne and haye to keepe them for the tyme of theire contynewance in the howse, & I give her allso one hogg. Item I give unto my sonne Bernard Peter Martirs[a] common places in Englishe, Item I give unto my sonne Godfrey Cade one of the best Commentaries that I have uppon the evangelists at his owne choise, And I give unto his wife the Bible wh^ch^ Doctor Dickes gave unto me, Item I give unto my sonne Bernard my best coverlidd and three yardes of broade cloathe. Item I give unto my Cosin Richard Turner a booke called Byfeild uppon the Collossians[b] and my cloake faced with velvet, And to his wife in token of my Remembraunce, I give a peace of gould of twoe and twentie shillinges valewe. Item I give unto my daughter Elizabeth a Rynge with a Deathes head which was her Mothers. Item I give unto my daughter Andrewes one hoope Ryng of gould with a Deatheshead in yt which was Sr Roger Wilbrams: All the Rest of my goodes and ymplements of house and houshould stuffe unbequeathed, my Debts and Legacys beyng dischardged and funerall payed, I will to be equallie devided betwene my twoe Sonnes Richard & Bernard at

[a] "The Common Places of the most famous and renowned Divine Doctor Peter Martyr, diuided into foure principall parts: with a large addition of manie theologicall and necessarie discourses, some never extant before. Translated and partlie gathered by Anthonie Marten one of the Sewers of hir Maiesties most Honourable chamber.

Meliora spero.

In the end of the booke are annexed two tables of all the notable matters therein conteined.

1 Cor. 3, 11.

Other foundation can no man laie, than Christ Jesus. which is alreadie laid."

The date on the title-page is 1574, but the dedication by Anthonie Marten to Queen Elizabeth is addressed to her "at your Maiesties Court in Greenewich the eight of Maie 1583."

[b] "An Exposition upon the Epistle to the Colossians, wherein not onely the text is methodically analysed, and the sence of the words, by the help of Writers, both ancient and modern is explayned: But also, By Doctrine and Vse, the intent of the holy Ghost is in euery place more fully unfolded and urged. And besides the very marrow of most Common-places is aptly diffused throughout the body of this Exposition, as the nature of this kind of Teaching would beare. And further, Many chief Cases of Conscience are here resolved, all with convenient Varietie and Brevitie, Being the substance of neare seaven yeeres Weeke-dayes Sermons, of N. Byfield late one of the Preachers for the citie of Chester.

London. Printed by T. S. for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be sould at his Shop at the signe of the Pied-Bull in *Pauls* Churchyard, neare to S. *Austins* Gate. 1615."

the discretion of my Overseers of my last will and testament. Item I make my sonne Richard my full and sole executor of this my last will and testament, and my sonne Cade and Mathias Milward parson of Barnett the overseers thereof. Thus expecting the Merceys of god to a better life I commend myselfe and all myne to his fatherlie protection. Bernard Carrier. Witnesses Mathias Milward[a] and William Cattell.[b]

ELY TOURNOR, B.A. The nomination of Ely Tournor must have followed closely upon the decease of his predecessor. Robert Kympton, eldest son of the alderman, was now the patron, and the licence bears date 2 April 1619. Dictis die et anno Ely Turner Clicus in artibus bacchūs admissus fuit ad pagendum officiū Curati tā in capella de Hadley in com. Midd. quam in alijs Capellis sive ecclijs potius infra totum dioc̃ et Juris[m], Londoñ subscriptis prius p eum articulis Religionis &c.[c]

For several years parochial affairs at Hadley probably held their accustomed course. Mr. Tournor carefully made his entries in the new register book, officiated regularly and happily amid the tokens of Mr. Emerson's liberality, and begat sons and daughters. As time wore on, however, the calm flow of the life ecclesiastical began to be rudely disturbed. Commissioners were sent into every county in the month of January 1641,[d] "for the defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away of all images, altars, or tables turned altarwise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and reliques of idolatry out of all churches and chapels." The majority of all ranks, both amongst the commons and of the peerage, was notwithstanding disinclined as yet to support any radical changes in the constitution or doctrine of the church. In 1643 the very characteristic handwriting of Mr. Tournor disappears from the register. The Solemn League and Covenant was subscribed by the English Parliament on Sep. 22 of that year, and in January 1644 the Scottish army, under the command of the earl of Leven, crossed the Tweed. Mr. Tournor's last entry is that of a burial 16 Dec. 1643. Two days later another hand registers an interment. On 17 Sept. 1644, it was appointed that a fifth part of the profits of the benefice should be assigned by the sequestrators for the maintenance of the wife and children of Mr. Tournor. The value of the donative was then returned as Glebe, worth £5 per ann. and Tithes, worth £30, and an order

[a] Appointed rector of East and Chipping Barnet, 18 May 1603, and resigned the same in 1639.

[b] William Cattle was churchwarden in 1620. Hadley Par. Reg.

[c] Vic. Gen. Marten 1616-1623, f. 120[b].

[d] Hist. of the English People iii. 198.

was made that the allowance be paid after the rate of £35 a year, all taxes and charges first deducted.[a]

"Monken Hadley.[b] Item wee present That wee have one Donative presentative And That Aston Esqr hath the presentacōn thereof but noe Incumbent or proprieto^r And wee consider the Tythes of our said Donative (having neyther Lands nor Tenem^ts) to be worth about thirtye pounds p ann. wch stand sequestred in the hands of Mr Francis[c] Harrison Mr Thomas Potter Mr Thomas Archer & Robert Pecke,[d] who by vertue of an order of the Committee of plundered Ministers have the disposall of all the said Rent towards satisfying such Mynisters as they can hyre for the supplye of the Cure except the fift parte thereof allowed to the Two daughters of Elye Turner from whome the same was sequestered."

We might infer from this that two daughters alone survived of his family at this time, and that his wife was already deceased. It is certain that, notwithstanding the sequestration, he continued to reside at Hadley or in the neighbourhood. Perhaps the offices of the church were still discharged by him, although the registration was taken out of his hands, and marriages contracted before the magistrates. It may have been difficult to meet with any godly and learned minister to supply so poor a cure. In the South Mimms register we find a record of baptisms having been performed in the church of that parish in March 1650 and June 1653 by Ely Turner *Minister of Hadley*, but the end came a year later. In the Hadley register we have, "June ye 18 day was buried Mr Elie Turnour, late minister and vicar of Hadley, in ye yeare 1654."

WILLIAM SCLATER, M.A. 5 July 1662. "Quinto die mensis Julij Anno Dni 1662 Gulielmus Sclater Clicus admissus et licentiatus fuit ad prædicand et proponiend verbum dei in ecclesia de Munckin Hadley in com. Middxiæ et Diocesi London subscriptis prius per eum artĩs Religionis &c. præstitisq: Juramentis Supremitatis et Allegiañ Regiæ Majestati et renunciato per eum pacto sive fœdere solenni, &c.[e] The life of William Sclater fell upon troubled times and was a somewhat chequered one. His grandfather, Anthony Sclater, of ancient Northumbrian descent, as the

[a] Br. Mus. Add. MS. 15,670 pp. 84, 140, Proceedings of Committee for Plundered Ministers, 1645-1646. This glebe, wherever it may have been situated, and the tithes are now wholly non-existent.

[b] Parliamentary Surveys Lambeth Libr. vol. xii. 134, A.D. 1650.

[c] Bur. at Hadley, 28 May 1663.

[d] Robert Peck, in 1672, witnessed the will of Mr. Samuel Dillingham.

[e] Vic. Gen. Chaworth 1637-1662, f. 222.

memorial stone on the north wall of the chancel of Leighton Buzzard church still records, became vicar of that parish in the first year of Queen Mary and, after an incumbency extending to the first year of Charles I., died in his 96th year, leaving three sons, William, John, and Christopher. The eldest, William, S. T. B. baptized at Leighton Buzzard 25 Oct. 1575, elected to King's College Cambridge in 1593, was afterwards vicar of Pitminster in Somersetshire and the author, amongst other works, of treatises on the Epistles to the Thessalonians. He died in 1626, leaving a son William, born at Pitminster, like his father a fellow of King's, prebendary of Exeter from 1641 to 1661, and vicar of Collumpton in Devonshire.[a] John, the second son of Anthony, S. T. B., was fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge and rector of Church Lawford Warwickshire. Christopher, the youngest son, likewise S. T. B., and a fellow of Corpus Christi College Oxford, succeeded his father in the vicarage of Leighton Buzzard and died in his 63rd year.

William Sclater, the only son of Christopher, received his education at C. C. C. Oxford, but, during the civil war, exchanged his classical pursuits for martial[b] and, having espoused the royal cause, served in the first instance as cornet of horse, and afterwards as lieutenant. Subsequently to the King's execution he was arrested and thrown into prison for his steadfast adherence to the exiled royal family and, when brought to trial for his life, only escaped through the insufficiency of the evidence. Mr. Goodwin, who was sequestered from the joint rectories of East and Chipping Barnet in 1643, has left a note in the register of the former parish to the effect that, "about the year 1650,[c] Dr. Sclaater, now minister of St. John's (*sic*) Clerkenwell, was sworne register for East and Chipping Barnett." We find[d] him appointed, 19 March 1654-5, to the mastership of the Barnet Grammar School, vacant by the death of Mr. Thomas Broughton, upon view of a certificate under the hand of Mr. William[e]

[a] Wood's Ath. Ox. iii. 227, 228, 229; MS. Collections in Br. Mus. Vol. xiv. p. 223 and Vol. xv. p. 110. Cole; Inscription on the memorial at Leighton Buzzard.

[b] It was perhaps significant of old associations that he should have published, in 1671, "The Royal Pay and Paymaster, or the Indigent Officer's Comfort, a Sermon preached before the Military Company at St. Paul's Church in Covent Garden." Wood's Ath. Ox. iii. 229.

[c] He probably antedated the appointment. From the Shenley Par. Reg. it would appear that George Branch was still Register for Chipping Barnet in Dec. 1665, but that William Sclater filled the office in Jan. 1665-6.

[d] Grammar School Minute Book.

[e] William Du Gard was Head Master of Merchant Tailors' School from 1644 to 1661.

Du Gard, master of the Merchant Tailors' School, London, bearing date the previous 23 Feb. and he is described as Mr. William Sclater M.A. of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He held the mastership until 25 March 1663, and, having taken holy orders after the restoration of Charles II., was licensed, as we have seen, 5 July 1662, to the incumbency of Hadley. It seems not unlikely that the connection of Mrs. Margaret Hayes, widow of Mr. John Hayes, the former patron, with Leighton Buzzard,[a] may have had to do with the appointment. There is no trace of him in the register, which, about this period, was very indifferently kept, in the handwriting of Tristram Hurst the parish clerk, and the name of William Tompson occurs between 1663 and 1666. Both the incumbency and the mastership were probably vacated by him at the same time. The act of resignation of the latter is preserved in the School Minute Book, with the impression of his coat of arms, Arg. a saltire az. in red sealing wax, still distinct.

On 17 Sep. 1666 [b] he was licensed to the ministry of St James' Clerkenwell, which he held until his death. He was also rector of Clifton in Bedfordshire. In his will, dated 26 [c] Dec. 1690, wherein he describes himself as of the parish of St James Clerkenwell co. Middx [d] D.D. "being sicke & weake in body," he desires "to be decently buryed in the grave of my father in the chancell of the parish church of Leighton Budezart in the county of Bedford under a rough marble stone," and requests that his executor "shall cause to be fixed uppon the wall neare thereunto some small but dureable monument with an inscription in remembrance of my father my grandfather and myself, in such words as I shall direct in a paper to be annexed to or found with this my will or in proper words for that purpose." To his wife, Mary Sclater, he leaves £30 per ann: and his messuage at Clerkenwell green for life, with remainder, as to the said messuage, to his grandson William Sclater, son of his son Frank Sclater, deceased, and his heirs and assigns for ever. Mention is likewise made of Elizabeth the daughter and of Christopher another son of his said son Frank, of his daughter Elizabeth wife of Richard Snagge, of Lombard Street goldsmith, and of her infant children William and Anne. To his

[a] Vide supra, p. 65. [b] Newcourt's Repertorium. Vic. Gen. Exton, f. 45b.

[c] Proved P.C.C. 11 March 1690-1 by Richard Snagge. (Book Vere 59.)

[d] There is reason to suppose that he must have been the William Sclater who was created S. T. P. at Cambridge by royal command, in 1669, as of Trinity College, and to whom no other degrees are assigned in the list of graduates of that University.

above mentioned grandson Christopher are bequeathed all his books and papers; "but my desire is that he shall with his owne hands burne and consume all such notes and papers as he shall finde written with my owne hand, imediately after my decease." To Mr. Mucedorus[a] Burrupp his curate at Clerkenwell are given "my best stuffe gowne and cassock my best hatt & my best shoes & stockings." Lastly, his grandchildren William and Christopher, still in their minority, are consigned to the keeping of Richard Snagge, their uncle, whom he constitutes sole executor, desiring that their mother, his son Frank's widow, may have nothing to do with their education, or with the bequests made in their favour.

The monument, which he caused to be set up, still remains on the north wall of the chancel of Leighton Buzzard church, and the inscription runs as follows:

M.S.

Hic juxta sub lapide cæruleo depositæ sunt exuviæ Antonii, Christopheri, et Wilhelmi Sclater. Antonius ex antiquâ prosapiâ in Northumbriâ oriundus, primo Mariæ reginæ hujus ecclesiæ tutelam suscepit, primo Caroli primi deposuit, simul et vitam anno ætat. XCVI. Tres post se reliquit filios, Wilhelmum, Johannem et Christopherum.

Wilhelmus S. T. B. Rector ecclesiæ Pitmastorensis, in agro Somerset, super epistolam S. Pauli ad Thessalonicos tractatum edidit verè aureum impiorum manibus magno eorum commodo hodiè versatum.

Johannes, S. T. B. Coll. divi Johannis, Cant. socius, Rector ecclesiæ de Church-Lawford in agro Warwicensi.

Christopherus, S. T. B. Coll. C. C. Oxon. socius, patris in hâc ecclesiâ successor, obiit año ætat. LXIII.

Filius ejus unicus, Wilhelmus, S. T. P. monumentum hoc in paterni nominis memoriam, propriis sumptibus testamento legatis, erigi curavit, qui in

[a] Musidorus Burghope became M.A. of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1695, but no earlier degree is recorded.

C. C. C. Oxon. bonis literis educatus, flagrante bello civili regias partes secutus, in acie regia equitum signifer, deinde subpræfectus, rege decollato, hæredi in exilio fidelis, mandata principis exequendo captus et incarceratus coram pseudo-judicibus sistere coactus ac de vitâ periclitatus, sed testibus proditoriis discrepantibus in allegatis, sanguinolentas evasit manus. Carolo Secundo reduce, sacris ordinibus initiatus, año MDCLXVI, Rector ecclesiæ S. Jacobi, Clerkenwell, London, et post quinquennium Rector ecclesiæ Clifton in hoc comitatu, in utrâque ecclesiâ munus pastorale fideliter obivit ad novissimam vitæ diem quam caducam et fragilem cum eternâ commutavit III Martii, A.D. MDCXC, ætatis suæ LXVIII.

Frank Sclater,[a] B.D. the son mentioned in the will, whom old Anthony Wood [b] describes as "an ingenious person," was a fellow of C. C. C. Oxford, and served for more than a year previous to his death as minister (curate) of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, his licence thereto being dated 24 Nov. 1683.[c] He died of small pox in his 35th year, and a monument was erected to his memory in St. James' church, Clerkenwell. There is still preserved in the buttery of Corpus a two-handled silver-gilt quart tankard, presented to that Society by Dr. Sclater. In addition to the family arms, Arg. a saltire az. it has the following inscription: Poculum Charitatis: Ex dono R[di] Viri Gul[mi] Sclater S. T. P. indulgentissimi Patris filij pientissimi Franki Sclater, S. T. B. C. C. C. Oxon. Socij nuper dilectissimi, nunc desideratissimi qui variolarum morbo contracto obijt Maij 12[mo] A[o] D[ni] 1685[to], ætatis suæ 35[mo] Donatum A[o] D[ni] 1687[mo].

WILLIAM TOMPSON,[d] clerk. The name occurs in the register between the years 1663 and 1666, but the date of his nomination has not yet been discovered. During this incumbency the register was decently kept,—an unusual circumstance at the period,—and the entries made in Latin. His handwriting appears first on the 13 March 1663-4, and for the last time, 26 June 1666. He signs himself successively Curate, Rector, and Minister. There is one entry having reference to his own family.

[a] From his son, the Rev. Christopher Sclater, M.A. b. 1679, rector of Loughton, Essex, and afterwards of Chingford, descend William Lutley Sclater, esq. of Hoddington House, Hants, and his son, the Right Hon. George Sclater-Booth, M.P. for North Hants, of Balliol College, Oxford, and now President of the Local Government Board.

[b] Ath. Oxon. III. 229.

[c] Vic. Gen. Exton.

[d] Newcourt.

Grace Tompson daughter of Mr. William Tompson minister & Ellen his wife was born Oct 18 & bapt. Nov. 5. 1663.

Samuel Dillingham., M.A. There are no present means of ascertaining whether he immediately followed Mr. Tompson. It is, however, beyond a doubt that he was appointed earlier than 1669, the date given in Newcourt, since his elder son, Henry, matriculated at Oxford from Merton College, 6 March 1667-8, aged 17, as son of Samuel Dillingham S. T. B. of Hadley.[a]

A son of Mr. Gilbert Dillingham, rector of Sandon,[b] Essex, and of St. Giles'-in-the-fields,[c] Middlesex, by his marriage with Anne,[d] daughter of William Steere,[e] rector of St. Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Samuel Dillingham, was most probably the same person who was admitted a Pensioner at Emmanuel College Cambridge in 1624, became B.A. in 1627, and M.A. in 1631.[f] The name is much connected with this foundation, of which William Dillingham D.D, son of Thomas, rector of Barnwell All Saints, Northamptonshire, was elected Master, 10 Jan. 1653. Gilbert Dillingham's will bears the date of 14 July 1634.[g] Three sons, Samuel, Henry, and William, with a daughter Anne, are mentioned therein. After devising the profit of all his lands and goods to his wife, so long as she remains a widow, he gives to his sons Samuel and Henry and their heirs for ever all his houses and lands called White's Land, being 54 acres more or less.

Of the early years of Mr. Samuel Dillingham we have no record. He married Anne, the youngest daughter[h] and coheiress of Thomas Streatfeild, of Shoreham in Kent, widow of William Stanley esq. of the Middle

[a] In the Matriculation Register he is erroneously described as of Hadley, Essex.

[b] Gilbert Dillingham pr. was presented to this benefice, 9 Apr. 1601. Newcourt II. 518.

[c] There is no date given of this appointment. Both here and at Sandon, Brian Walton, M.A. succeeded 15 Jan. 1635, per mort. Dillingham. Newcourt.

[d] 1605-6, March 18, "Mr Gilbert Dillingham parson of Sandon in Essex, and Ann Steere, dau. of William Steere, parson of St Mary in Bermonses Street," were married. Par. Reg. of St Mary Aldermanbury, London.

[e] He died rector in 1601.

[f] Add. MSS. Br. Mus. 5851.

[g] Proved 15 Dec. 1635, by Anne Dillingham, the relict, sole executrix. Consistory Court of London. 249. Allen.

[h] Born subsequently to the date of her father's will, 21 March 2 Car. in which he speaks of Frances his wife "being now great with child."

Pedigree of DILLINGHAM.

Richard Streatfeild, of Chiddingstone, co. Kent, esq. m. 15 Nov. 1583, d. 18 Sept. 1601. Per fesse gu. and sa. three bezants. (1) = Anne, dau. and coheir of John Fremlyn, of Kemsing. = William Birsty of Hever, 2 husb. m. 1602. Gu. a fesse embattled erm. betw. three dexter gauntlets or.

William Steere rector of S^t. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, d. 1604. =

Henry Streatfeild, of Chiddingstone, esq.

Silvester, of the Inner Temple.

John Seyliard, of Salmonds, in Penshurst, esq. 2 husb. Will proved 9 June, 1668. Az. a chief erm. (2) = Frances, dau. of John Reeve, esq. of London, d. 21 Apr. 1650, and bur. at Chiddingstone. = Thomas Streatfeild, of Shoreham, co. Kent, bapt. 1592, m. 1614, bur. at Chiddingstone, 27 March 1627. Will proved 29 June 1627.

Margaret, m. Edward Moody.

Gilbert Dillingham, rector of Sandon, Essex, and of St Giles' in the Fields. Will proved 15 Dec. 1635. Consistory Court, 249 Allen. = Anne Steere, m. 18 March 1605-6 at St Mary's Aldermanbury, living 1635.

Thomas Seyliard, of Salmonds, esq. m. circa. Aug. 1654. Will proved 7 Feb. 1673-4. = Mary, dau. of Robert Holman, of Pendhill, Bletchingley, co. Surrey, b. Friday, 3 Dec. 1630. Vert. a chev. betw. three pheons or. (3) = Thomas Lee, 2 husb. bef. Sep. 1679.

John Seyliard of St Giles' in the Fields. Admin. 30 June 1676. =

John Seyliard, of Pendhill, Bletchingley. = Margaret, dau. of Jeffery Amherst, of Riverhead, and sister of Jeffery, whose son was cr. lord Amherst in 1788.

Thomas, of Penshurst, M.D. d.s.p.

Susan, m. Thomas Woodgate.

Mary, m. Richard Antrobus.

Frances.

Anne.

Elizabeth Seyliard a minor in 1676, m. Dr. Davenant.

Frank eld. daur. = John Shetterden, d. 11 June 1645, and bur. at Chiddingstone.

Jane. Will proved 8 June 1699. Bur. at Finchley. = Edward Taylor M.A. rector of Finchley Midd. 31 March 1642. Bur. at Finchley. Admin. 15 Sep. 1657.

Dorothy, mar. Edward Powell, rector of Chiddingstone.

Elizabeth Powell.

William Stanley of the Middle Temple. 1 hus. = Anne, b. 1627. Will proved 20 Aug. 1703. Bur. at Stepney. 3 husb. Stephen Luddington, D.D. = Samuel Dillingham, rector of St Pancras Soper-lane; afterwards of Hadley. 2 husb. Will proved 24 July, 1672. Bur. at Hadley. (4)

Thomas Stanley.

Henry.

William.

Anne.

Edward Taylor (will of Jane Taylor). = Elizabeth.

Thomas. =

William Taylor.

Elizabeth.

Elizabeth. = Henry Winne.

John Winne.

Jane.

Mary Taylor.

Henry Dillingham, M.A. d. unm. at Oxford; bur. in chapel of Merton College. Will proved 10 July 1675.

Samuel Dillingham d. unm. Bur. at Stepney. Will proved 14 Sep. 1725.

Anne living 1725. = ...Winny.

Anne.

Rachel.

Elizabeth.

Hester living 1712. = Capt. John Cotterell, of Limehouse. Will proved 30 April 1712.

John Cotterell.

Hester, mar. ...Holman.

(1) Harl. MSS. 1106 f. 175; 1432 f. 283.[b]

(2) Of the Petty bag office. Purchased Salmans or Salmonds 13 Chas. I. Hasted's Kent I. 417. Add. MS. Br. Mus. 16279 p. 384, Visitation of Kent. 1574-1619.

(3) Harl. MSS. 1147 f. 41; 1397 f. 55; 1561 f. 87.

(4) Hasted's Kent I. 400, 403; Philipott, Villare Cantianum 2nd ed. 1676 p. 114.

Temple, who had left by her a son, Thomas. On 10 June 1662, he was presented, according to Newcourt, to the rectory of St. Pancras Soper-lane, so called because near Soper lane, which has been named Queen Street since the Great Fire. It was a small church, and stood in Needler's lane in Cheap Ward. Having been destroyed in the fire, and never rebuilt, the benefice was annexed to that of St. Mary le Bow and the site used as a burying ground. At the date of his will, Mr. Dillingham still held a lease of the parsonage house in Soper lane, then in the tenure of Thomas Stanley, citizen, most probably his step-son. It is likely enough that his coming to Hadley was occasioned by this unexpected termination of his London duties. His signature does not once appear in the registers,[a] but we meet with it attached to certain proceedings of vestry in the years 1671 and 1672. His will, though dated 24 June 1671, was not signed and published until the day preceding his death, which we may conclude to have taken place at Hadley, the three attesting witnesses John Chapman, Robert Peck and Mary Peck being all of them parishioners. He left four children, all in their minority, Henry, Samuel, Anne and Hester. To Henry, the elder son, was bequeathed the messuage of White's Land, at Sandon, with remainder, should he decease without heirs, to Samuel. To the said Samuel and his two sisters he devised messuages at Hever and Sutton at Hone in Kent. To Henry he gave his library ;—the plate to be divided equally between his widow and children. In the register we find the entry, "M̄ Samuell Dillingham Rector and minister of god's word dyed June the Last and buried Julye the 2ond." The will was proved on the following 24 July by Anne Dillingham relict and executrix, his description in the Probate Act Book being as of "Hadleigh in com. Middx."

Mrs. Dillingham did not remain in her widowhood for long. She continued to reside at Hadley after her husband's death, paying rent at the rate of £4. 10. 0 per annum for a house which the minutes of vestry term indifferently the "town house" and "the parish house." Her last half yearly payment was due at Michaelmas 1673, but on the previous 14 Aug. she had entered the holy estate of matrimony for the third time, at Westminster Abbey, with Stephen Luddington D.D. rector of Carlton Scroope and Potter Hanworth in Lincolnshire, archdeacon of Stow, and

[a] The registers were kept in his handwriting between 15 Oct. 1670 and 6 Aug. 1671.

prebendary of Lincoln.[a] She was his second wife, and at his death, 7 Feb. 1676-7 became again a widow. Her own death did not take place until several years afterwards, her will, wherein she is described as Anne Luddington of the parish of Stepney als Stebonheath Middlesex widow, being dated 10 Nov. 1691, though not proved until 20 Aug. 1703.[b] The will of her sister Mrs. Jane Taylor of Finchley shows that she was alive on the 12 Aug. 1694.[c] Her old connection with the parish of Hadley had not been lost sight of. To its poor is bequeathed a legacy of £5.

Henry Dillingham, the elder son of Samuel, who had matriculated at Oxford from Merton College, a postmaster of that society, who became B.A. 30 Oct. 1671 and M.A. 30 June 1674, died at Oxford 28 Dec. 1674, and was buried in the ante-chapel of Merton.[d] His will bears date 7 Nov. 1674, but remained unproved until 10 July 1675.[e] To his brother and sisters he left the remainder of his lease of the parsonage house in Soper lane and to Anne Luddington, his mother, his share of the plate that came to him from his father.

With the younger brother, Samuel, the name, in this branch at least of the family, terminated. We have his testament,[f] as of the hamlet of Ratcliff, in the parish of Stepney, gent. dated 20 Aug. 1725, in which, after requesting that he may be buried in the church of Stepney, where his mother was buried, he proceeds to express his will and desire, in case he dies a bachelor, "to be conveyed to the said church in a Hearse trimmed with white feathers." After a few other bequests, all his messuages and lands are devised to his sister Anne Winny, her heirs and assigns for ever.

ROBERT NEWMAN. The signature of "Robert Newman Minister" occurs twice in the Vestry Minute Book, and it may be inferred that his short incumbency intervened between that of Mr. Dillingham and Mr. Tayler. His name is subscribed to the appointment of churchwardens on Easter Tuesday 1673. Newcourt does not mention him.

[a] Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers, p. 10, note 4.

[b] P.C.C. Book Degg. 144.

[c] P.C.C. Book Pett. 104.

[d] From information given by the Rev. Stephen Edwardes, bursar of Merton College.

[e] P.C.C. Book Dycer 74.

[f] Proved P.C.C. 14 Sep. 1725, by Anne Winny, widow, the sister.

Robert Tayler, M.A. The date of the licence, as given by Newcourt, 29 Sept. 1697, is misleading, and probably was connected with some re-appointment hereafter to be noticed. He unquestionably held the benefice from the year 1673, several years before his presentation, 13 July 1681, to the more valuable preferment of East and Chipping Barnet. We first observe his signature, with his customary note of admiration following the name,[a] at a meeting held 26 Dec. 1673, though the entries in his handwriting do not occur in the register until a few months later. From his will we learn that he was born at Stoneleigh in Warwickshire, but how engaged up to the time of his coming to Hadley is not known. It may be presumed that he was of yeoman origin. With this incumbency a notable change is observable in the registration. The entries hencefor-ward seem to have been made by the clergy, and for the most part are in Mr. Tayler's own handwriting. After his appointment to Barnet he was aided by assistant curates, perhaps in each of the three parishes. At Hadley we find the names of William May[b] in 1685, of John Penniston[c] in 1695, and of John Brown[d] in 1705-6.

It may be conjectured that Mr. Tayler succeeded Mrs. Dillingham in the occupancy of the "parish house,"[e] and at the same rent. At a Vestry meeting held 25 Aug. 1678 it was agreed that Ralph Spooner[f] should become tenant to the parish for the term of seven years, and at a yearly rent of £4. 10. 0, of the house then in the tenure of Mr. Tayler. This was the year, it may be remembered, in which Mr. Justinian Pagitt gave a house on the site of the present rectory to the use of the incumbent, and Mr. Tayler without doubt vacated in consequence the residence which he had previously rented. It was agreed at another meeting, 13 March 1680-1, that the parish should become tenants to Mrs. Pagitt, at the yearly rent of £3. 10. 0, during her lifetime, of the tenement con-

[a] Robert Tayler Rector!

[b] Hadley Par. Reg.

[c] North Mimms Par. Reg. A John Peniston of Magd. Coll. Cambridge became B.A. in 1679.

[d] Ib.

[e] This was probably the house adjoining the churchyard, which is now the residence of the Monro family, and may have been purchased with the accumulations, arising out of legacies and benefactions, spoken of as the "parish stock." The house was eventually sold to Mr. Shewell, charged with "a charity" to the poor.

[f] Mr. Henry Coventry's groom. Vide *supra*, p. 26.

taining six rooms, now in their possession, which her late husband[a] had devised to the use of the poor of Hadley.

As time wore on, the relations between Mr. Tayler and his parishioners at Hadley became, for reasons with which we are unacquainted, and to adopt a conventional term in politics, a good deal strained. To judge from certain expressions imported into the controversy, it must have been waged at one period with considerable acrimony. Though the Vestry minutes supply no clue to a discovery of the actual circumstances under which the strife commenced, it is a striking fact that the earliest notice of it is nearly coincident with the appearance on the scene of Mr. John Walker, and that the principal resolutions respecting it are signed by him and Mr. Simon Hayes,[b] the impecunious lord of the manor. A notion seems to have gained currency among some of the parishioners that, in vindicating the exceptional privileges of the living, as "a free chapel or donative no way subject to spiritual visitation," they were entitled to set aside all spiritual intervention whatever, and to regard and treat their minister simply as a temporary chaplain nominated to perform divine offices in the church. To a certain extent, accordingly, the difference resolved itself into a struggle between the laity and the spiritualty in the broader sense of the terms. Whether Mr. Tayler's personal qualities were of a nature to embitter the dissension we are ignorant. It is not unlikely that he may have endeavoured to secure episcopal aid. An action at law is at all events spoken of as pending, concurrently with what may be regarded as the more domestic conflict.

We have the first note of strife sounded 14 Aug. 1689, when it was agreed that "whereas Mr. Robert Tayler, present Rector of the parish, did in Easter week last nominate and appoint Mr. John Walton[c] to be churchwarden, these are to declare that he had no power nor authority to do the same, by reason that the church is a donative or lay fee; we therefore the parishioners of the aforesaid parish declare the said nomination void and of none effect, but taking into consideration the merits

[a] In May 1681 administration of the goods &c. of Justinian Pagitt late of Gray's Inn, esq. deceased, was granted to Allan Swanwick guardian of Dorcas, Toby, Dorothy, Justinian and Henry, his children, still in their minority, Anthonina, the widow, having renounced.

[b] He had perhaps about this period come into possession, owing to the extinction of the elder branches of his family.

[c] Of Ludgraves.

of the present churchwarden, Mr. John Walton, we have thought fit to confirm and establish him for the present year." Protests in the same sense were repeated at the Easter vestries of 1690, 1691, and 1692. On the latter occasion the attitude of the signatories was more peremptory than previously. They resolve that, "whereas Robert Tayler, the present curate, hath presumed in a clandestine manner to nominate a churchwarden, without the consent of any one of the vestry, these are therefore to declare that the same is presumptuously done, & that he hath no power nor authority so to do, by reason that it is a donative or free chapel, and he but a curate or chaplain therein pro tempore." It is observable that, although this minute is numerously signed, with the two exceptions alluded to, no names of any of the resident gentry are met with. As early as 13 May 1690, it had been determined that the parishioners would stand by John Walton, gent. present churchwarden in defence of the right of the parish, in case the said John Walton shall be sued or prosecuted for not appearing at any visitation and that they will allow and defray all his charges that shall arise thereupon. In reference to which resolution we find it recorded more than a twelvemonth afterwards, 24 Nov. 1691, that "whereas there is a trial now depending between the parish of Monken Hadley and the bishop of London, for the defending of which suit it is agreed by the vestry now present that the present overseer for the poor, William Parme, shall disburse ten pounds, if there shall be occasion, out of his present rate."

A few months later, 28 Sep. 1692, not content with limiting the rector's prerogative in the matter of a churchwarden, he is pronounced incapable of nominating, appointing, putting in or putting out a parish clerk.[a] This right the parishioners claim for themselves in vestry assembled. In the former case, it may be concluded that for the time they carried their point, as for many years there was but one churchwarden. Mr. Tayler resigned the living, perhaps in consequence of the opposition, and in so doing brought lady Mary Turnor upon the scene. On 6 Feb. 1693-4 we meet with a memorandum that, "at a full vestry this day held the Lady Mary Turnor did declare her consent that Mr. Richard Lee should be inducted in the room of Mr. Robert Tayler, who before had resigned the same, and, accordingly, the said Lady Turnor sent her servant for the key of the said parish church, which he took in the

[a] Tristram Hurst, who had filled the office, was bur. 19 July, 1692.

presence of the parishioners then present and carried it to the mansion-house of the said lady, and she gave it to the said Mr. Lee who immediately took possession thereupon." There is a further memorandum of the same date, that "in the presence of the Vestry met this day I do promise and agree to any reasonable proposals that shall be made by the next Vestry for settling of the great tithes of the parish, in witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, Richard Lee." The mission of the liveried functionary must have been a particularly impressive incident of the transaction, and Mr. Lee no doubt was fully persuaded of the reality of his admission into the benefice. Nevertheless it may be questioned whether the entire proceeding was not little else than a farce, for on the 20 May following Mr. Tayler again signs the burial register though, perhaps with a wholesome fear of consequences, he omits to add the word *Rector, followed by a note of admiration,* after his name.

His will, in which he requests that he may be buried in the churchyard of East Barnet, is dated 3 Dec. 1717.[a] Mention is therein made of a brother John, of Pickford-gate in Allesley, co. Warwick, who has a son Thomas, of London, and a grandson Thomas,[b] of Balliol College, Oxford. To the poor of each of the parishes of Hadley, East Barnet, High Barnet, and Stoneleigh he leaves £5; to the Rev. Mr. Barcock,[c] of Barnet, £5 and to his other two curates at the time of his death 40 shillings each to buy rings; to the three parish clerks of Hadley, East Barnet, and High Barnet 20 shillings each. "Item, I give to every family in all my three parishes, who will accept it, one Whole Duty of Man, to be delivered either at my funeral or sent home to them." This book, the authorship of which is not altogether established,[d] was visited a few years later (circa 1738), by the celebrated George Whitefield, with the most uncompromising condemnation. What judgment he would have passed on Mr. Tayler and his bequest may be easily imagined, when we learn that

[a] Proved P.C.C. 18 Feb. 1718-9 by his cousins, John Arnold, victualler, of St. Martin's lane, and Mary his wife. (Book Browning 37.)

[b] Thomas *Taylor*, fil. Ric. Taylor pleb. of Coventry co. Warw. matriculated from Balliol, 7 Nov. 1718, aged 19, B.A. 25 May 1722. In the College admission Book he is entered as *Battellarius*, 24 Oct. 1718, becoming *Serviens*, 11 Mar. 1718-9.

[c] The Rev. James Barcocke of Pembroke Coll. Cambridge, B.A. 1679, M.A. 1683, was chosen Master Queen Elizabeth's School at Barnet 4 April 1689, and held the appointment until his death in 1720. Tayler had become a governor of the school 4 Feb. 1688-9.

[d] Vide *supra*. p. 24.

this most approved devotional manual of the time was pronounced by him, on account of the stress it laid upon good works, to have "sent thousands to hell!" [a]

Mr. Tayler was interred in the churchyard of East Barnet to the east of the chancel, and a handsome altar-tomb denotes his resting place.[b] It has the following inscription:—

Here lies the Body of
Robert Tayler, late Rector of East Barnet & Prebendary of Lincoln, whose solid & useful Learning, judicious and ready Zeal for the Doctrine & Discipline of the church of England had render'd him valuable to all sincere lovers thereof. After he had for the space of above 40 years Recommended true Christian Piety by his preaching and example, he left by his will that excellent Book intitled the Whole Duty of Man to every Family in his Parishes, as an Instance of his dying care and concern for their souls.
Ob^t Feb. 18th 1718 ætat. 72.

WALTER MORGAN, M.A. The son of James Morgan, of Manardivy (Maenordewi), co. Pembroke, he matriculated at Oxford from Jesus College, 16 Feb. 1709-10, aged 18, paying the fees of a plebeian's son. In the records of his college he is described as a *Batteler*, and he writes his name *Morgann* in the Subscription Book. He became B.A. 13 Oct. 1713, and M.A. 15 June 1716. In 1719 we meet with him as Mr. Tayler's successor at Hadley, where he in his turn made way for Mr. Pennant in 1732. The registers were on the whole carefully kept during this period and the entries made in Latin. Towards the close of 1728, however, there is a *hiatus* until Mr. Pennant's appointment, and, in April 1731, we have Mr. Morgan's name recorded for the last time as present at a meeting of the Vestry. The cause is perhaps capable of explanation. His brother, the Rev. Sutton Morgan[c] M.A. had married

[a] Lecky's Hist. of England in the Eighteenth Century, ii. 560.

[b] The spot will be included within the extension of the chancel, which it is proposed to carry into effect in the course of the present year (1880), and the tomb removed.

[c] Sutton Morgan, of Univ. Coll. Oxford, took his degree of B.A. 1 June 1716. The name is not in the Matriculation Register, but he signed himself *Morgann*, pleb. fil. in the Subscription Book, 26 March 1713.

Anne, the only surviving child of William Trench esq.[a] and Ruth his wife. To Mr. Trench had been granted, in the 13th[b] year of Queen Anne's reign, a licence to erect support and maintain at his own expense a lighthouse or beacon on the island or rock called Skerries, 7 miles N.N.E. of Holyhead and 2 from Point Carnel in the county of Anglesea, of which dreary islet, swarming with fish and seafowl, he already had possession for a long term. The concession was originally for 60 years, and, in accordance with the terms of the patent, Mr. Trench built the lighthouse, which was completed in 1717 or 1718, at a cost of more than £3,000, losing his then only son, together with a ship and cargo of valuable materials, in going to the island to carry on the work. During his lifetime, as the preamble of the Act sets forth, he maintained the new erection, notwithstanding its acknowledged utility, to the utter ruin of himself and family, owing in great measure to the difficulty of exacting the tolls due from passing vessels. Upon his decease, 25 June 1725, his interest in the adventure devolved upon his daughter and her husband, who, having striven to support it as far as in him lay, obtained in consideration of the circumstances an Act of Parliament, 3 Geo. 2 c. 36, for confirming the patent and vesting the duties granted in the said Sutton Morgan his heirs and assigns for ever.

By his will, dated 22 Aug. 1730,[c] Sutton Morgan devised the lighthouse to his brother, the rector of Hadley, upon certain trusts,—in the first instance for the benefit of any child or children that might afterwards be born to him, he being at the time childless. With a just prevision, it may be, of the property eventually attaining a considerable value, he made it the subject of a strict entail, his brother Walter and his issue coming next in order upon a failure of his own descendants. Any such anticipations must have been more than realized. When the lighthouse was sold to the Trinity Board for £445,000, in 1835, the annual revenue is stated to have been £20,000.[d]

[a] Brother of Frederick Trench esq. from whom descend the earls of Clancarty, and of John Trench, dean of Raphoe, ancestor of lord Ashtown. His will, dated 5 June 1725, was proved P.C.C. 25 Oct. 1726 by Ruth the relict, power being reserved to his nephew Frederick Trench. (Book Plymouth 213.) He d. 25 June 1725, and was bur. at St Margaret's Westminster, in which parish he resided.

[b] Pat. Rolls, 13 July 1714. Statutes at large, Pickering, xvi. 194.

[c] Proved P.C.C. 4 Nov. 1730 by Walter Morgan clerk, the brother, sole executor. (Book Auber 310.) On 17 Sep. 1750 Admin. c. T. of the goods unadministered was granted to the guardian of Trench Morgan, the only child of Sutton Morgan, a minor of the age of 19.

[d] Sharp's Gazetteer, 1852. 6 and 7 Will. 4. c. 79, where it is said to be under the control of Morgan Jones, esq. acting by virtue of an Act of 3 Geo. II.

At the death of his brother, to whom was born a posthumous son, Walter Morgan would have succeeded to a grave responsibility, of a nature to engross a large portion of time and attention. We find him making his will, being unmarried, on the 1 Nov. 1731, at the Talbot Inn, Shrewsbury, and it is conceivable that he may have been journeying either to or from the Skerries. The document contains evidence that his task was not free from difficulty. He estimates the existing liabilities of the undertaking at £2,000, towards which it is mentioned that Mr. Andrew Hopegood of Hadley had advanced £200, secured by mortgage.

In Jan. 1732[a] Walter Morgan was constituted archdeacon of St. David's, and instituted on the following 10 Feb.[b] His successor was instituted 26 May in the same year, and on the 22 June the will of Walter Morgan, still described in the Act of Probate as of Monken Hadley, was proved P. C. C.[c] by his brothers Jacob and David Morgan. Instructions are given therein that he may be buried in the church or churchyard next to the place where he shall happen to depart this life,[d] at an expense which shall not exceed £20. To the poor of Hadley, "where I have been an unworthy minister for many years," he bequeaths forty shillings. The concerns of the lighthouse constitute, as might be expected, the principal feature of the will, and he hands over all his right and title in the same to his brother Jacob Morgan, of Pengwerne, esq. and his brother of the half blood, David Morgan of Carmarthen, attorney, inclusive of an annuity of £50 and a further sum of £300 left to him out of profits during the minority of his brother's child, Trench Morgan. Mention is made of his step-mother, Mrs. Rachel Morgan, of his three sisters, Anne, the wife of Mr. Henry Thomas, Jean Morgan, and Rachel Morgan,—the last being of the half-blood,—and of his nieces, Elizabeth, Rebecca, and Margaret, daughters of his brother Jacob. To each of his worthy friends, William Lloyd and Philip Chandler,[e] both of Hadley, esquires, a guinea is left to buy a ring.

[a] Gent's. Mag.

[b] Le Neve, Fasti Eccl. Angl. i. 310.

[c] P.C.C. (Book Bedford 173.)

[d] The register being defective at this period there are no means of ascertaining whether he was buried at Hadley.

[e] Third son of Percival Chandler, who 23 June 1725 purchased the house, now called Dury House, previously the property of the Wilfords, of John Cotton esq. and whose will was proved 16 June 1731. Vide *supra*, p. 69.

JOHN PENNANT, M.A. Born in the year 1700, the younger son of Peter Pennant of Bychton co. Flint by his 1st marriage with Catharine (2nd daughter of Owen Wynne esq. of Glynn), who d. 23 Dec. 1700, John Pennant matriculated at Oxford, as a commoner, from Jesus College, 11 March 1719-20, being then 19 years of age, and took the degrees of B.A. 12 Oct. 1723 and M.A. 28 June 1726. In the month of March 1732 [a] he was presented to the living of Hadley. His father in his will, dated 23 Sep. 1735,[b] bequeaths him all his books of what kind soever, together with certain contingent interests, in the event of his surviving his two sisters Elizabeth and Margaret, and an annuity of £30 for life, unless "he shall obtain or be possessed of any farther preferment or be so beneficed in the Church that the whole of his preferment therein amount to the annual sum of two hundred pounds," in which case "the said yearly sum of £30 shall utterly cease and determine."

The Rev. John Pennant, who was likewise rector of Compton Martin, Somersetshire, where indeed there is no record of his personal presence,[c] and chaplain to the Princess Dowager of Wales, mother of George III, made his home at Hadley for more than 38 years, and there died 28 Oct. 1770. His nephew, Thomas [d] Pennant of Downing, the naturalist, writes in his Journey from Chester to London, 1782,[e] "At a small distance stands Hadley Church, and pleasant village, on the edge of Enfield Chace, where in my boyish age, I passed many happy days with my uncle the Rev. John Pennant; who, during forty years, was the worthy minister of the place."

Mr. Pennant's will is dated 17 May 1769.[f] He desires to be buried by the Rev. Mr. Garrow, and at a frugal expense, in a grave in the south aisle of Hadley church near the door belonging to the reading-desk, which, as well as the pulpit, was then placed against the middle pillar between that aisle and the nave. The six pall bearers are expressly named;—Mr.

[a] Gent's. Mag.

[b] Proved P.C.C. 5 Jan. 1736-7. (Book Wake 10.)

[c] From the information of the Rev. E. W. Warren, the present rector.

[d] Author of the Itinerary, the son of David Pennant esq. of Bychton and Downing, elder brother of the Rev. John Pennant. His great-grand-daughter and heiress, Louisa Pennant, married in 1846 viscount Feilding (present earl of Denbigh) and d. s. p. at Naples in 1853.

[e] pp. 283-4-5.

[f] Proved P.C.C. 9 Nov. 1770, by his nieces Sarah and Catharine Pennant. (Book Jenner 408.)

Thomas Shewell, Mr. Marlar,[a] Mr. Horton Sen[r],[b] Mr. Edward Hopegood, Mr. Egerton[c] and Captain Cottrell,[d] (Mr. John Long to take Mr. Shewell's place if he be unable to attend), to each of whom and to Mr. Garrow he leaves mourning rings hatbands and scarves. To the duke of Chandos,[e] in return for many favours, he bequeaths his large silver tobacco box, and to the marquis of Carnarvon[f] a mourning ring. Mention is made of his sisters Elizabeth and Margaret Pennant, of Holywell in Flintshire, and of his nieces Sarah and Catharine, of St. James' Westminster, the daughters of his late brother David. To his grand-nephew David Pennant, the son of Thomas, he gives all his books, a gold watch, a gold ring set with brilliants and an amethyst, his gold studs and silver buckles gilt; to his grand niece Miss Bell Pennant a round silver snuff box with my lord Dunmore's coronet and cypher upon it, a five-guinea piece, and a silver medal struck at the Restoration of Charles II.

He was buried, according to his request, in the south aisle on the 4 Nov. following his death, where a slab in the pavement, which had become much defaced at the time of the late restoration, recorded that he had resided at Hadley for more than 40 years[g] much respected, and died truly regretted. Against the wall above are memorial tablets to the two nieces mentioned in his will, Sarah Pennant, who died 11 Nov. 1780 and Catharine Pennant, her younger sister, who died 10 Feb. 1797. Beneath the former were formerly the arms, now wholly obliterated; Arg. three bars wavy az. on the middle one three martlets of the field. Crest. Out of a ducal coronet an heraldic antelope's head arg. horned and maned or.

JOHN BURROWS, B.C.L. This incumbency, though commencing more than a century ago, seems, notwithstanding, owing to family con-

[a] John Marlar, calico printer, of Wallington in the parish of Beddington co. Surrey, purchased Dury House of Mrs. Susanna Chandler widow of Thomas Chandler the 2nd son of Percival, 8 Feb. 1749.

[b] John Horton esq. who resided at Mr. Milne's house.

[c] John Egerton esq. who d. 26 March 1789.

[d] Afterwards the Rev. C. J. Cottrell, successively curate and rector of Hadley.

[e] Henry Brydges, 2nd duke of Chandos, of Canons, Edgeware, d. 28 Nov. 1771.

[f] James Brydges, afterwards 3rd duke of Chandos, mar. 1st, 22 March 1753, Margaret, dau. and heiress of John Nicol esq. of Minchenden House Southgate, and d. s. p. m. 29 Sep. 1789. Burke's Extinct Peerage.

[g] It might almost be inferred from this that he had been Mr. Morgan's curate before succeeding to the living.

siderations, to connect itself with the history of Hadley down to our own times. The descendants of the Rev. John Burrows have continued to identify themselves in a manner with the parish and, as late as the month of May 1860, a daughter of the old rector, then in very advanced age, continued to reside amid the scenes, as she never ceased to occupy herself with the interests, that had surrounded her from childhood.

John Burrowes, or Burrows, (d. 3 Jan. 1744-5) a wholesale woollen draper of Lombard Street, but of a family belonging to Thame in Oxfordshire, married Amy Albin of Shepton Mallet, by whom he had, besides three daughters, a son named after himself, born in Lombard Street in the year 1733. The son has left in his own hand a brief record of his early career, consigned to paper, as he himself testifies, on the very day of his marriage. Having been educated at Thame Grammar School he entered Trinity College, Oxford, as a commoner, in 1750,[a] "the year of the earthquake in London,"[b] removed thence to Exeter College, went out in Law, became a student at the Middle Temple (1753 or 1754), and was called to the Bar. In 1760 he took Holy Orders and, on 28 Dec. 1762, married Maria, third daughter and seventh child of Thomas (bur. 24 May 1744) and Culling Smith of Hadley. The Smiths were of Huguenot origin and had come over from France in the reign of Elizabeth, changing their patronymic of Lefevre into its English equivalent, according to a custom which has extensively prevailed.

It is believed that Mr. Burrows' earliest curacy was that of Christ Church, Southwark, of which he afterwards became rector. Before succeeding to Hadley he had been rector of Millbrook near Southampton, to which benefice he was presented in 1767, through the influence of Mrs. Chapone with her uncle, bishop Thomas of Winchester, but his chief employment was in London, where he held the morning preachership of St. Anne's Soho, being so described in the Hadley register, when officiating at the marriage, in 1763, of Fanny Smith, his wife's youngest sister, to Mr. Charles Jeffryes Cottrell, at that time an officer in the Grenadier Guards, but who in March 1782 became his curate. From 1764 he was likewise incumbent or lecturer of Berkeley Chapel, which he resigned in Sep. 1773,[c] upon

[a] 17 March 1749-50.

[b] The first shock took place on Thurs. 8 Feb. between 12 and 1 p.m. This was felt at Highgate and Finchley, but not at Barnet. Another more violent shock, and of longer duration, was experienced at 5.30 a.m. on Tues. 8 March. Gent's Mag. vol. xx. 89. 137.

[c] Gent's Mag.

being appointed by lord Exeter, a member of that congregation, rector of St. Clement Danes. It was during his incumbency of the latter parish that Dr. Johnson attended the church, as recorded on a tablet marking the spot where the old literary chieftain used to worship. In Boswell's Life of Johnson there is a reference to one of his sermons.

Upon the death of Mr. Pennant he was presented to the living of Hadley, the date of his donation from Mr. John Pinney of Blackdown being 29 Nov. 1770, on which day the patron by Deed Poll inducted him into the corporal possession of the church with its rights and appurtenances.

At Hadley Mr. Burrows continued to reside and officiate until his death. He was a popular preacher in a high sense of the expression, a man of intelligence and vigour, orthodoxy and earnestness. Mrs. Chapone, writing to Mrs. Carter, says of him, "I wish you were to hear Mr. Burrows preach. There is a simplicity and an earnestness in his manner more affecting than anything I ever heard from the pulpit. His matter is not less admirable than his manner: both seem to speak the true spirit of Christianity." He was a good classical scholar and, as the emoluments of his benefices were small, took pupils. From a volume of memoirs privately printed by one of his grandsons,[a] as well as from a diary kept by himself during the last five years of his life, he seems to have occupied a leading position in a literary society that counted several distinguished ladies[b] in its membership, among the best known of whom may be reckoned Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu,[c] whose nephew[d] he educated, Mrs. Elizabeth Carter,[e] Mrs. Delany, who described him as "a man of excellent true Xtian principles, as well as a man of learning and superiour genius,"

[a] Captain Montagu Burrows R.N. now Fellow of All Souls and Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.

[b] To the members of this learned coterie was first assigned the sobriquet of "Blue Stockings." Biogr. Univ.

[c] Daughter of Matthew Robinson, esq. b. at York 2 Oct. 1720, mar. in 1742 Edward Montagu, grandson of the first earl of Sandwich, d. 25 Aug. 1800. Biogr. Univ.

[d] Matthew Robinson, who assumed the name of Montagu, and in 1829 became the fourth lord Rokeby.

[e] Born in 1717, died in 1806, "the English Dacier," whom even Dr. Johnson admitted to be learned and wise beyond the reach of his criticism. "In the literature of the period (close of George the Second's reign) we may see the reflection of these influences. Poets like Young, philosophers like Dr. Johnson, leaders of literary society like Mrs. Carter and Mrs. Montagu, slowly but surely brought religion into fashion." Quarterly Review No. CCXCII. pp. 349, 353, art. on "Rise of the Modern British Empire."

the hon. Mrs. Boscawen,[a] and Mrs. Hester Chapone.[b] His acquaintance with the last named was of long standing, and we find him writing to her as Miss Mulso in 1759. Her intimacy with his family lasted until her own death, at Hadley, in very reduced circumstances, on Christmas Day 1801, in her 74th year. A flat stone in the churchyard marks the spot where her ashes rest.

It may be conjectured that, in his contributions to the *belles lettres* in this pleasant society, Mr. Burrows was chiefly remarkable as an agreeable and versatile conversationalist, though several specimens of his facility in verse are extant;—amongst the rest, a graceful sonnet addressed to his daughter Fanny in 1783. This lady, who, during a prolonged life, became a very prominent figure at Hadley, was a person of unusually marked character. She was distinguished for her zeal in the promotion of education, and took so leading a part in the conduct and management of the parish schools, at which she was an almost daily visitor, that they were frequently identified with her name.

In personal appearance the rector has been described as "a broad heavy-built, but well-made man, with an upright, resolute, keen, intelligent air." From his own remarks, as well as from the observations of correspondents, he seems in his declining strength, when frequent illness and failing spirits had impaired the zest for social intercourse, to have keenly appreciated the solace of whist. His friend Mrs. Chapone, in a sonnet written "on our whist club day," playfully rallies him on his supposed predilection for the game;—

> For Honour's sake leave to some future year
> The sad resource of dulness or of age;
> Nor till thy sprightly converse please no more,
> With solemn face on painted paper pore.

About the year 1781 he experienced a hoarseness, of which he dreaded the return, and which he attributed to the penetrating sharpness of the Hadley

[a] Frances, dau. of William Evelyn Glanville esq, mar. in 1742 the hon. Edward Boscawen, admiral of the blue. Their son succ. in 1782 as 3rd viscount Falmouth.

[b] Mr. John Chapone, a solicitor in London, son of Rev. John Chapone by his wife Sarah Kirkham, mar. Dec. 1760, Hester, dau. of Thomas Mulso esq. of Twywell, Northants. and left her a widow ten months afterwards. The name appears to have been arbitrarily altered from Capon or Chapon.

air. On more than one occasion he refers to what he terms the "intolerable cold" of the place. "I have an aversion to Hadley," he writes, 28 Oct. 1784, "which I confess is foolish, considering how many advantages I enjoy there, and how impossible it is that I should remove from it." His death took place at the rectory 1 July 1786, after an illness accompanied with much suffering, which he bore with the greatest fortitude. His remains lie beneath a flat stone in the nave, with the following inscription engraved upon it;—

IOHANNES BURROWS, LL.B.
Sancti Clementis Dani in urbe Londinensi,
Ecclesiæ Christi in Suthriâ,
necnon hujus Ecclesiæ Rector,
Obiit Kal: Jul: MDCCLXXXVI,
Ætat: LIV.
Probus, mansuetus, doctus, eloquens.
Hoc marmor mœrens familia posuit.
In eodem Sepulchro requiescit
Jacobus filius ejus natu minimus
Quem intra dies quinquaginta
Post patris obitum, vix sex emensum
Annos, morbus parum notus abstulit.
MDCCLXXXVI
Here also lie the remains of
MARIA BURROWS,
Wife to the above said
IOHN BURROWS,
Died in Nov. 1791.

Against the wall of the south aisle is a memorial of Mrs. Amy Burrows, sister of the Rev. John Burrows, a woman of exemplary piety and remarkable literary culture, who died unmarried 3 May 1811, at the age of 80, erected by the five children of her brother.[a] Near to it has been placed a brass;—

[a] She was buried on May 10, at the same hour as Mrs. Cottrell, wife of the rector, the two families meeting in the road between Hadley Lodge and the Rectory, and forming a joint procession to the church. From 1770 to this date, a period of 41 years, the Rectory had continued to be the home of the Burrows family. It was afterwards occupied by curates, until the death of Mr. Cottrell.

In Memory of Frances Burrows
only daughter of the Rev[d] John Burrows, Rector of Hadley,
who was born April 16. 1773, and died May 11. 1860,
having in this parish served her generation, blessing and blessed.
To God be glory through Jesus Christ for ever, Amen.
The five sons[a] of her brother Lieut.-General Montagu Burrows
join together in gratefully recording her self denying life
and noble character.
Arms. Az. three fleurs de lis erm.

Whilst Mr. Burrows enjoyed the benefice, the Enfield Chace Act, 17 Geo. 3. c. 17, referred to at the commencement of this history, became law. It was thereby enacted, That all that Portion or Share of the said *Monken Hadley* Allotment, lying on the North side of the Road called *Camlot-way*, containing Fifty Acres, as the same is staked or marked out upon the said Chase, and described and distinguished from the Rest of the said Chase on the said Survey or Plan thereof, as *The Allotment to the Incumbent of Monken Hadley*, shall, from and after the passing of this Act, be and become vested in the Incumbent of the Donative Peculiar or Parish Church of *Monken Hadley* for the Time being, and his Successors for ever, in Lieu and Discharge of, and as a Satisfaction for, all Tythes whatsoever, accruing, arising, or growing due to the Incumbent of *Monken Hadley* or his Successors, within the said parish of *Monken Hadley;* and that all the Residue and Remainder of the said Two hundred and forty Acres, assigned to the said Parish of *Monken Hadley*, and described and distinguished from the Rest of the said Chase on the said Survey or Plan as The Monken Hadley Common shall from and after the passing of this Act, become and from thenceforth be and remain vested in the Churchwardens of the said Parish of *Monken Hadley* for the Time being, and their Successors for ever, in Trust for, and for the sole Benefit of the Owners and Proprietors of Freehold and Copyhold Messuages, Lands, and Tenements, within the said Parish of *Monken Hadley*, their Heirs and

[a] Rev. H. W. Burrows, B.D. Fellow of S[t] John's Coll. Oxford; Prebendary of S[t] Paul's; vicar of Edmonton.
Major Gen. A. G. Burrows, R. Art.
Montagu Burrows, M.A. Captain R.N. Fellow of All Souls' Coll.
Rev. L. F. Burrows, M.A. Fellow of Wadham Coll. Vicar of Witley, Surrey.
E. H. Burrows esq. Balliol Coll. Ceylon Civil Service.

Assigns, and their Lessees, Tenants, and Undertenants, for the Time being, intitled to a Right of Common, or other Rights within the said Chase, according to their several Estates and Interests therein.

It was further enacted that, in any composition to be made for the discharge of Tithes, the agreement, in relation to the rector's allotment, should be executed by the incumbent and patron, without requiring, as in other cases, the approval of the bishop;—that the total allotment of 240 acres should become an integral part of the parish of Monken Hadley; —that leases of the glebe might be granted for 21 years by the incumbent, with the consent of the patron;—and that the parish should become subject to the visitation of the Ordinary in all spiritual matters, induction and institution, and payment of visitation fees, only excepted.

Charles Jeffryes Cottrell. M.A. In the preceding sketch of Mr. Burrows' life allusion has been made to his relative and successor, the Rev. C. J. Cottrell. Sir Clement Cottrell knt. born at Wilsford co. Linc. in 1585, but said to have been of Norfolk extraction,[a] for 20 years groomporter to James I, married Anne daughter of Henry Allen, and died 10 Nov. 1631,[b] leaving a son, Charles, then 16½ years of age and three daughters.[c] The son, afterwards Sir Charles Cottrell knt, Master of the Ceremonies from 1641 to 1686,[d] in which capacity he is alluded to by Evelyn,[e] accompanied Charles II. abroad, and for a time resided at Breda. He married Frances, daughter of Edward West of Marsworth co. Bucks, and died at an advanced age in 1701. Clement, the eldest son of this marriage, perished[f] in the great sea fight off Southwold Bay, 28 May 1672, when the combined English and French fleets, the one commanded by the duke of York and the earl of Sandwich and the other by the count d'Estrées, were attacked by the Dutch under

[a] Harl. MS. 1552 f. 202. Visitation of Norfolk 1563—1613.

[b] 19 Dec. 1631, Admin. of Sir Clement Cottrell, late of the parish of St. Martin's in the fields, knt. was granted to Anne his widow. He was knighted, as Groom Porter, 26 Dec. 1620. Cotton. MS. Claud. C. iii. f. 254[b].

[c] Harl. MS. 757 f. 315, Cole Coll. ex. Inq. Harl. MS. 5802 p. 24. List of Knights, collected by Peter Leneve, Rouge Croix.

[d] Pepys' Diary ii. 125 note, lord Braybrooke's ed.

[e] Diary i. 394. 504.

[f] 9 Oct. 1673. Admin. of Clement Cottrell, "nuper in servitio Domini Regis," bach[r], was granted to Sir Charles Cottrell knt, his father.

De Ruyter. Young Cottrell was on board the *Prince*, which bore the flag of lord Sandwich and was burnt during the engagement.[a]

The will of Sir Charles Cottrell, described as of the parish of St. Martin's in the fields, was proved P.C.C. 21 June 1701.[b] He desires to be buried in the north aisle of St. Martin's church, under his pew, near his father and mother but, should he die out of London, in the parish where he dies, "without any monument or inscription." To the second wife[c] of his son, Sir Charles Lodowick Cottrell, he bequeaths "a necklace of pearle which cost me three hundred and thirty pounds above thirty years agoe." To his constantly obliging friend Sir Stephen Fox[d] is left "a ring, with a figure cut in an onix, which was given by King Charles the first from his finger to S^r^. Phillip Warwick[e] at the treaty in the Isle of Wight, to seale the letters he there writt to him, and which S^r^. Phillip left to me as a legacie, and which I cannot leave to any body that has beene a greater honourer of that excellent prince's memory nor a worthyer friend to us both and who for these reasons I know will value it."

Sir Charles Lodowick Cottrell, the son, to whom the Elector Palatine was godfather, and who had been a gentleman-commoner of Merton College, was knighted at[f] Whitehall 18 Feb. 1686, in which year his father resigned in his favour the office of Master of the Ceremonies. The Hadley rate books indicate, as we have already seen, that he had been a resident in the parish between 1684 and 1699.[g] By his first marriage Sir C. L. Cottrell became the ancestor of the Cottrell-Dormers of Rousham Hall Oxfordshire.[h] John Cottrell, the eldest son of the second mar-

[a] Evelyn's Diary i. 429. [b] Book Dyer 77.

[c] Elizabeth, only daughter of Chaloner Chute esq.

[d] Originally a chorister in Salisbury cathedral, he became eventually Paymaster to the Forces. Evelyn's Diary i. 493. Pepys' Diary. Stephen Fox, the elder son of his second marriage, became the first earl of Ilchester and Henry, the second son, was created lord Holland.

[e] Born in London 1608. Accompanied Charles I., in Nov. 1647, to the Isle of Wight as his secretary. After the Restoration he was Secretary to the Treasury. "I console myself at the thought of approaching death," he was accustomed to say in his declining years, "with the hope of meeting again my King in heaven." Biog. Univ. Evelyn's Diary. Pepys' Diary. Will proved P.C.C. 5 April, 1683. "To S[r] Charles Coterel the little seal of my old m[r] King Charles." (Book Drax, 50).

[f] Harl. MS. 5802, p. 24. [g] Vide *supra* p. 25.

[h] Burke's Landed Gentry. Sir C. L. Cottrell d. in 1710. On 10 Aug. of that year his son Sir Clement Cottrell knt. (afterwards Sir Clement Cottrell-Dormer) was appointed Master of the Ceremonies at a salary of £200 a year. Pat. Rolls.

riage,[a] colonel of a regiment of Marines, which he commanded at the attack of Carthagena in 1741, married Miss Martha Orr of Londonderry, and by her had, with other children, an elder son, Charles Jeffryes Cottrell, who, having entered the army, became lieutenant and captain in the 1st regiment of Foot Guards. He married, as has been mentioned, Fanny, daughter of Thomas and Culling Smith of Hadley and, having quitted the army, took holy orders in 1771, and was successively vicar of Harmondsworth[b] cum Drayton Middlesex (1772—1786), rector of North Waltham Hants, of St Peter's and St Margaret's Norfolk, of Monken Hadley, and vicar of Sarrat Herts.[c]

His donation to Hadley was from Mr. Pinney and bore the date of 1 Sep. 1786, in form verbatim according to the donation to Mr. Burrows, but he only seems to have taken possession of the benefice on the 26 of the ensuing November. The patronage of the advowson was at this period in the act of transition from Mr. Pinney to Mr. Baker, the date of whose purchase was 14 Sep. 1786. Mr. Cottrell's presentation may be said in consequence to have fallen between the two, and was possibly effected by mutual arrangement.

Hadley, however, continued to be his home, where, during an incumbency extending to January 1819, he occupied the residence known as Hadley Lodge, his own property, which only passed out of the possession of his descendants a few years since, subsequently to the death (9 Nov. 1860) of his grandson Mr. Charles Herbert Cottrell M.A. of Pembroke College Cambridge, barrister at law, an active magistrate and accomplished German and Italian scholar, the translator into English of the late baron Bunsen's work, Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte (Egypt's Place in Universal History). Those who remember the rector describe him as a spare and active man, short of stature. He lies buried with other members of his family within a railed inclosure of the churchyard immediately beneath the eastern window of the south transept. There is a tablet to his memory on the south wall of the chancel with the inscription:

[a] His will, as of Ewhurst in the county of Southampton, was dated at Bath 27 Sep. 1745 and proved P. C. C. 4 Feb. 1746-7. (Book Potter 33.)

[b] Woodburn Eccl. Top. Harmondsworth.

[c] 6 March 1807. Clutterbuck i. 225.

This tablet is
erected to the memory of
the Rev[d] CHARLES JEFFREYS COTTRELL,
30 years Rector of this Parish,
who departed this life
the 25[th] day of January 1819,
Aged 80 years.
Also of FANNY his wife,
who departed this life
the 5[th] day of May 1811,
Aged 62 years.
In testimony of the affection of
their four surviving daughters.
Arms. Arg. a bend betw. three escallops sa. Impaling *Smith*,
Vert; three acorns slipped or.
Crest. A talbot's head sa. collared and lined or, the collar
charged with three escallops.

ROBERT GEORGE BAKER, M.A. This name must not be omitted from the list, since he was formally presented to the benefice, though his tenure of it was of the briefest, and it may be questioned whether he ever actually came into residence. Born 28 Oct. 1788, a younger son of William Baker esq. of Bayfordbury, — M.P. for Herts in five successive parliaments, 31 to 47 Geo. III. who, as we have seen, had purchased the patronage from the Pinneys,—by his second wife Sophia, third daughter of John and lady Henrietta Conyers of Copt Hall Essex, Mr. Robert George Baker was educated at Harrow and afterwards at Trinity College Cambridge, where he took his degree of B.A. in 1810 and M.A. in 1813. In 1811 he became curate of Hertingfordbury, and in 1816 of Springfield Essex. On 26 Jan. 1819, the day following Mr. Cottrell's death, it is recorded by himself that he went up to London from Springfield to take the necessary steps preliminary to his appointment to the living of Hadley. The bishop of London's secretary, Mr. Hodgson, having all the papers ready the next day, "I subscribed my assent to the 39 Articles, the 3[rd] Article of the 36[th] Canon, and all things contained in them, and also declared my conformity to the Liturgy of the Church of England. I then took the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, which my

Pedigree of COTTRELL.[a]

Thomas Cotterell, of South Repps, co. Norf. = Mary, dau. and heiress of Sir John Inglish.

Robert Cotterell, of South Repps. = Anne, dau. of Nicholas Bohun, of Westhall, Fressingfield, co. Suff.

Nicholas Cotterell.

Margaret.

Sir Clement Cotterell, Knt. b. in Lincolnshire 1585, d. 10 Nov. 1631. Bur. at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Admin. 19 Dec. 1631. = Anne, dau. of Henry Allen (or Alleyne) of co. Linc. d. 1660. Bur. at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

Sir Charles Cottrell, Knt. Master of the Ceremonies. b. in Lincolnshire 1615, d. 1701. Will proved P. C. C. 21 June, 1701. = Frances, dau. of Edward West, of Marsworth, co. Bucks, and sister of Edmund West, serjeant at law.

Bridget d. 1687. aged 76 = Sir Thomas Clayton, Warden of Merton Coll. 1661—1693.

Clement d. unm. æt. 22. 28 May 1672. Admin. 9 Oct. 1673.

Elizabeth, dau. of James (or Nicholas) Burwell, of Rougham, co. Suff. = Sir Charles Lodowick Cottrell, Knt. Gent. Com. of Merton Coll. M.C. 1686. d. 1710. Admin. 22 Aug. 1710. = Elizabeth, only dau. of Chaloner Chute esq. 2 wife.

Anne mar. 10 Dec. 1668 Robert Dormer, of Rousham, co. Oxon, esq.

Elizabeth, mar. Sir William Trumbull, Knt. Secretary of State to Will. 3. d.s.p. 8 July 1704.

James Clayton. (Will of Sir Charles Cottrell.)

Bridget mar. Edward, son of Sir Edward Nicholas.

Charles, d. unm. æt. 24. Admin. 8 May 1707.

Henry, of E.I.C.S. d. unm. Admin. 11 Sep. 1714.

Frances, d. unm.

Sir Clement Cottrell-Dormer, Knt. M.C. ancestor of the Cottrell-Dormers, of Rousham. Mar. —— dau. of —— Sherburne, d. 1758.

Jane, d. unm. 1762. Bur. at St. Anne's Soho.

Col. John Cottrell d. 13 Oct. 1746. Will proved P. C. C. 4 Feb. 1746-7. = Martha Orr d. Dec. 1778.

Madlle. d'Ablaine d. of small pox. = Stephen LL.D. d. 1738. Mar. 2ndly Mary Anne dau. of Maj.-Gen. Desaguliers and widow of Thomas Cartwright of Aynho. Will proved P. C. C. 26 May 1738. Bur. at St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf.

William D.D. dean of Raphoe, bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, d. unm. 1744. Bur. at St. Anne's Soho. Admin. July 1744 to Col. J. Cottrell. his brother.

Elizabeth d. unm. 1815 aged 77.

Rev. Charles Jeffryes Cottrell, Rector of Hadley. b. in Dublin 1739-40. d. 25 Jan. 1819. Bur. at Hadley. = Fanny, dau. of Thomas and Culling Smith. Bur. at Hadley.

John in holy orders, d. unm. 1766. Bur. at Rousham.

Sir Stephen Cottrell Knt. M.C. and Clerk of the Council d. s. p. 1813.

Elizabeth.

Charles, M.A. barrister-at-law. d. unm. 25 Feb. 1829.

John, E.I.C.S. d. unm. at Bombay.

Rev. Clement Cottrell M.A. b. 5 Sep. 1773 d. 26 July 1814. = Georgiana 2 dau. of John Adams esq. of Peterwell. Bur. at Hadley.

William, d. unm.

Frederick, R.N. d. unm.

Frances

Frances, m. Rev. B. Evans

Isabella

Mary Elizabeth

Harriet

Anna Frederica

Sophia, m. Rev. J. H. G. Lefroy

Louisa Jemima

Emma

Charles Herbert Cottrell M.A. b. 27 Nov. 1806, d. unm. 9 Nov. 1860. Bur. at Hadley

Clement Chute

Lucius Frederick

Henry

George Edward

Clementina, m. Rev. John Sloper, of West Woodhay, Berks.

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[a] Harl. MSS. 1363 f. 36; 1552 f. 202; 5802 f. 24.

Arms. 1. Arg. a bend betw. three escallops sa. 2. Gu. three bars gemelles or, on a canton arg. five billets sa. for *Inglish*. 3. Az. on a fesse arg. betw. three birds, two pallets gu. Visitation of Norfolk 1563—1613.

Father, as patron, and Mr. Hodgson, as notary public, then attested. The instrument on which they were registered and attested was put into my hands. My father then signed and sealed another instrument certifying that I made in his presence and subscribed a declaration of conformity to the Liturgy. Upon my putting the question to Mr. Hodgson, he said that a licence from the bishop to preach was in this case unnecessary, the cure being a Donation. On the 29 January the deed of Donation was put into my hands by my Father and on the 30 I read in at Hadley."

It is presumable that, after reflection, Mr. Baker was unwilling to relinquish his curacy at Springfield. Beyond the memorandum above quoted his name only appears at Hadley as rector, when publishing the banns of marriage on Sunday 14 March. On the 29 June 1819 Mr. Thackeray's appointment is recorded in the same document, with a statement that a precisely similar procedure was followed.

Mr. Baker became rector of Springfield in 1822, rector of Little Berkhamstead in 1827, rector of Stevenage in 1833, vicar of Fulham in 1834, and prebendary of St. Paul's in 1846. In 1871 he resigned his benefice, but continued to reside at Ivy Cottage in Fulham parish, until his death 21 Feb. 1878 in his 90th year, having enjoyed the intimate friendship of three successive bishops of London, and being distinguished for much energy and tact. Several of his sermons have been printed, and he was fond of antiquarian investigation His will, dated 30 March 1872, was proved by Major Thomas Richard Baker, the brother, and William Franks, esq. of Woodside, Hatfield, the nephew.

Mr. Baker was twice married; firstly, to Emma daughter of William Franks esq. who died in 1864, and, secondly, to Mary 2nd daughter of the Rt. Hon. Laurence Sulivan, a niece of the late viscount Palmerston, who died 20 Oct. 1871.

John Richard Thackeray. M.A.[a] Born 17 May 1772; of Pembroke College Cambridge; B.A. as 16th Sen. Opt. 1794; M.A. 1797; vicar of Great Broxted, Essex, 1810; rector of Downham Market and vicar of Wiggenhall St. Mary Magdalen, both in Norfolk, 1811; rector of Monken Hadley 29 June 1819. His death, at the age of 74, took place 19 Aug. 1846, after a very short illness, at Hadley, where he

[a] Vide *supra* p. 74. Cf. The Herald and Genealogist ii. 326.

was buried 24 Aug. in a vault beneath the south transept, the date of his interment following immediately after one, at which he had himself officiated on the 16, three days only before he died. He married at Hatfield, of which place he was curate, 13 Dec. 1810, Marianne, daughter of William Franks esq. of Beech-hill-park Enfield and Fitzroy Square, and by her, who died 23 March 1855 aged 72, had issue an only son and two daughters, all baptized at Downham Market. He was a man of fine presence and genial bearing, much respected by a large circle of acquaintance. A tablet recording his decease, as well as that of his wife, has been placed on the north wall of the chancel.

GEORGE PROCTOR D.D. Born 26 March and baptized at Clewer, co. Berks, 29 April 1795, the son of George Proctor esq. of Clewer Lodge and Elizabeth his wife. B.A. of St. Edmund Hall Oxford in 1817, where he obtained a 3rd class in classics; M.A. of Worcester College 1820; B.D. 1828; D.D. 1829. Having been Master of the Lewes Grammar School and rector of St. Michael's in that town, he became Principal of Elizabeth College Guernsey in 1829, where he remained three years, and was subsequently, until his succession to the rectory of Hadley, head of a well known school at Brighton. After resigning the living of Hadley, 7 June 1860, Dr. Proctor was appointed by the Fishmongers' Company chaplain of Jesus Hospital at Bray, which appointment he held until April 1879. He married Jane, the sister of Mr. John Payne Collier, the editor of Shakspere, who died at Bray 13 Nov. 1876, aged 89. Dr. Proctor is still living.

FREDERICK CHARLES CASS. M.A. Eldest son of the late Frederick Cass esq. of Little Grove, East Barnet, youngest and last surviving son of William Cass esq. of Beaulieu Lodge, Winchmore Hill, who died 29 Oct. 1819, of a family, whose name was formerly written Casse, resident for many generations at Barmby on the Marsh, Asselby, and Knedlington, in the neighbourhood of Howden, Yorkshire. Born at Beaulieu Lodge, 4 Sep. 1824. Matriculated at Oxford from Balliol College 1 Dec. 1842; obtained a double honorary 4th class; B.A. 18 June 1846; M.A. 10 May 1849; afterwards a member of the Inner Temple; ordained at Chichester on Trinity Sunday 1850; curate of Hove Sussex 1850—1853, of Penshurst Kent 1853, of Totteridge Herts 1855, of St. Mary's Dover 1858-9; received his donation of the rectory of Monken

Hadley 29 June 1860. Married at Hove, 23 June 1853, Julia Elizabeth, second daughter of the late William Tewart, esq. of Glanton and Swinhoe, Northumberland, and by her has had issue four sons and two daughters, of whom a son and daughter are deceased.

THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. MARY THE VIRGIN.

Round the parish church and its associations cluster for the most part the interests of village life in England. Especially in the olden days, when population was but little migratory, was it closely linked with human existence from the cradle to the grave. To its font the newly born infant was conveyed by careful parents, as early as with safety could be done. A joyous peal rang out from the steeple on the occasion of each marriage ceremony performed within its walls. From the same steeple tolled the passing bell that spoke of friend or neighbour entering into rest, or of the last solemn offices about to be paid to the departed. For, as the Laureate sings,

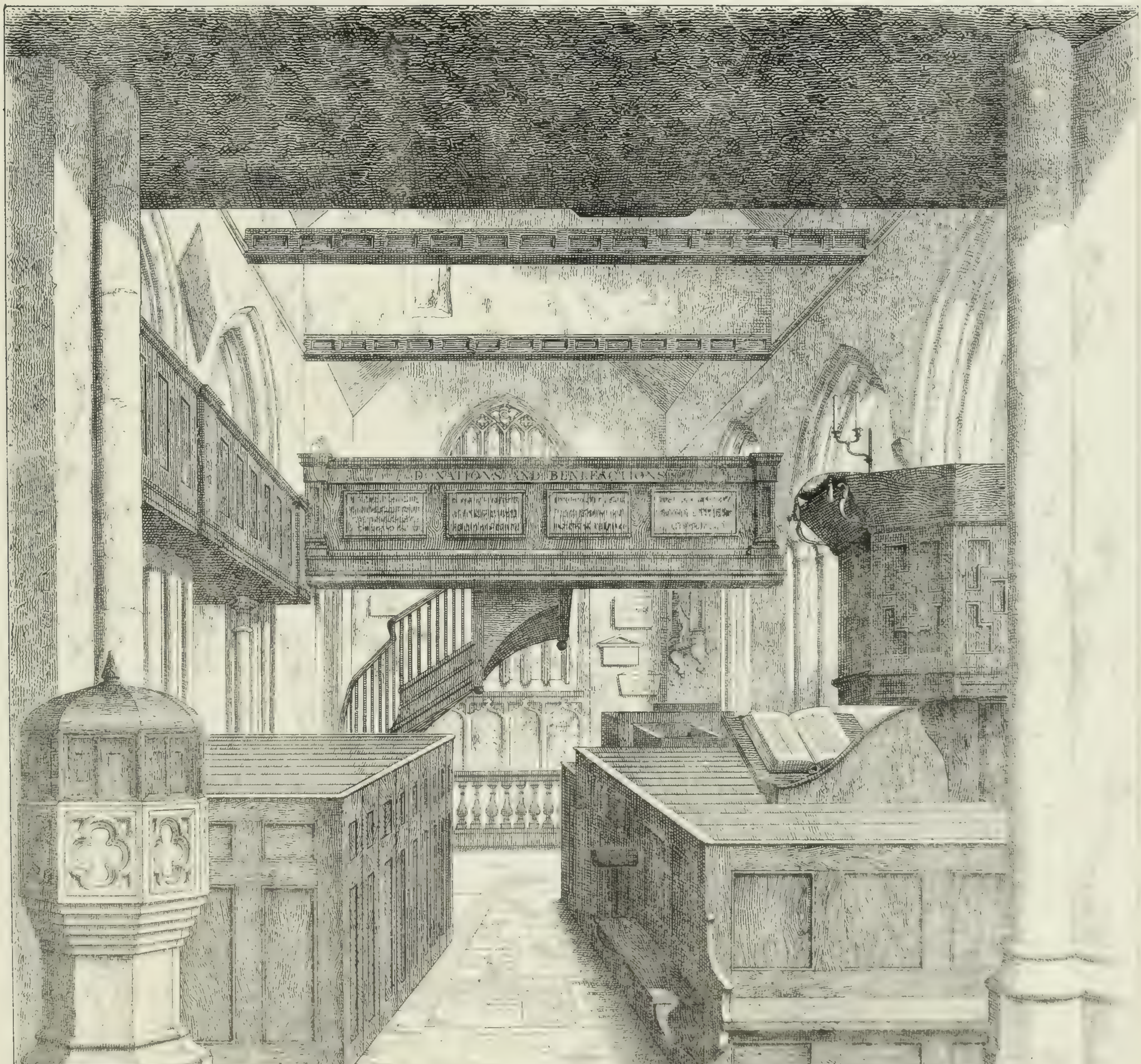
> "The woods decay, the woods decay and fall,
> The vapours weep their burthen to the ground,
> Man comes and tills the field and lies beneath." [a]

Castle and manor house, grange and cottage may pass away in their turn, or submit to such vicissitudes of proprietorship, that the relations with this or that family, or with this or that epoch, will have suffered interruption over and over again, whilst yet the memorials of successive owners will be discovered within the walls of the church or on the page of its registers, either in storied urn or animated bust or lustrous window set

> "'mong thousand heraldries,
> And twilight saints, and dim emblazonings;" [b]

or, it may be, less noticeably, in the records of a birth and of a burial, which tell all that remains to be told of the "short and simple annals of the poor." Say what we will, we in a manner identify the parish with the church, or, as perhaps it might be more correct to say, rarely think of the parish apart from its connection with the church. Hither come instinctively our kindred from the other side of the Atlantic, descendants of the men, who, for conscience' sake, regretfully turned their backs upon our shores in the seventeenth century, who sailed westwards in the Mayflower and in many another good ship, which bore

[a] Tennyson, *Tithonus.* [b] Keats, *Eve of St. Agnes.*



INTERIOR OF ST. MARY'S, MONKEN HADLEY, IN MAY 1848,

LOOKING EASTWARD

from a drawing by Mrs. Frederic Ouvry.

aching hearts to an untried and unimagined destiny, Here, if any where, they hope to discover the traces of their ancestry and unite the new home beyond the seas with the birthplace of the stock from which they spring. Among decaying stones and inscriptions almost obliterated they may seek in vain for the familiar letters that constitute their names, but, at all events, there remains an assurance that somewhere within the consecrated inclosure, somewhere beneath those grass-grown hillocks, lie the remains of those from whom they are derived, because hither generation after generation of the past has been carried to its last earthly resting place. As their own poet has beautifully written ;—[a]

> "Daily the tides of life go ebbing and flowing beside them,
> Thousands of throbbing hearts, where theirs are at rest and for ever,
> Thousands of aching brains, where theirs no longer are busy,
> Thousands of toiling hands, where theirs have ceased from their labours,
> Thousands of weary feet, where theirs have completed their journey!"

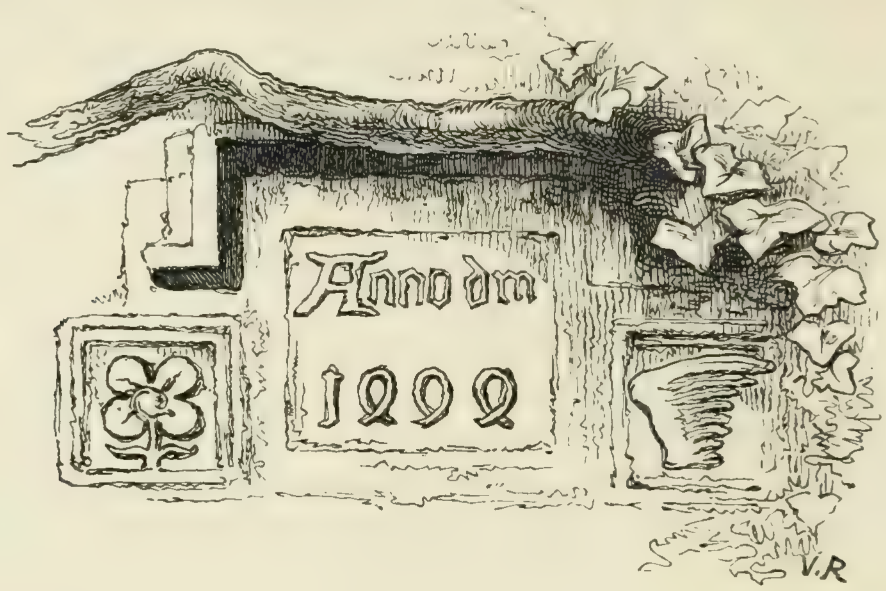
Of the original church of Hadley, alluded to in bishop Foliot's[b] deed, which it is likely was a mere chapel appertaining to the cell or hermitage, not a vestige remains, nor have we any clue to the changes which the fabric underwent between that period and the erection of the existing edifice in or about the year 1494. A small brass recording the decease of members of the family of Grene of Hayes, to which reference will hereafter be made, must have belonged to an older building. The present church, constructed of flint, with stone quoins and mullions, is in the form of a Latin cross, and consists of a square embattled tower, over which the ivy luxuriantly clusters, with a turret at the south-west angle, of a nave with two side aisles, north and south transepts, and a chancel. The area of the building was extended laterally in 1848,[c] by throwing back the north and south walls of the aisles about eighteen inches in either direction. A vestry was added at the same time to the north east, in the angle formed by the chancel and the north transept. The south porch was rebuilt in 1855 by Dr. Proctor, then rector, to the memory of his only son the Rev. George Henry Proctor, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford, one of the chaplains to the army in the Crimea, who died at Scutari, 10 March in that year.

The church, dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin or, according to the will of John

[a] Longfellow, *Evangeline*. [b] Vide *supra* p. 38.

[c] The church was completely restored at this date by voluntary subscriptions, under the superintendence of Mr. G. E. Street, the eminent architect.

Goodere in 1503, to St. Mary and St. James,[a] bears upon the western face of its tower, above the door, the date 1494 in arabic numerals,[b] and we possess contem-



porary evidence that the works were in progress at this period. Walter Turnor in his will, dated 10 Jan. 1494—5 makes a bequest ad fabricationem ecclīe beate marie de Monkynhadley,[c] and the above John Goodere, a few years later, leaves money towards "the making of the first floure of the stepull in the said church of hadlegh as moch as it will cost the making of carpentry."[d] Again, in March 1506—7, John Wright is mindful of "the repacīons and bielding of the same church." The purport of the emblems on either side of the date, a quatrefoil and a bird's wing, has been much debated. The same are met with in the interior of Enfield church, between the windows of the clerestory, and it seems now to be generally concluded that the wing, at all events, represents the badge of Sir Thomas Lovell. This badge was noticed by Pennant,[e] in his Journey from Chester to London, on the churches of Hadley and Enfield, and on a building in

[a] Walden Abbey was dedicated to God, St. Mary, and St. James. Vide *supra* p. 6.

[b] No instance of a date in arabic numerals on a building is met with before the 15th cent. The earliest on record has been stated to be 1445, on the interior of the tower of Heathfield church, Sussex, whilst 1448 appears on the lich-gate of Bray in Berkshire. Letter from Rev. E. Venables, Canon of Lincoln, in the Guardian of 27 Nov. 1878.

[c] Vide *infra.*

[d] The decayed chestnut-wood timbers of the tower, which had to be replaced in 1876, when the bells were rehung, were pronounced by competent authority to be coeval with the tower.

[e] Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica iii. 68.

Shoreditch, part of the priory of Haliwell, to which Sir Thomas had been a considerable benefactor and where he was buried.[a]

Sir Thomas Lovell K.G. brought up in Lincoln's Inn,[b] who had been Treasurer of the household to Henry VII,[c] and had filled other important offices under that sovereign, whose executor he was, married Isabella the daughter of Thomas lord Ros,[d] by Philippa sister and eventual heiress of John Tiptoft earl of Worcester,[e] and in 1508, at the death of his brother-in-law, Edmund lord Ros, succeeded to the manor of Worcesters at Enfield. By an Act of Parliament, passed in 1492, "the guidance and governance of Edmund Lord Roos and his estates" had been vested in him, "the said Edmund not being of sufficient discretion to guide himself and his livelihood." His direct connection with the neighbourhood began consequently previous to the date found on Hadley church. It seems a fair presumption that the quatrefoil *gules*, tied by a cord *or* to a bird's wing erased, in the vaulting of the choir of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, above the stall formerly assigned to Sir Thomas Lovell, A.D. 1502, may have been gracefully designed to illustrate his relations with the Lancastrian rose.[f] He died at Enfield, at his house of Elsynge Hall, 25 May 1524. By a will, dated 14 Oct. 1522, he gave the manor to Thomas Manners,[g] 13th lord Ros and afterwards 1st earl of Rutland,[h] who had married Elizabeth, daughter of his brother Sir Robert Lovell.

[a] A badge or cognizance, which, during the middle ages was very generally adopted as a mark of distinction, differed from a crest because not worn upon the helmet but embroidered upon the sleeves of retainers, the caparisons of horses &c. Fairholt's Dict. The badge of Lovell was a bird's wing erased arg. the bone embrued gu. Harl. MS. 4632 f. 216 Badges and Crests temp. Hen. VIII. executed between 1522 and 1534.

[b] Stow's Survey, 1st ed. p. 349. W. J. Thoms ed. 1876, p. 158.

[c] Collectanea Top. et Gen. V. 128. See Blomefield's Norfolk.

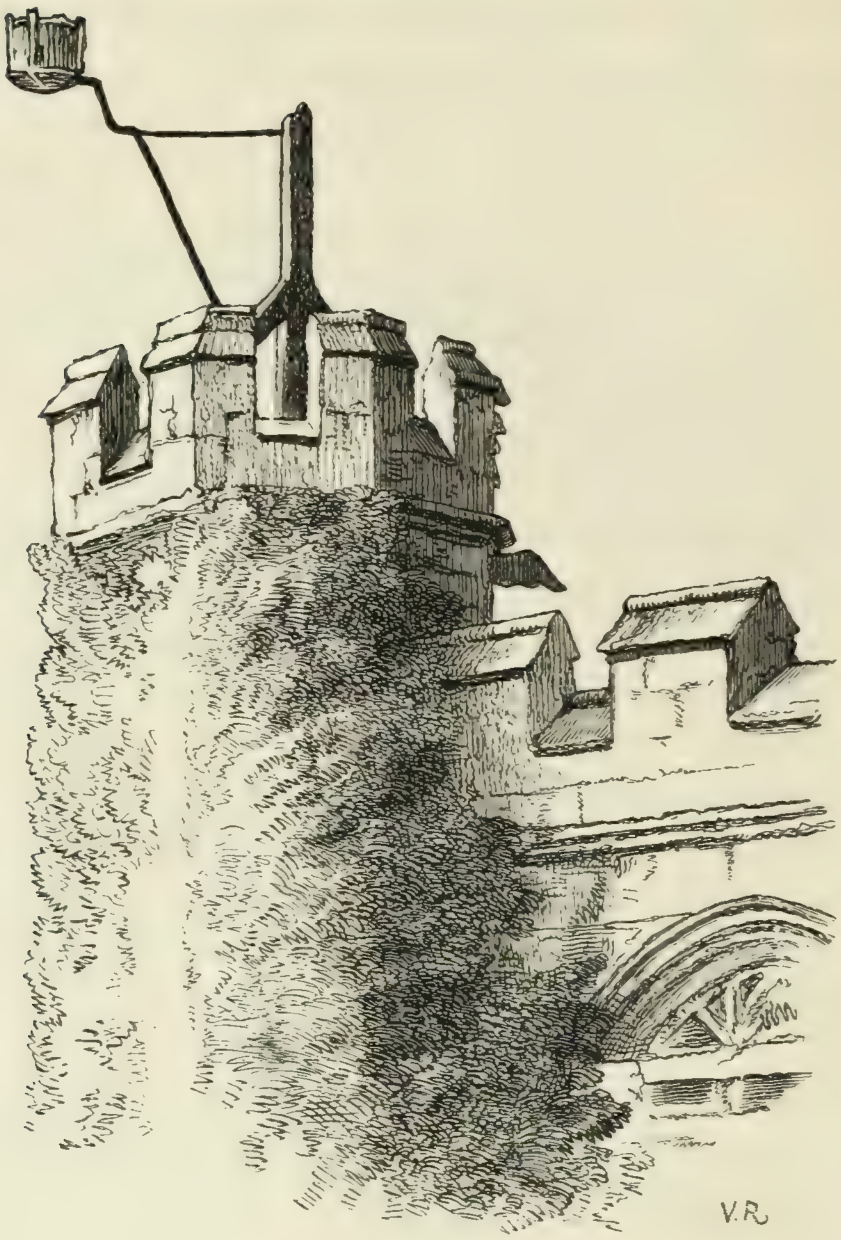
[d] A zealous Lancastrian; attainted 4 Nov. 1461, and died the same year.

[e] Educated at Balliol College. A staunch Yorkist. Beheaded in 1470. His son and successor Edward Tiptoft earl of Worcester d. unm. in 1485.

[f] On his stall plate the crest is a peacock's tail spread ppr. The Collegiate Chapel of St. George, Windsor, by Thomas Willement. App. pp. 30. 31. 33.

[g] Eldest son of Sir George Manners, lord Ros, by Anne dau. of Sir Thomas St Leger, 2nd husband of Anne Plantagenet, sister of Edward IV, divorced at her own suit from Henry Holland duke of Exeter. Vide *supra* p. 13 Note c. By the death s. p. in 1524 of Isabella, lady Lovell, the abeyance of the barony of Ros became vested in the issue of Sir George Manners, whose father, Sir Robert, had married Eleanor, the sister of Edmund lord Ros, who d. unm. 13 Oct. 1508, having obtained a reversal of the attainder in 1485, 1 Henry VII., but who was never summoned to Parliament.

[h] Ancestor of the dukes of Rutland and lords de Ros.



The cresset that surmounts the tower turret, and forms so distinguishing and well-known a feature of the church, may probably stand in the position of successor to some more ancient landmark, which, in a former age, crowned the elevated table-land on which the church stands. We know, at all events, that in the reign of Elizabeth, and subsequently, this locality bore the designation of Beacon's hill.[a] During the great gale of 1 Jan. 1779[b] it was blown down, and on Monday, the 11 of the same month, a Vestry meeting was convened to con-

[a] *Supra* p. 22.

[b] Lysons ii. 519. In the Gentleman's Mag. for Jan. 1779, p. 45, it is recorded that on Thursday 31 Dec. 1778 a most dreadful hurricane was felt in many parts of the kingdom, particularly on the east coast, and that to enumerate the particulars of the damage done by it would fill the magazine. Oxford London and Deal are stated to have suffered exceptionally by it.

sider about the repairs of the roof of the church, but there is no express mention of the beacon. The last occasion of its illumination was the night that followed the Prince of Wales' marriage, 10 March 1863.

Respecting its origin[a] nothing is certainly known, though it is natural to conjecture that a position so commanding might have been chosen either for arousing and conveying intelligence to the surrounding country, or with the object of guiding the steps of wayfarers through the adjacent forest. Long before church or dwelling rose on this spot, it is conceivable that our rude forefathers availing themselves of the site for this purpose,

> *ἀντέλαμψαν καὶ παρήγγειλαν πρόσω*
> *γραίας ἐρείκης θωμὸν ἅψαντες πυρί.*[b]

In relation to the bells and other goods belonging to the church of Monken Hadley at the Reformation we find the following statement.

Public Records, Augmentation Office, Church Goods: Middx. 1 vol.
Miscell. Book No 498.
Hundred de Ossulstone.

The certificate and presentment of the Jury of all the goodes, playte, ornamentes, juelles, and belles belonging and app'teyning to the church of Hadley w^th^in the countie of Midd. as well conteyned w^th^in the inventory taken of the Kinges Ma^tes^ comyssyo^r^s, as also other goodes belonginge to the same churche at this present third day of August, in the sixth yere of the reigne of our soveraigne lord King Edward the VIth, by the grace of God Kinge of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defendo^r^ of the faithe, and in earth of the churche of Englaund and also of Irelande the supreme heade.

Hadley.

Imprimis a gilt crosse weying	xxx ownces q^o^
It'm, one gilt challys weying	xiii ownces
It'm, iiij belles whereof the great bell in foote wydnes in the mouth from the owtsyde of the skeartes	iij foote iiij ynches
It'm, the next bell unto the sayd greate bell broken in wydnes as is aforesayd	ij foote xj ynches
And in depth	ij foote ij ynces
It'm, the greteste bell unto the sayd ij belles in widnes as is aforesayd	ij foote vij ynces
And in depth	ij foote

[a] A very prosaic explanation of this has been suggested by a drawing of the church in the illustrated copy of Lysons in the Guildhall Library. Beneath this drawing, bearing the date of 1791, it is stated that the beacon was put up, in commemoration of George the Third's first recovery, in April 1765. On Wednesday the 24 of that month he went in state to the House of Lords.

[b] Æsch. Agam. 294.

It'm, the least of the sayd belles in wydnes . . . . ij foote iiij ynces
And in depth . . . . i foote ix ynces
It'm, one saunce[a] bell in wydnes . . . . . i foote iij ynces
And in depth . . . . x ynces
It'm, ii lytle hand bells.
It'm, one lytle sackering[b] bell.
It'm, one crosse of lattyn.[c]
It'm, one pixe of lattyn.
It'm, coopes the one of whyte braunched damaske a lytle imbroderyd w[t] golde, the other of dornixe[d] olde and sore worne.
It'm, one vestyment of sylke dornixe blew and white w[th] a crosse of blewe velvet imbrodered w[th] golde and an albe p'teyning to the same.
It'm, ij other vestyment of satten of Bridges[e] colo[r] blewe w[th] a redde crosse of the same satten embrodered w[th] flower de luces w[th] golde, and two aubes ij amyses[f] one stole and ij phannelles app'teyning to the same.

[a] Saunce bell, or sance bell is a corruption of Sancte bell, (Sancte is pronounced as one syllable), called often also Saints' bell. It was rung just before the elevation of the host, and also sometimes at the words Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth, whence probably its name. Sometimes it was a hand bell, but generally was hung in the Sancte bell cote, of which very many remain in Norfolk, with a rope hanging through by the chancel arch. Occasionally the Sancte bell was on a turret on the tower, as at Trumpington near Cambridge, where there is an arched recess in the basement of the tower, from which the bell was rung. Sometimes, again, the bell was hung outside the spire. The little bell still rung in some places before the sermon is no doubt a relic of the Sancte bell.

[b] Sacring bell. A small bell, usually of silver, to ring at mass, or before the sacrament when carried in procession. The form of these bells was that of an inverted cup, enriched with engraving, having a handle at top. They were subsequently made larger of this shape, with a chime of small bells suspended within them. Pugin's Gloss. p. 184.

[c] Lattyn (Latten, Fr. Leton). A finer kind of brass, of which a large proportion of the candlesticks, &c. used in parochial churches were made. These were mostly sold in the reign of Edward VI. Pugin's Gloss. p. 152.

[d] Dornixe (Dornick), from Doornick, Fr. Tournay, in Flanders, a species of linen cloth, so called from the place where first made, as Diaper from Yperen (Ypres).

[e] Bridges. "Dukes' daughters then (temp. Edw. VI.) wore gownes of satten of Bridges (Bruges) upon solemn dayes." Stowe, as quoted by Disraeli, Curiosities of Literature, i. p. 416.

[f] Amice, or Amite. A white linen napkin or veil worn by all the clergy above the four minor orders. It is the first of the sacred vestments that is put on, first on the head, and then adjusted round the neck, hanging down over the shoulders. Pugin's Gloss. p. 29.

> "Upon his heed the *amyte* first he leith,
> Which is a thing, a token and figure
> Outwardly shewinge and grounded in the feith;
> The large *awbe*, by record of scripture,

It'm, one other vestyment colo^{r} blacke of old saye crossed wth fustian an aps colo^{r} blewe w^{t} an albe an amis stole phannell[a] app'teyning to the same.

It'm, one other vestymēt of olde whyte fustyan crossed wth blewe and imbrodered and an aube an amis one stole a phannell app'teyning to the same.

It'm, one other vestyment of old whyte fustyan crossed wth blewe and embrodered an albe an amis and one stole wth a phannell app'teyning to the same.

It'm, ij other olde vestimentes the one colo^{r} redde of saye crossed wth grene saye thother colo^{r} grene of dornixe crossed wth the same.

It'm, iiij olde vestimentes worne and torne of dornix crossed with the same.

It'm, one croseclothe of sarcenet.

It'm, one dyshe of lattyn.

It'm, one basen and an ewer of latten.

It'm, ij cruettes[b] of tynne.

It'm, one christmatorye[c] of lattyn.

It'm, ij clothes hanging before thalter of satten of Bridges colo^{r} white.

It'm, iiij alterclothes whereof iij is of lynen and thother of curse diep.

It'm, ij diep towells.

It'm, vj towells of lynen.

It'm, one olde clothe that hangith before the high alter.

It'm, v old paynted clothes that hangeth about the high alter and other alters that were then in the said church.

It'm, iij old stremers of sarcenet.

It'm, ij surplyses for the prest and one for the clerke.

It'm, one hearse cloth of blacke say crossed with whyte.

The Bells, until quite recently, were four in number, and were thus inscribed:

1. (3ft. 4in. diam.) ED. CHANDLER. RICH. HILL. C. W. WAYLETT MADE ME, 1714.
2. (2ft. 10in. diam.) GOD BLESS QVEEN ANN. 1711. CRIS. COOPER: ED. CHANDLER: CHVRCHWARDENS.
3. (2ft. 7in. diam.) SCIANT OMNES ME FASAM AD OPVS ET VSVM VILLE DE HADLEY. 1702.
4. (2ft. 4in. diam.) IAMES BARTLET MADE ME, 1681.

Ys rightwisnesse perpetualy to endure:
The longe girdyl, clennesse and chastité;
Bound on the arme, the *fanoune* doth assure
All soburnesse knytte with humilité." Lydgate, MS. Hatton 73, f. 3.

[a] Phannell (Fannel or Fanon). A maniple, a sort of scarf worn about the left arm of a mass-priest. Fanon, when occurring in the English inventories, signifies a maniple. Pugin's Gloss. p. 120.

[b] Crewetts. Small vessels of glass or metal, to contain the wine and water for consecration at the altar. Pugin's Gloss. p. 82.

[c] Chrismatory. A case to contain the holy oils.

There was likewise a fifth and much smaller bell without any inscription, corresponding in dimensions with the Saunce bell. The accounts of Richard Hill, overseer for the year 1714, contain notices of payments due towards the casting of the Great Bell.

About the close of the year 1875 it was found necessary to take the condition of the bells once more into consideration. At an expense of £267, two new bells were added, one re-cast, and the whole re-hung by Messrs. Warner and Sons, with new framework, flooring, and chiming gear. The peal thus completed was dedicated by a special service held in the church on the evening of Saturday 17 June 1876, at the conclusion of which the silvery voices of the new bells were evoked for the first time by a set of ringers from London.

On entering the church, the visitor is struck by the harmony of its proportions and the "dim religious light," which stained glass and the low pitched roofs of the aisles combine to cast over the interior. The length of nave and chancel from west to east is 74ft. 5in, the breadth of nave and aisles 42ft, with 53ft. 9in. between the north and south walls of the transepts. Squints, or hagioscopes, have been pierced through the buttresses forming the angles of the transepts and sacrarium. Until the late restoration they had been bricked up and their existence unknown. The transepts were originally chapels, dedicated the northern to St Anne [a] and the southern to St Catharine,[b] and are perhaps more likely than any other part of the church to be coincident with an older building. Each of them contains a trefoil headed piscina set in the eastern wall of the former and in the southern of the latter. There is also a piscina in the south wall of the chancel.

The chancel and nave are separated from the transepts and aisles by four arches on either side, those in the centre being depressed and resting on clustered columns, whilst the westernmost support the tower, which a lofty and elegant pointed arch, entirely lost to view before the restoration, throws into the body of the church. There is no chancel arch. On the capitals of the piers at the junction of nave and chancel has been carved the crest of the Gooderes,—a partridge holding in the beak an ear of wheat,—who it is probable took an active share in the original building. An octagonal perpendicular font is ornamented with quatrefoils. The stone pulpit is modern. A brass lectern bears upon it the inscription,—Deo Opt. Max. et in sacros usus, ob inopinatas misericordias Domini,

[a] Will of John Goodere, or Goodyere, 10 May 1504. Will of Alice Goodyere, 20 Apr. 1519.

[b] Will of William Tornor, of Hadley, 30 Nov. 1500.



d. d. Fredericus et Julia Cass. 1875.—and has reference to an unexpected prolongation of the life of a beloved daughter, who died in 1877.

Some fragments of old stained glass, remaining at the time of the late restoration, were collected and placed together in the east window of the north transept, in all probability the place of sepulture of the Gooderes. They consist mainly of large interlaced ears of wheat and of the crest or cognizance of that family, having a scroll annexed with the word *Gooder*. In Lysons' time these ears of wheat, with the scroll attached to each, formed the border of the window.

The east window of the church in three compartments, and with perpendicular tracery, is filled with subjects in coloured glass, by Wallington, The descent of the angel at the Resurrection, The visit of Peter and John to the sepulchre, and The holy women bearing spices thither. Underneath is an inscription on brass to the memory of Elizabeth Frances, the wife of Joseph Dart esq. of this parish, who died the 22 Dec. 1845, aged 58, with the arms, Gu. a fesse and canton erm. impaling Fenton. Arg. a cross betw. four fleurs-de-lis sa. Crest. A fire ppr. The body of this lady has since been removed to Devonshire from the vault beneath the south transept, where it was first deposited.

Other stained glass windows are in the south wall of the chancel, by Wailes, —the gift of Dr. Proctor,—and in the south transept, by the same, representing the Deeds of Mercy, and, by Willement, coats of arms of contributors to the restoration of the church :

Proctor. Or, three nails sa. impaling Collier. Sa. a cross pattée fitchée arg.
[a] Green. Az. three stags trippant or.
[b] Barnes. Az. two lions pass. guard. arg.
[c] Quilter. Arg. a bend sa. betw. three Cornish choughs ppr.
[d] Cotton. Az. a chev. betw. three cotton hanks arg. in chief an annulet of the last.
Cottrell. Arg. a bend betw. three escallops sa.
[e] Dart. Gu. a fesse and canton erm.
[f] Hopegood. Az. a chev. erm. betw. three anchors arg.
[g] Dickens. Erm. on a cross flory a leopard's face sa.

In the north aisle are memorial windows, by Wailes, to Elizabeth, widow of Francis Baronneau esq. of New Lodge, who died 3 April 1846, aged 78, and, by Clayton and Bell,—the subjects being The Good Shepherd and The Light of the world,—to Martha, widow of Frederick Cass esq. of Little Grove, East Barnet, who died 29 June 1870, aged 75. Facing the latter, in the south aisle, is a second window by Clayton and Bell, the subject taken from Psalm XLII. 1. " Like as the hart desireth the water brooks, so longeth my soul after thee, O God," with the inscription beneath, In memoriam Agnetis, filiæ dulcissimæ, posuerunt Fredericus et Julia Cass, ob. 4 Maii, 1877, æt. 21.

Certain of the brasses that remain carry us back to an early period of the parish history. As a rule they do not occupy the positions originally belonging to them. Several of them, preserved in a closet at the rectory previous to the

[a] Joseph Henry Green esq. F.R.S., D.C.L. of The Mount, Hadley Common.

[b] George Barnes esq. of Beech-hill-park, and afterwards of Bohun Lodge, East Barnet, where he died 28 Jan. 1858 aged 84.

[c] Memorial tablets to several members of this family, long connected with the parish, are placed on the north wall of the chancel. The residence now called Gladsmuir, tenanted for several years by Charles Hemery esq. is the property of the Rev. F. W. Quilter D.D., vicar of Shirebrook, Derbyshire, the present representative.

[d] William Cotton esq. of the Treasury, only son of Thomas Cotton, who was the 4th son of Sir Lynch Salusbury Cotton 4th baronet, of Combermere Abbey, Cheshire. He died in June 1861.

[e] Joseph Dart esq. purchased The Grove of the trustees of Joseph Nutting in August 1841, and sold the same to Samuel Francis Thomas Wilde esq. J.P. barrister at law, 20 July 1850. Mr. Wilde, being at the time one of the chuchwardens of the parish, died at his house in Serjeant's Inn, 4 June 1862 and was buried in Hadley churchyard. The property still belongs to his widow.

[f] The connection of this family with Hadley commenced early in the last century. Hadley Hurst, many years occupied by Mr. Wilbraham Taylor, is their property.

[g] Commissary General James Dickens resided on Hadley Green and died 31 March 1854 in his 76th year. His tomb is in the churchyard.

church's restoration. were at that time inserted in the pavement more with an eye to picturesque effect than to the sites from which they had become detached. Earliest in date comes the small scroll affixed to the east wall of the south transept.

> Hic jace't Philippus Grene filius Walteri Grene armigeri et
> Elizabeth' ux'is ei' et Margarita soror eiusd'm Philippi ac
> Margerita Somercotes q' obieru't xvi° die mens' Septembris
> A° d'ni M°,cccc°,xlii° quor' anima's p'piciet' de' ame'.

What connection there may have been between these names and Hadley is not known. In a list of the gentry of Middlesex nine years previously,[a] 12 Hen. VI. mention is made of Thomas Frowyk and Walter Grene, the latter being no doubt the same, whose tomb, when Lysons wrote, still stood at the east end of the north aisle of Hayes church in this county.[b] The name of Somercotes occurs in a deed of the year 1423, by which William Lyghtgrave,[c] goldsmith of London, son and heir of John Lyghtgrave[d] citizen and goldbeater of the same, conveyed to William Somercotes Thomas Frowyk and others a messuage, 120 acres of land 80 of meadow and 80 of wood in Hadley.

[e] Omib3 x̃pi fidelib3 ad quos p'sens scriptum ꝑuen'it Wiℓℓs lyghtgrave aurifaber de london fil & heres Joħis lyghtgrave nuꝑ civis & Goldbeter london saℓtem in dño sempit'nam Cum nuꝑ antedcūs Joħes lyghtgrave pat' meus seisitus fuit in dnic̃o suo ut de feodo de uno mesuagio Centum & viginti acris tr̃e quat'viginti acris p[a]ti quat'viginti acris bosci cum ꝑtin in hadley & monkenchurche in Com. Midd. Que quidem mesuagium centum viginti acre tr̃e quat'viginti acre p[a]ti quat'viginti acre bosci cum ꝑtin post mortẽ eiusdem Joħis pr̃is mei michi p'fato Wiℓℓo lyghtgrave iure heredidat' discendebant de medietate quor' mesuagij centum viginti acrar' tr̃e quat'viginti acrar' p[a]ti quat'viginti acrar' bosci cum ꝑtiñ Wiℓℓs Somercotes virtute cuiusdam finis in cur' dñi henr' nuꝑ Regis Angl' inter eundem Willm̃ Somercotes & alios & Rcūm Rede & Johannam uxem̃ eius levati medietatem illam iam tenet Et de altã vero medietate ego p'fatus Willũs lyghtgrave fui seĩtus quousque quidam Elias Weston & Agnes ux̃ eius me inde

[a] Robinson's Hist. of Enfield, 174.

[b] Lysons, ii. 594.

[c] Lysons suggests that Ludgraves may be a corruption of this name.

[d] Agnes, the widow and executrix of John Lyghtgrave, proved his will die lune ꝑx ante f'm sce Petronille virginis anno regni regis Edwardi t'cij post conquestũ quadragesimo septimo. To her he devised all his lands &c. for life, with remainder to his son William, a minor, his heirs and assigns for ever. Hustings Roll 101, membr. 9. Guildhall.

[e] Close Rolls. 1 Hen. VI. m. 15. 16 dors.

iniuste & sine iudicio dissessierunt quor' quidem statum in p'dcã altã medietate p'dcũs Willũs Somercotes ac Thomas Frowyk Robtus Warner Johẽs Canndyssh modo hẽnt Nov'itis me p'dcũm Willm̃ lyghtgrave ꝑ quadam competenti sum̃a michi ꝑ manibȝ ꝑsoluta remississe relaxasse & omiño ꝑ me & heredibus meis ꝑ p'sentes quietum clamasse p'fatis Willo Som'cotes Thome Frowyk Robto Warner & Johi Canndyssh eor' heredibȝ & assignatis totum ius meum & clameum que heõ hũi seu aliquo modo infutũr' hẽre pot'o in p'dcã altã medietate dc̃i mesuag' centum & viginti acrar' trẽ quat'viginti acrar' p[a]ti quat'viginti acrar' bosci cum ꝑtin' in hadley monkenchurche p'dict' Ita videlt qd nec ego dcũs Wills lyghtgrave nec heredes mei nec aliquis alius nõie nrõ aliquod ius seu clameum in p'dcã altã medietate cum ꝑtin' seu in aliqua parcella eiusdem deceto exigẽ vel vendicare pot'im[us] sed ab omĩ accor' (?) iure & titulo inde simus totalit' exclusi ꝑ p'sentes Et ego vero p'dcũs Wills lyghtgrave & herẽs mei p'dcãm altãm medietatem d'cor' mesuagij centum & viginti acrar' trẽ quat'viginti acrar' p[a]ti quat'viginti acrar' bosci cum suis ꝑtin' p'fatis Willõ Somercotes Thome Frowyk Robtõ Warner & Johi Canndyssh eor' heredibȝ & assignatis cont[a] omẽs gentes warantizab[us] imꝑpm̃. In cuius rei testimoniũ p'sentibȝ sigillum meũ apposui hijs testibȝ Johe Drayton Thoma howe Johe Mordemor Willõ Mayhewe Johe lyones Johe Danyell Thoma Danyell & multis aliis Dat. sexto decimo die mensis ffebr. anno regni Regis henr' sexti post conq̃m Angl. prim̃o.

Et memorand' q̃d p'dcus Wills lyghtgrave venit in Cancellar' Regis apud Westm' sc̃do die marcij anno p'senti & recognit scriptum p'dcũm & omĩa contenta in eodem in forma p'dca.

A few years previously, in July 1418, we find one Roger Grene resident at Hadley. His will[a] of that date is perhaps the earliest testament extant of an inhabitant of the parish, and as such may be worthy of insertion. It does not indeed establish a relationship with the family of Walter Grene, though the name of Boteler occurs in it, as well as in the will of Walter himself, but such a relationship is by no means improbable. His description is of Hadley near Barnet and he desires to be interred in the chancel of St. Mary's church there. No mention is made of any children, and he appoints Emma his wife residuary legatee. The will was proved 4 Id. Januarij A.D. 1418-9 (Jan. 10.)

In Dei noĩe Amen Duodecimo die mens' Julij anno dñi M[o]CCCC[mo] xviij[uo] Ego Rog'us Grene de Hadle iux[a] Barnet compos mentis et sane memorie condo testm̃ meum in hunc modũ Inp'mis lego aiam̃ meã deo om̃ipotenti beate marie et oĩbȝ scĩs eius et corpus meum sepeliend in cancello sc̃e marie de Hadle It' lego sum̃o Altari ꝑ decimis oblitȝ iij[s] iiij[d] Itm̃ lego ad opus ecclie eiusd ville iij[s] iiij[d] Itm̃ lego cuilit' sacerdoti venient' ad meas exequias et in crastino ad miss' vj[d] Itm̃ lego Residuum vero bonor' meor' nõ legator̃ do et lego Emme uxi mee ut ipã disponat ꝑ aiã mea ꝑut melius videat' expediri et ad istud testũ meum bene et fidelit' exequend Em̃a uxem meã Ric̃m Boteler Reginald Syreche executores meos ordino facio et constituo ꝑ p'sen' et anno sup[a] dicto.

[a] Commissary of London, Book More 1418—1438, f 20[b].

Pedigree of GRENE

Walter Grene,[2] = of Bridgenorth, co. Salop.

Richard Windsor, esq. =

Dau. of ...... Ade, of St. Ivone. = Walter Grene, esq. of Bridgenorth and of Hayes, co. Midd. Bur. at Hayes. Will proved P. C. C. 12 Feb. 1456. Az. a chev. betw. three bucks trippant or. = Elizabeth, dau. ... the manor of ... proved P. C. ... of Bermonds...

Myles Windsor, esq. of Stanwell, co. Midd. only son and heir. Went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and d. on the way, 30 Sept. 1451. Bur. at Ferrara, in the monastery of St. Bartholomew, before the choir door.[1] Born and bapt. at Stanwell. Aged 21 and upwards 1 Jan. 1439. Prob. æt. 17 Hen. VI. No. 74. May. = Joan Grene.

Anne, dau. of Richard Wakehurst. 1st wife. = John Gaynesford, esq.[3] of Crowhurst, co. Surr. 2nd son of John Gaynesford of the same. Will proved P. C. C. 3 May, 1464. Arg. a chev. gu. betw. three greyhounds in full course sa. collared or. = Catharine Grene. 2nd wife. Living 1487.

Catharine = Sir Edmund Rede, knt. of Borstall, co. Bucks. m. 1st. Agnes, dau. of ...... Cottismere. Bur. at Borstall. Will proved P. C. C. 30 June, 1487. Az. three cock pheasants or.[4]

Sir Robert Grene, knt. Living in Dec. 1471. = Cecilia, dau. and heiress of Sir John Clay, knt. (will proved P. C. C. 18 Sept. 1464) lord of the manor of Thebaulds, al's Tongs, and Cresbrook, co. Herts. d. 25 Sep. 1481. Arg. three wolves sa. two in chief combattant, one in base pass. Esch. 20 Edw. IV. No. 54. = Robert Acton, of Cheshunt.

Phi... — B...

Thomas Windsor, esq. of Stanwell, son and heir. Eleven years old at death of his father. His monument at Stanwell. Executor of the will of Sir John Catesby. Will proved P. C. C. 15 Feb. 1485-6. Inq. p. mort. Milonis Windsor, 17 Hen. VI. No. 11. = Elizabeth elder dau. and coheir of John Andrews, esq. and Elizabeth his wife, of Baylham, co. Suffolk, m. 2ndly Sir Robert Litton, knt.

= Sir John Gaynesford, knt.

George Gaynesford of Hampton Poyle, co. Oxon. m. 2ndly Anne, widow of Sir William Rede, and 3rdly a sister of Sir Robert Harcourt, K G. = Dau. and heir of Thomas Croxford, of Kidlington, co. Oxon.

William. John. Amy. Mary.

William Rede of Borstall, ob. v.p. = Agnes, dau. of Sir Walter Mantell, knt.

Thomas Rede. cl. rector of Chinnor, co. Oxford.

Sir Andrews Windsor, knt. of Stanwell, created Lord Windsor, 1529, d. 30 March, 34 Hen. VIII. Will proved 31 July, 1543. =

William. Anthony. Elizabeth. = Bridget. Alice. = Anne.

Edmund, d. s. p.

Anne, dau. of John Doon, knt. = Sir William Rede of Borstall, *temp.* Hen. VII. = Anne, dau. of William Warham, 2nd wife. Mar. 2ndly George Gaynesford.

J... S... T...

William, 2nd lord Windsor. Forty-four years old 18 April, 34 Hen. VIII. d. 20 Aug. 5 & 6 P. & M. =

Edward 2. Thomas 3.

Sir Henry Goring, knt. of Burton, co. Sussex, d. 1594. =

Robert Burbage, of H... hall,[7] co. Midd. Sold ... of Tongs. Will prove... 15 Oct. 1575, 17 Eliz.[8]

Edward, 3rd lord Windsor, d. 24 Jan. 17 Eliz. 1574. = Catharine, dau. of John Vere, earl of Oxford.

Edward, ancestor of the present baronets, of Highden, co. Sussex. =

William Goring, esq. of ... Sussex, d. 1601. Arg. a ... three annulets gu.

Frederick (or Ferdinand) 4th lord Windsor, d. unm. 4 Dec. 28 Eliz.

Henry, 5th lord Windsor, æt. 23, 10 Aug. 27 Eliz. d. 6 April, 1605. = Anne, dau. and coheir of Thomas Rivet of Chippenham, co. Camb.

Edward. =

Sir Henry Goring, knt. d. 1626.

Thomas, 6th lord Windsor, b. 29 Sept. 1591, d. s. p. 6 Dec. 1642. = Catharine, dau. of Edward earl of Worcester.

Elizabeth. = Dixie Hickman, esq. of Kew, co. Surrey.

Thomas Windsor Hickman, succ. as 7th lord Windsor, cr. earl of Plymouth.

William Goring, Esq. cr... 14 May, 1621. Extin... 1714.

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[1] *Windsor.* Harl. MSS. 759, ff. 135, 136, cf. 760, f. 357. Collins' Peerage, III. 655, 656, ed. 1812. Lysons, V. 250 Burke's Extinct Peerage. *Windsor, earl of Plymouth.*

[2] *Grene.* Harl. MSS. 1094, f. 149b; 1,137, f. 44; 1,171, f. 80; 1,184, f. 147b; 1,187 f. 13; 1,546, f. 69b; 1,551, f. 55b; 1,553, ...

[3] *Gaynesford.* Harl. MSS. 1,556, f. 78b; 1,561, f. 81b; *et seq.* Lysons, V. 255.

[4] *Rede.* Harl. MS. 1,533, f. 79b. Visitation of Bucks. 1,575, 1634.

[5] Lysons, II. 588, *Hayes;* V. 13, 14, *Cowley.*

[6] In his will he speaks of the "lady Margarete countes of Richemount (mother of Hen. VII.) by whom I had all that I ... and mentions lands at Cheshunt, Waltham Cross, and Wormley, "whiche lands my wife did geve unto me."

[7] To Sir William Cecil, Lord Treasurer. Will of Robert Burbage. See Clutterbuck's Herts, II. 87, 104.

Pedigree of GRENE of Hayes, co. Middlesex.

Walter Grene,[2] of Bridgenorth, co. Salop.

Sir Henry Grene, knt. second son of Sir Henry Grene, of Grene's Norton, co. Northampton, a judge, *temp.* Edw III. = Matilda, or Maud, dau. and heiress of Thomas Mauduit.

Margaret Grene. = John Grene, of Grafton and Mauduit, co. Northampton. Eldest son.

Henry. Margaret. Isabel.

Richard Windsor, esq. =

Dau. of ...... of St. Ivone. Ade, = Walter Grene, esq. of Bridgenorth and of Hayes, co. Midd. Bur. at Hayes. Will proved P. C. C. 12 Feb. 1456. Az. a chev. betw. three bucks trippant or. = Elizabeth, dau ... the manor of ... proved P. C. C. ... of Bermondsey ... of Robert Warner, lord of ... Peche, co. Midd. 2nd wife. Will ... 1471. Bur. in Abbey Church ... fesse betw. three fleurs-de-lis erm.

Myles Windsor, esq. of Stanwell, co. Midd. only son and heir. Went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and d. on the way, 30 Sept. 1451. Bur. at Ferrara, in the monastery of St. Bartholomew, before the choir door.[1] Born and bapt. at Stanwell. Aged 21 and upwards 1 Jan. 1439. Prob. æt. 17 Hen. VI. No. 74. May. = Joan Grene.

Anne, dau. of Richard Wakehurst. 1st wife. = John Gaynesford, esq.[3] of Crowhurst, co. Surr. 2nd son of John Gaynesford of the same. Will proved P. C. C. 3 May, 1464. Arg. a chev. gu. betw. three greyhounds in full course sa. collared or. = Catharine Grene. 2nd wife. Living 1487. = Sir Edmund Rede, knt. of Borstall, co. Bucks. m. 1st. Agnes, dau. of ...... Cottismere. Bur. at Borstall. Will proved P. C. C. 30 June, 1487. Az. three cock pheasants or.[4]

Sir Robert Grene, knt. Living in Dec. 1471. = Cecilia, dau. and heiress of Sir John Clay, knt. (will proved P. C. C. 18 Sept. 1464) lord of the manor of Thebaulds, al's Tongs, and Cresbrook, co. Herts. d. 25 Sep. 1481. Arg. three wolves sa. two in chief combattant, one in base pass. Esch. 20 Edw. IV. No. 54. = Robert Acton, of Cheshunt.

Philip... Bur. ... d.s.p.

Constance, widow of Sir Thomas Walsingham of Chislehurst, (d. 1467), from whom descended Sir Francis Walsingham, temp. Eliz. She d. 14 Nov. 1476 and was bur. at Chislehurst. Arch. Cantiana xiii. 401. = John Grene, Sheriff of Kent 1476. Will pr. P. C. C. 21 Feb. 1485-6. Bur. at Chislehurst. = Catharine.

Thomas Grene, d.s.p. at Barnet. John Grene = of co. Essex. Alice.

John Arderne, Baron of the Exchequer, 5 Feb. 1444. Foss iv. 281.[10] Living 6 Dec. 35 Hen. VI. = Alice. Will proved P. C. C. 22 Sept. 1487. She survived her husband. = John Holgrave, Baron of the Exchequer, 24 Sept. 1484. Overseer of the will of Thomas Windsor. Bur. in Abbey Church of Bermondsey. Will proved P.C.C. 22 Sept. 1487.[11] Of The Frythe, Walton-on-the-hill, co. Surrey.

Elizabeth. = Sir John Catesby, knt.[9] judge of the Common Pleas, 1481. Son of Edmund Catesby, and cousin of William Catesby, the supporter of Rich. III. Executor of Bishop Waynflete. Bur. in Abbey of St. James, Northampton. Will proved P.C.C. Arg. two lions pass. guard. sa. crowned or.

Joan (unm. in 1456) mar. Sir Ralph Salisbury. = Edmond Salisbury.

Thomas Windsor, esq. of Stanwell, son and heir. Eleven years old at death of his father. His monument at Stanwell. Executor of the will of Sir John Catesby. Will proved P. C. C. 15 Feb. 1485-6. Inq. p. mort. Milonis Windsor, 17 Hen. VI. No. 11. = Elizabeth elder dau. and coheir of John Andrews, esq. and Elizabeth his wife, of Baylham, co. Suffolk, m. 2ndly Sir Robert Litton, knt. = Sir John Gaynesford, knt.

George Gaynesford of Hampton Poyle, co. Oxon. m. 2ndly Anne, widow of Sir William Rede, and 3rdly a sister of Sir Robert Harcourt, K G. = Dau. and heir of Thomas Croxford, of Kidlington, co. Oxon.

William. John. Amy. Mary.

William Rede of Borstall, ob. v.p. = Agnes, dau. of Sir Walter Mantell, knt.

Thomas Rede, cl. rector of Chinnor, co. Oxford.

Al... Red...

Jane, mar. ... Wykeham.

Edward Grene, Esch. 8 Hen. VII., 10 years old in 1481. d. s. p. 14 Jan. 8 Hen. VII.

William Burbage. Will proved P. C. C. 25 Dec. 1497. Bur. at Hayes. Arg. on a chev. engr. vert betw. three boars' heads couped sa. tusked or five billets of the last. = Cecilia Grene.[5] Aged 26 years in April, 8 Hen. VII. = William Bedyll, 2nd hus. Will pr. P. C. C. 11 July. 1518,[6] by Cecilia, the relict.

William Arderne. (Will of Walter Grene.) Richard Arderne. Walter, rector of Cheam. Will proved P. C. C. 2 Oct. 1492. Katharine, mar. ...... Colynns. (Will of Elizabeth Grene.) = Three daughters. (Will of Walter Arderne.)

Thomas Holgrave. John. Elizabeth, mar. ...... Holt.

Sir Andrews Windsor, knt. of Stanwell, created Lord Windsor, 1529, d. 30 March, 34 Hen. VIII. Will proved 31 July, 1543. =

William. Anthony. Elizabeth. = Bridget. Alice. = Anne.

Edmund, d. s. p.

Anne, dau. of John Doon, knt. = Sir William Rede of Borstall, *temp.* Hen. VII. = Anne, dau. of William Warham, 2nd wife. Mar. 2ndly George Gaynesford.

John, Seba... Thom...

Catharine.

Thomas Burbage, of Hayes, eldest son. Mar. 11 Hen. VIII. Admin. 7 Aug. 1560. = Anne, or Agnes, dau. of James Moncaster, merchant tailor, of London, (will proved P. C. C. Oct. 1507) and Mary his wife (will proved P. C. C. 28 June, 1508.)

Richard, d. s. p. Anthony. =

Humphry of Whiston, co. Northampton. John. Francis. Walter. Eusebius of Seaton, co. Rutland. Hugh. Anthony. George.

Anne. Elizabeth.

William, 2nd lord Windsor. Forty-four years old 18 April, 34 Hen. VIII. d. 20 Aug. 5 & 6 P. & M. = Edward 2. Thomas 3.

Sir Henry Goring, knt. of Burton, co. Sussex, d. 1594. =

Robert Burbage, of Hayes hall,[7] co. Midd. Sold the m... of Tongs. Will proved P... 15 Oct. 1575, 17 Eliz.[8] = Mary, eldest dau. of John lord Zouche of Harringworth, St. Maur, and Cantelupe.

Edmond, living July, 1575.

William. = Amy Bird.

Ninian, of Harefield, co. Midd. Admin. granted to his brother William, 28 May 1588.

Edward, 3rd lord Windsor, d. 24 Jan. 17 Eliz. 1574. = Catharine, dau. of John Vere, earl of Oxford.

Edward, ancestor of the present baronets, of Highden, co. Sussex. =

William Goring, esq. of Burto... Sussex, d. 1601. Arg. a chev. ... three annulets gu. = Anne Burbage, dau. and heiress, mar. 1563.

Frederick (or Ferdinand) 4th lord Windsor, d. unm. 4 Dec. 28 Eliz.

Henry, 5th lord Windsor, æt. 23, 10 Aug. 27 Eliz. d. 6 April, 1605. = Anne, dau. and coheir of Thomas Rivet of Chippenham, co. Camb.

Edward. =

Sir Henry Goring, knt. of B... d. 1626. =

Thomas, 6th lord Windsor, b. 29 Sept. 1591, d. s. p. 6 Dec. 1642. = Catharine, dau. of Edward earl of Worcester.

Elizabeth. = Dixie Hickman, esq. of Kew, co. Surrey.

Thomas Windsor Hickman, succ. as 7th lord Windsor, cr. earl of Plymouth.

William Goring, Esq. cr. a b... 14 May, 1621. Extinct 2... 1714.

Arms of Burbage. Harl. MS. 1551, f. 55b.

1. *Burbage.* Arg. on a chev. engr. vert betw. three boars' heads couped sa. tusked or, three billets of the last.
2. *Grene.* Az. a chev. betw. three bucks trippant or.
3. *Warner.* Sa. a fesse betw. three fleurs-de-lis erm.
4. *Poyle.* Arg. a saltire gu. within a bordure sa. bezantée.
5. *Clay.* Arg. three wolves sa. two in chief combatant one in base pass.
6. *Clyff.* Arg. a fesse betw. three popinjays vert beaked and legged gu.
7. *Gaynesford.* Arg. a chev. gu. betw. three greyhounds in full course sa.
8. . Barry arg. and gu. over all a bend az.

Crest. A boar's head erased arg. tusked or betw. two branches of oak ppr. fructed or.

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[1] *Windsor.* Harl. MSS. 759, ff. 135, 136, cf. 760, f. 357. Collins' Peerage, III. 655, 656, ed. 1812. Lysons, V. 250. 257. Burke's Extinct Peerage. *Windsor, earl of Plymouth.*

[2] *Grene.* Harl. MSS. 1094, f. 149b; 1,137. f. 44; 1,171, f. 80; 1,184, f. 147b; 1,187 f. 13; 1,546, f. 69b; 1,551, f. 55b; 1,553, f. 252.

[3] *Gaynesford.* Harl. MSS. 1,556, f. 78b; 1,561, f. 81b; *et seq.* Lysons, V. 255.

[4] *Rede.* Harl. MS. 1,533, f. 79b. Visitation of Bucks. 1,575, 1634.

[5] Lysons, II. 588, *Hayes;* V. 13, 14, *Cowley.*

[6] In his will he speaks of the "lady Margarete countes of Richemount (mother of Hen. VII.) by whom I had all that I have," and mentions lands at Cheshunt, Waltham Cross, and Wormley, "whiche lands my wife did geve unto me."

[7] To Sir William Cecil, Lord Treasurer. Will of Robert Burbage. See Clutterbuck's Herts, II. 87, 104.

[8] He desires to be buried "in haies Churche in the Iland where my auncestors have been buried and neare unto the place where my ffather and Marie late my wief are buried." P. C. C. Book Pyckering 38. Robert Burbage presented to the rectory of Cowley in 1562.

[9] Lysons, V. 256. Foss, Judges. Harl. MSS. 1,187, f. 96; 1,188, f. 108b; 1,553, f. 16. He died in 1486. Will dated ... May 1485.

[10] An officer of the Exchequer in the reign of Henry V., and also held the place of clerk or supervisor of the King's works under Henry V. and VI. Received £23 6s. 8d. for making the tomb of Henry V. in Westminster Abbey.

[11] His patent was renewed at the accession of Henry VII. Foss V. 54. Stow's Survey, Thoms, 156.

Walter Grene, esq., the father of Philip and Margaret, whose deaths are recorded on the brass, took for his second wife Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Robert Warner,[a] lord of the manor of Cowley Pecche, co. Middlesex, who died seised of the same in 1441.[b] Those were stirring and unsettled times in England when the rival houses of York and Lancaster contended for the throne. The Lancastrian title, originally defective, though resting upon a parliamentary sanction and the popular will, had lost, under the rule of his feeble successor, the estimation to which it had been raised by the military achievements of Henry V., and the fierce civil struggle of the Roses had already[c] commenced at the time of Walter Grene's death. From the alliances contracted by his family, as will appear from the annexed pedigree, it may be inferred that he was connected by marriage with persons holding offices of trust at that period. His will, in which he is described as of Heese (Hayes), co. Middlesex, was dated at that place 6 Dec. 35 Hen. VI., and proved at Lambeth 12 Feb., 1456-7.[d] He appoints as executors his wife Elizabeth, his son Robert, John Gaynesford, esq., John Ardern, and John Catesby, the three last named being his sons-in-law. The large sum, for that age, of 200 marks is devoted to masses for the souls of himself and of Philip Morgan, formerly bishop of Ely.[e] In the event of his two sons Robert and John dying without issue, provision is made that the lands, &c., which came to him by his wife shall devolve upon the daughters of their marriage in tail, whilst the lands of his separate estate shall descend to his daughters by the first marriage in like manner. We have grounds for supposing that Thomas, the son of his younger son John, was amongst those who fell at Barnet.[f]

On the floor of the south transept are inscriptions on brass, removed from their original position by the south wall, to the memory of Walter and William Tornor, or Turnour, who were living at Hadley when the present church was erected.

[a] It is observable that the name of Robert Warner occurs with that of William Somercotes in the deed of 1 Hen. VI., quoted in the text.

[b] Lysons v. 14. Esch. 19 Hen. VI. No. 2.

[c] The first battle of St. Alban's was fought 22 May, 1455.

[d] P.C.C. Book Stockton 15.

[e] Trans. from Worcester 27 Feb. 1425–6, and d. at Bishop's Hatfield 25 Oct. 1435. It seems not unreasonable to conjecture that Philip Grene, mentioned on the brass, may have been named after him.

[f] See pedigree of Grene of Hayes.

Hic iace't Walterus Tornor et Agnes uxor eius qui quid'm
Walterus obiit xiii° die mensis Januarii Anno Domini mill'io
ccccLxxxxiiii° Quorum Animabus p'picietur Deus. Ame'.

Above the lower inscription are the effigies of a man and woman in the dress of the period, the former with a long girdle, and the latter with a gipciere attached to her waist. Beneath are the figures of four daughters.

Hic iacent Willm's Turnour et Joh'na uxor eius qui quidem
Willm's obiit iij° die mensis Novembris A° d'ni M° V^c et predicta
Joh'na obiit die A° dni M° quo'm aiab; p'piciet' de'.

Their wills are still extant. That of Walter is in Latin, and was proved P.C.C. 31 March 1495, by John (*sic*) Turnor, executor. (Book Vox 21.)

In dei nomie amen decimo die mensis Januarij Anno dni millimo CCCC° nonagesimo quarto ego Walterus Turno^{r} de Monkynhadley compos mentis et sane memorie condo testamentum meum in hunc modum Inprimis lego animam meam deo omnipotenti beate Marie et omĩbus sanctis corpusq. meum sepeliendum in capella beate marie de Monkynhadley In primis lego sum̃o altari pro decimis meis oblitis xx^{s} Item lego ad fabricacionem ecclĩe sancti Pauli iij^{s}. iiij^{d}. Item lego ad fabricacionem ecclĩe beate marie de Monkynhadley iij^{li}. vj^{s}. viij^{d}. Item lego ad emendacionem viarum iij^{li}. vj^{s}. viij^{d}. Item lego Agneti filie mee unam murram[a] argenteam deauratam & unam vaccam Item lego Margarete filie Agnetis filie mee unam vaccam Residuũ vero bonor' meorum supius non legatorum do & lego Willm̃o Turnour executori meo ut ipse disponat pro salute anime mee prout sibi melius videbit^{r} Dat. ap^{d} Monkynhadley decimo die mensis Januarij anno dñi supradicto et ad hoc testamentũ meum sigillũ meũ apposui hijs testibus domino Roberto hill capellano et dño Thoma Hoore cap^{no} cum Willm̃o Crow et multis alijs.

The will of William Tornor is in English.[b]

In the name of god amen. The yere of our lord M^{l} V^{c} the last day of the moneth of Novembr̃ I Wyha (*sic*) Tornor of the pisshe of Hadley seeke in body and in hole mynde. I make my will in this mañ. ffirst I bequeth my soule to almighty god and to our blessed lady seynt Mary and to all the seynts in heven. Also I bequethe my body to be buried in the chapell of seynt Kateryn[c]

[a] Murra = Mazer or Maser, a bowl, goblet, or hanap, and appears to have been so named from the hard wood or marble, of which it was originally made. The maser was generally of a large size, and was often richly carved, ornamented with silver, and double-gilt. Du Cange. Halliwell.

[b] Proved P.C.C. 14 Nov. 1500 by Joan the widow, the other executors named renouncing. (Book Moone 17.)

[c] See *supra*, p. 124.

in the same church. Also I ordeyne and make my true and feithfull Johane my wife John Goodyer the elder and Roger Wright that they shall truely fulfill my last will that is to say to pay my detts truely as they wold aunswere afore god at the day of dome and also to Receyve my detts as nygh as they can. And then whan my detts be truely content and paid I will that Johane my wif John Goodyer the elder and Roger Wright my true and faithfull executo[rs] in my name and of such goods as shalbe left to them they shall bequeth to the high awt[r] for my tithes forgoten and to the repacions of the saide churche of Hadley wher my bonys rest. And to gyve of my iij daughters that is for to say Kateryn Elizabeth and Agnes as it may be sparyd after their discrecions with other almes deeds for the helth of my soule and all my frends soules and all xp̃en soules as moost convenÿet for o[r] soules to them it shalbe best seen. Also all my goods moevable and unmoevable not gyven nor bequest I gyve to Johane my wif by the t'rm of her lyff. Also I will that Johane my wif shall have the rewle and keping of John my son during his none age, and after the decesse of Johane my wif I will and charge that John my son have all the frehold and copyhold that I have. Other will make I noon nor bequest, but after the discrecion of thies my true and faithfull executo[rs] Johane my wif John Goodyer the elder and Roger Wright that they shall truely doo for me as I wold doo for them if god had called them to his m'cy And this is my last will Thies beyng Witnes S[r] Robert hill vicar of Hadley William Crowe and Thomas Pynnyon of the same towne John Dorman of chepyng berne and Thomas hewet of Shenley w[t] other moo Written at Hadley the yere and day above rehersed.

Other wills of this date are deserving of notice, because concerned with Hadley and its neighbourhood when the church was in course of construction. Roger and John Wright were both connected with the parish, and gave instructions that they might be there buried. The former is mentioned in the will of William Turnour, who appointed him co-executor with his wife and John Goodyer the elder, whereas the latter nominates a second John Goodyer, son of the preceding, as executor of his own will. The will of Roger Wright contains allusions to places and persons in the vicinity of Hadley, and introduces us to the Bellamy family, of whom something will have to be said presently.

WILL OF ROGER WRIGHT.[a]

In the name of god amen. The secunde day of the moneth of May The yere of our lord a thousand fyve hundreth and two. And the yere of the reigne of King Henry the vij[th] the xvij. I Roger Wright of hadleygh in the Countie of Midd. Malt-man of hole mynde and in goode remembraunce ordeyne & make this my testamẽt in this maṅ. ffirst I bequeth my soule to almighty god to our lady seynt Mary and to all the blessed company of heven And my body to be buried in the church of our lady of hadleigh beforesaid Also I bequeth to the high awter of the said churche for my thithings forgoten vj[s] viij[d] Also I bequeth to the werks of my moder church

[a] P.C.C. Book Holgrave 18. The date of probate is not given.

of seynt Paule in the citie of london xij[d] Also I bequeth to the werkys of my pische churche of hadleygh aforesaid vj m[a]rs Also I bequethe to the werks of the church of seint John Baptist in Chepyng barnet vj[s] viij[d] Also I bequeth to the ffraternitie of the Trinitie[a] in the said towne of Barnet wherof I am a brother x[s] Also I bequeth to the werks of the churche of seynt Gyle in Southmymmes vj[s] viij[d] Also I bequeth to the repacion of the high waye betwene Chepyngbarnet and Whestone xx[s] Also I bequeth to the repacion of the high waye betwene hight brygge & the strete of Southmymmes xx[s] Also I bequeth to Isabell Wright the doughter of Thomas my broder xxvj[s] viij[d] Also I bequeth to three doughters of John Wright my brother to their mariage xl[s] that is to wite to eũy of theym xiij[s] iiij[d] if they lyve to be maryed and if any of theym dye and be not maried that then thoo that ou' lyven and be maried to have their parte or parts that shalbe decessed Also I will that ther be bestowed and spent in deeds of charitie and for my burying that day I shalbe buried & at my moneths day by myn executo[r] and the ou'seer of my said testament vj mark. The Residue of all my goodes and catells not geven nor bequethen I give unto Isabell my Wif whom I ordeyne and make myn executrice and Edward Jonys myn executour that they do for my soule and for all my frends soules & for all cristen soules as they shall thinke most expedient and proffitable to the pleasur' of almighty god. Also I ordeyne and make the ou'seer of this my testamēt William Bellamy that he see the pfo[r]myng and fulfylling of this my testament and last will In wittnes herof I the said Roger have sette my seale in the presens of sir Robert hill my gostly fader John Goodere the yong[r] Willm̃ Bellamy William lawe & William ffitz John the day and yere abovesaide.

In the name of god amen. The xxj day of the moneth of August the yere of our' lord god M[l] C[c] and iiij And the yere of the Reigne of our soue'ain lord king henry the vij[th] the xx[th]. I Roger Wright of Monkenhadleigh in the Countie of Midd. Maltman in hole mynde and good rememb[a]unce ordeyne and make this my last will for the disposicion of my londs and teñts in this mañ of wise ffirst I will and bequeth unto Isabell my wif my hede place lying in the said pisshe of hadleigh w[t]. thappurtenñes togider w[t]. all my londs hole by copy of Sir Roger Leukenor[b] lord of Southmymhall togider w[t]. all the lond holden by copy of Roger Leukenor squyer lord of the mañ of Wyliotts in the forsaid towne of Southmymmes And also all my londs and teñts free and copy lying in the pisshe of Rugge in the Countie of hertford. She to have theym at hir disposicion paying my detts and fulfilling my bequests and doying deeds of charitie for my soule as she thinketh most meritory for my soule and hirs and all our frends soules Also I will that the said Isabell my wif selle my teñt and lond w[t]. thapp[r]tenñes that I bought of William Barlye sett and lying in the towne of Enfeld in the forsaid County of Midd. And the mony thereof to be paid and disposed to pay my detts to the fulfillyng of my bequests and doon in deeds of charitie by the discrecion of the forsaid Isabell my wif. Also I will that the said Isabell my wife have and enioy for terme of hir lyff all my lond that is called Bedelles sett and lying in the said towne of Southmymmes w[t]. all thapp[r]tenñes The remayñ therof after the decesse of the said Isabell I will that Roger Wright the sonne of Ric. Wright my son have hit to hym his heirs and his assignes for eu'more. Also I will that the said Isabell my wif have for terme of hir liff all my londs and teñts

[a] See mention of this Brotherhood in the will of John Goodere, *infra* p. 140.

[b] *Vide* Hist. of South Mimms, 38.

that is called Mawndwyles[a] with all theire apptennes sett and lying in the said towne and pisshe of Southmymmes in the said Countie of Midd. The remayn therof after her decesse to be sold by the said Isabell And the money thereof comyng to be deptid in man and forme following that is to wete. lxli pcell of the same sale to be geven unto Marget Wright my yongest doughter unto her mariage or when she shall fortune to be maried. Also xlli pcell of the same sale to be yeven unto Agnes the wif of Edward Jonys myn eldest doughter after the decesse of the said Isabell my wif And also xxli therof pcell of the same sale to be geven unto William Bellamy and Edward Bellamy the sonnes of Johanne Bellamy myn eldest (*sic*) dought that is to wite to eu'ry of theym xli And if eny of theym dye or that they come to their lawfull age I will that eche of theym enioye others parte And if it doo be that eny of the said doughters will have the said londs and tents callid Mawndwiles and be able to pay therfore of hir owne goods That then I will that they that have so the said londs and tents wt. their app'tennes pay or doo to be payed unto the other that shall refuse the beyng of the said londs and tents of their owne ppre goods That then I will that it be sold by the said Isabell or by hir execut' to the most advantage And the money therof to be distributed amongs my seid doughters and my doughters children beforerehersed to eu'y of theym after the quantitie of their porcions while it will stretche.

WILL OF JOHN WRIGHT.[b]

In the name of god amen The xvijth day of the moneth of March. The yere of or lord Ml Vc and vj I John Wright of monkenhadleyght in the countie of Midd. syngillman of hole mynde and in good remembrance ordeyne and make my testamēt and last will in this man ffirst I bequeth my soule to almighty god and to or lady seynt Mary the virgyn and to all the blessed company of heven And my body to be buried in the churchyard of or blessed lady of monkehadleyght aforsaid Also I bequeth to the high aulter of the said church for my tythings forgoten xxd Also I bequeth to the repacions and bielding of the same church to be taken of Water Crowe pcell of the dett that he oweth me xvs Also I bequeth to Alice Syngilton my suster my mustervelys[c] gowne A bras pott A brasse panne iij platers ij sawcers of pewter A hangyng laver of laten A payre of shets A materas that lyeth at John Astrey's Also I bequeth to Water Crowe my doblett of blake worsted and my vyolett gowne Also to Alice Penne my tawny gowne It' I will that my house lying in hateffeld woods side in the countie of hertf wt all the lond both free and copy therto belongyng in the which John Astrey dwellith be sold to the most avauntage by John Goodere myn executor and the mony therof comyng to finde a preest to synge a yere in the pisshe church of hatffeld beforesaid for my soule my frends soules and for all cristen soules and the Remaunt of the mony thereof remaynyng to be disposed in deeds of charitie by the discrecion of my said executr Also I will that my house called Cate's lying in hatffeld woods side beforesaid be sold by the forsaid John Gooder' myn executor And of the mony therof comyng I will that a preest synge for my soule my frends and all xpen soules in the foresaid pisshe churche of hadlegh in seynt Annes chapell And the Remaunt of the mony therof comyng to be geven to the bielding of the

[a] *Vide* Hist. of South Mimms, 14, note [b].

[b] Proved P.C.C. 23 March 1506 by John Goodere. (Book Adeane 21.)

[c] A kind of mixed grey woollen cloth. Halliwell.

stepull of hadlegh aforsaid Also I will that my house lying in hatfeld woods side beforesaid the whiche William Colynes dwellith yn descende after my decesse unto myn Emys[a] son Thomas Wright theldest of the bloode The rest due of my goodes not geven nor bequethed I geve and bequeth unto John Goodere my maister whom I make and ordeyne my soule executor that he dispose theym for my soule in the moost profitable wise he can to the pleass^{r} off almighty god and for my soules helth And I bequeth unto my said executo^{r} for his labor xiij^{s} iiij^{d} Yeven the day and yere abovesaid Theis wittnesses Sr Robert hill Thomas Kyng Thomas Jackeson William Symonds w^{t}. other.

In the will of Roger Wright allusion was made to William Bellamy, the husband of his daughter Joan. The connection of the Bellamys with the neighbourhood continued until the latter end of the century, and during the political and religious controversies of this period they remained steady in their allegiance to Rome. More members of the family than one were compromised by the conspiracy of 1586, in which Anthony Babington and Chidiock Tichbourne took a leading part, and the failure of which had so direct a bearing upon the trial and condemnation of Mary Queen of Scots.

William Bellamy, of Preston, in the parish of Harrow,[b] son of Richard,[c] of the same, who describes himself as "w^{t}in the precyncte of the Closse of the monastery of saint Bartilmewes in West Smythfelde of London, gentilman," and grandson of William, who married Joan Wright, dates his last will 24 April 1566,[d] and, after limiting his manor of Carpenters in Southmimms and lands at Ridge, devises to Robert, his fourth son, subject to the life interest of Katharine his widow, *inter alia*, "all those my landes, &c., called Samwells, lyinge and beinge in Hadley co. Midd. nowe in the tenure of Richard Baythorn," and all that my tenement, messuage, and brewhouse in Hadley, and all other freehold lands, &c., now in the tenure of John Nele, brewer, and late in the tenure of John Bellamy, but now of Richard Baythorne.

There is no reference to a younger son Jerome,[e] who acquired subsequently an unhappy celebrity in connection with the above-mentioned conspiracy. When

[a] Eme or Eam, an uncle. In common use in early English. Halliwell. Johnson.

[b] Lysons says that the manor of Uxendon, formerly Woxindon, in this parish, descended from the family of Godelac to that of Bellamy by an intermarriage, ii. 566.

[c] Richard Bellamy, in his will dated 11 Jan. 1538, 30 H. 8 (proved P.C.C. 28 Jan. 1538, Book Dingeley 24), desires "that there shall a preest singe for me either w^{t}in the parishe church of Harrow, or ells w^{t}in the church of Hadley where I was born, by the space of oon hole yere after the discrecion of my executor And the said prest taking for his salary or wages vi^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}."

[d] Proved P.C.C. 23 May 1566.—(Book Crymes 13.)

[e] Harl. MS. 1551, f. 5. Cf. Harl. MS. 1533, f. 87—Visitation of Bucks.

Babington,[a] in fear of arrest, fled in haste from London on the night of Thursday, 4 Aug. 1586, with four of his confederates, they betook themselves to St. John's Wood, then a tract of forest interspersed with farms. Failing to procure horses, they disguised themselves as labourers, stained their faces with walnut juice, and plunged into the woods in the direction of Harrow, where on Sunday night they were captured upon Mrs. Bellamy's premises. When on his trial at Westminster, 15 Sep.[b], it was made to appear that Jerome Bellamy, whom Froude calls a Harrow farmer, having previously, by the hand of Richard Mascall his mother's servant, conveyed supplies of food to the hay barn where they were concealed, had afterwards harboured them in his dwelling.[c] He was the only one of whose guilt there was any question; but this was the accusation against him, and thus much he admitted. His mother, Mrs. Katharine Bellamy,[d] widow, and one of his brothers had likewise been arrested. The latter (probably Bartholomew) committed suicide in the Tower by hanging himself. Upon Mrs. Bellamy being called upon to plead, on Sep. 15, the lieutenant of the Tower informed the Court that she had been erroneously indicted under the name of *Elizabeth;* whereupon he was commanded to take her from the bar. The prisoners, fourteen in number, were tried, seven at a time, on different days. All were found guilty, and on 21 Sep. the condemned of the second day's trial were drawn to the place of execution at Tyburn. Bellamy, "with confusion and deep silence," it is said, "suffered last." Contemporary records describe him as a man of dull and stolid bearing, who proffered little or nothing in his own justification either at the trial or upon the scaffold.[e] The horrible butchery which accompanied the

[a] Froude xii. 252 *et seq.* Lysons ii. 566. State Trials, Cobbett, vol. i.

[b] A jury of Middlesex was empanneled, William Kempton (without doubt the alderman) being one of them.—State Trials.

[c] Bellamy confessed "that the noise of the country was that they (Babington, Barnwell, and Donn) had conspired," &c., "and how that after that he had brought them meat into the woods and lodged them in his house."—State Trials, Cobbett, vol. i.

[d] She had been committed to the Fleet on Saturday, 13 Aug. (State Papers, Dom. 21 Aug. 1586, Vol. 192, No. 49). Richard Mascall, when under examination, 14 Aug. admitted that, by Jerome's instructions, he had guided Donne, whom he had frequently seen before at his mistress's house, and others through the woods, and had afterwards received meat and bread from Jerome, which he carried to them in the barn at night. This evidence was corroborated by three other servants of Mrs. Bellamy's (*Ib.* Nos. 39, 40). Amongst the houses ordered to be searched were two belonging to Mrs. Bellamy, that called Oxendon, at Harrow, and another at Kentish Town (*Ib.* No. 48).

[e] "The Censure of a loyall Subiect vpon certaine noted Speach and behaviours of those fourteene notable Traitors, at the place of their executions, the xx and xxi of September last past." Printed 1587, in the

execution of the sentence on the previous day caused Elizabeth to forbid its repetition. Bellamy and his fellow-sufferers were allowed to hang till they were dead.

The progress of this tragedy was, we may be sure, watched with keen interest at Hadley, not only on account of the comparative nearness of Harrow, but because members of the Bellamy family were still residing there. Henry Bellamy, late citizen and mercer of London, in his will dated 15 July[a] 1583, leaves to Ely or Ela his wife,[b] one of the twenty children of Euseby Isham, whom he constitutes sole executrix, "my capitall messuage and tenement wherein I nowe dwell in Hadley," &c., "and all those twoe feildes or Closses of meddowe or pasture called Chimpinns feildes in Hadley and all other my howses which I late purchased of Thomas Bellamy gentleman And also my messuage called Lemmans in Hadley, lately occupied by Peter Garrett and now by George Shelley, William Mathew and myself Henry Bellamy." To his eldest son William he devises, with other property, his estate and term in the fields called Bowes Lande in Chipping Barnet, of the demise of Thomas Muffett, citizen and girdler, and of William, Thomas, and Peter Muffett, his three sons, — to his son Paul,[c] and his heirs male, his messuage called Lemmans in Hadley, and the closes called Great Lem-

form of a dialogue between Walter, a godlie deuine, Weston, a discreet Gentleman, and Wilcocks, a substantial Clothier:—

" *Wilk.* The last that suffered was one of the Bellamies: his countenance discouered him to be a settled Papist; and as he could say little to saue his life, so at the gallowes he said nothing to defend his death.

" *West.* Although this traitor had but a dul spirit, yet it seemeth he had a mallicious heart; he and his friends succoured Babington and some of his coemates, when feare of the lawe and shame of their odious treasons made them shrowde themselves like a Fox in the covert. And it seemeth that they were as resolute to followe the treasons of Babington, as they were ready to releive him from the daunger of the lawe: otherwise, if this Bellamies brother had had an innocent conscience, he would never with violent handes have hanged himselfe."

Republished in 1863 by J. P. Collier, amongst Illustrations of early English Popular Literature.

" Bellamy spake very little for himself, only he seemed to be a very clownish, blunt, wilful, and obstinate papist."—State Trials, Cobbett, vol. i.

[a] Proved P.C.C. 3 June 1584 by the proctor of Elie, the relict (Book Watson 12).

[b] Will of Gregory Isham, her brother, of Braunston, co. Northampton, gentleman, proved P.C.C. 16 Nov. 1558 (Book Noodes 75); Collins' Eng. Baronetage, where it is stated that both Henry Bellamy and Ely his wife lie buried at Hadley. The will of Ela Bellamy, of Hadley, widow, was proved 16 Nov. 1590 (Comm. Court of London, 1582-1592, f. 299).

[c] Paul Bellamy married Mary, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Lee, of St. Julian's, co. Herts, and by her had a son Paul. Harl. MS. 1551, f. 5. Clutterbuck's Herts, i. 105.

mans and Little Lemmans, conveyed to him by an indenture of 2 and 3 P and M, of which Giles Isham, esq. and Gregory and John Isham, citizens and mercers, were trustees. Annuities to his four daughters, Elizabeth, Suzan, Joan, and Jane, are to be paid half-yearly "at the utter doore of my Mancōn house in Hadley." It is not unlikely that this Henry was the son of William, mentioned in the will of his brother Richard, who was already deceased at the date of that will in January, 1538. His wife's sister married Thomas Pagitt of Barton Segrave, Northants, gent., from whom descended James Pagitt, baron of the exchequer, and Justinian Pagitt of Hadley, whose eldest son, Justinian, gave the rectory house in 1678[a].

Undeterred by the terrible recollections of September, 1586, the Bellamy family of Harrow remained stedfast in their adherence to the proscribed faith. In 1589 one Robert Bellamy, being confined in Newgate for conscience' sake, effected his escape thence "about eight days before Candlemas Day." From London he got to Scotland, and at the latter end of May crossed the sea to Hamburg, whence he proceeded to Cologne, with the intention of going on to Rome. Arrested shortly afterwards in the Palatinate for a Spanish spy, when on his way to Basle, he was conveyed to Heidelberg, and in the November following we find him under examination in England.[b] Not many years later, in April, 1591, intimation was conveyed to Burghley, in an intercepted letter from Cardinal Allen, that Gerat Bellamy, a student with his brother Thomas at the English college at Rheims, and recently ordained priest, will reach England about the 10 of May, the bearer of "divers consecrated crucifixes hallowed lately by his holiness,"[c] Pope Sixtus; and in July of that year it was reported that he had in his hands a bull of excommunication against the Queen's Majesty.[d]

The abode of the Bellamys appears to have been a rendezvous and place of refuge for the seminary priests and Jesuits who from time to time arrived in England. It is clear that they were under the strict surveillance of the authori-

[a] Vide *supra*, p. 80.

[b] State Papers, Dom. Nov. 25, 1589, vol. 228, No. 31. Cf. Sep. 7, 1589, under which date it is stated, in a letter written in cipher from Brussels, that Heath, Stokes and Bellamy, who broke out of Newgate, are at the Spa.

[c] State Papers, Dom. Apr. 20, 1591, vol. 238, Nos. 126, 126 ii. 126 iii. Edward Hastings, from Leicester, to Lord Treas. Burghley.

[d] State Papers, Dom. July, 1591, vol. 239, No. 114. Weston's intelligences to Francis Bacon. What connection there was, if any, between the brothers Thomas and Gerat and the Harrow Bellamys is uncertain. Robert Bellamy may have been that brother of Jerome, to whom his father, William, left a reversionary estate at Hadley.

ties in consequence, and more than once underwent arrest. In 1592[a] Lord Keeper Puckering is advised that Mr. Bellamy's two daughters are committed to the Gatehouse, but that "the old hen[b] that hatched those chickens, (the worst that ever was), is yet at a lodging." The informer suggests that she should be sent to the Gatehouse, and kept from her daughters, and her son Thomas committed to St. Katharine's, as it will work a strange example thereabouts. A memorandum has been preserved of uncertain date, but which must be referred either to 1593 or 1594,[c] authorizing Mr. Justice Young, or some other commissioner, to apprehend Richard Bellamy of Oxendon and his wife, their two sons, and two daughters, and to commit Mr. and Mrs. Bellamy to the Gatehouse, their daughters to the Clink,[d] and their sons to St. Katharine's. The examination was taken before the said Mr. Richard Young on the 18th July, 1594,[e] and is interesting as a revelation of the state of feeling that prevailed at that period. From Mrs. Bellamy it was elicited that she went to church and heard divine service and sermons, but had not received the communion, that her two sons Faith and Thomas went to church every Sunday, that her two daughters Audrey and Mary were living under her roof but did not go to church, and that her uncle, Mr. William Page,[f] also lodging with her, absented himself equally. Her son Thomas, of the age of 22 or 23, acknowledged that he had not received the communion the last Easter, yet was now willing to do so. The attitude assumed by the younger women was very decided, and indeed defiant. Audrey Wilford,[g] widow, asserted that, so far as she can remember, she was never at church in all her lifetime. Mary Bellamy, 27 years of age, who has always resided with her mother, confessed that she had not been for 14 years. Both declared that their consciences prohibited their attendance, and peremptorily refused to go in future, or to admit any conference on the subject.

Of the Bellamys, in their opposition to the State, we hear no more. The manor

[a] Probably in September. The letter is dated "Friday midnight." Richard Topcliffe to Lord Keeper Puckering. State Papers, Dom. vol. 243, No. 26.

[b] Katharine, wife of Mr. Richard Bellamy of Uxendon or Oxendon.

[c] State Papers, Dom. vol. 246, No. 81.

[d] The Gatehouse and the Clink were two prisons, the former at Westminster, out of the College court towards the north, and the latter on the Thames bank in Southwark.

[e] State Papers, Dom. July 18, 1594, vol. 249, No. 31.

[f] This must have been a brother of Mrs. Katharine Page, who had harboured the conspirators in Aug. 1586, but was now probably deceased.

[g] Amongst the houses ordered to be searched, 21 Aug. 1586, was that of Mr. Thomas Wilford at Hoggesdon (Hoxton).

Pedigree of BELLAMY,

Harl. MSS. 1551, f. 5. Visitation of Mid[dlesex]

ARMS: 1. *Bellamy.* Vert, on a bend betw. two cottises or three crescents gu.
2. *Boys.* Arg. two bars and a canton gu. over all a bend sa.
3. *Goodlack.* Per fesse az. and or a lion ramp. counterchanged.
4. *Nyx.* Or a chev. betw. three leopards' heads cabossed gu.
5. *Symonds.* Sa. three cups or covered arg.

CREST: On a mount vert a wild man ppr. garlanded round the head and waist vert, holding in dexter hand a club or.

Sir John Boys.=Thomasine, Thomas G[...] Lysons, iii[...]

Henry Boys=

John Boys=dau. of —— Fro[...]

William Gerrard, of Ince, Lancashire,=

(3) Joan, dau. and heir of Thomas (or Richard) Nykke or Nyx.=Thomas B[...] on-the-[...]

James Gerrard, temp. Hen. VIII.=Margaret, dau. of John Holcroft, of Holcroft.

Richard Page, of Sudbury Court, Harrow, yeoman. Will pr. P.C.C. 14 Jan. 1558-9,=Alice.

Plesance, dau. and coheir, mar. Thomas Newton, of co. Somerset.

Anne, dau. of Thomas Ratcliffe, of Wimersley Lanc. only sister and heiress of William Ratcliffe. Arg. a bend engr. sa. in sinister chief corner an escallop gu. Harl. MS. 1549, f. 91.=Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Master of the Rolls, 30 May, 1581. Will pr. 6 Apr. 1593. 1 and 4 arg. a saltire gu. 2 and 3 az. a lion ramp. gu. ducally crowned or.

William Gerrard, (1) of Flambards, Harrow-on-the-Hill, esq. d. 15 Apr. 1583. Will pr. P.C.C. 24 Oct. 1584. Bur. at Harrow. Az. a lion ramp. arg, ducally crowned or.=Dorothy, living in 1581. Or. a fesse dancettée betw. three martlets, within a bordure az.

Thomas Pag[e] — Franc[...], Henr[y], Richa[rd]

Thomas Gerrard, cr. Baron Gerrard, of Gerrard's Bromley, 21 July, 1603. Title ext. in 1711.=

Ratcliffe Gerrard, 2nd son.=

Charles Gerrard, cr. baron Gerrard of Brandon 1645, earl of Macclesfield, 1679. Ranger of Enfield Chace. Title ext. in 1702.

William Gerrard, of Flambards, esq. d. 23 Aug. 1609. Bur. at Harrow. Az. a lion ramp. arg. ducally crowned or.=Dorothy, dau. of Anthony Radcliff, of London, alderman. Arg. two bends engr. sa.

Richard. James. Gilbert. Thomas. Felix. Philip. John.(2)

Dorothy. Frances.

Sir Gilbert Gerrard, of Flambards, cr. a bart. in 1620. A distinguished parliamentarian. Aged 24 years and 10 months in Aug. 1609.=

Sir Francis Gerrard, of Flambards, 2nd bart.=

Sir Charles Gerrard, 3rd bart. d. s. p. m. 1701.=

Sir Francis Gerrard, 4th bart. d. s. p. m. 1704.=

Sir Cheeke Gerrard, 5th bart. d. unm. 1715.

Richard Bellamy, eldest son.=Katharin[e] and Ma[...] Copdock[...] three bu[...] sa.(5)

Faith Bellamy. (a son)

Thomas, living in Aug. 1615.

Audrey m[...] Wilford. in 1594.

(1) *Gerrard*, Harl. MS. 759, f. 226; 1551, f. 10; Burke's Extinct Peerage and Baronetage: Lysons II. 367, 568, 572, 578, *Harrow*. Foss, Judges v. 491. Nor[...] Britt. Midd. p. 23.

(2) The advowson of Harrow was bequeathed to John Gerrard by his father (Book Watson 30).

(3) Sister of Richard Nykke (so written by himself), or Nyx, LL.D. consecr. Bp. of Norwich, Apr. 1501, d. 14 Jan. 1535-6, and bur. in the cathedral. Fasti II. 468.

Pedigree of BELLAMY, of [...]ey and Harrow-on-the-Hill.

Harl. MSS. 1551, f. 5. Visitation of Middle[...]33, f. 87. Visitation of Bucks, 1575. 1634.

ARMS: 1. *Bellamy.* Vert, on a bend betw. two cottises or three crescents gu.
2. *Boys.* Arg. two bars and a canton gu. over all a bend sa.
3. *Goodlack.* Per fesse az. and or a lion ramp. counterchanged.
4. *Nyx* Or a chev. betw. three leopards' heads cabossed gu.
5. *Symonds.* Sa. three cups or covered arg.

CREST: On a mount vert a wild man ppr. garlanded round the head and waist vert, holding in dexter hand a club or.

Sir John Boys.=Thomasine, da[...] Thomas G[...] Lysons, ii. 5[...]

Henry Boys=

John Boys=dau. of — Frowyk

(3) Joan, dau. and heir of Thomas (or Richard) Nykke or Nyx.=Thomas Boys [...] on-the-Hill

Plesance, dau. and coheir, mar. Thomas Newton, of co. Somerset.

John Bellamy=

Henry Bellamy.=

Robert Bellamy, of Hadley,= husbandman.(4)

Thomas Bellamy, of Hadley.=

— Wright=

Roger Wright, of Hadley, malt-man. Will dated 2 May 1502, and 21 Aug. 1504.=Isabel, living 1504.

Thomas.= Isabel.

John.= 3 daughters.

William Bellamy, of Hadley.=Joan Wright.

Agnes mar. Edward Jones.

Margaret. unm. in 1504.

Richard Wright.=

[...] and coheir.=Richard Bellamy, of St. Bartholomew's, in West Smithfield, gent. Will pr. P.C.C. 28 Jan. 1538-9.

William, d. bef.= 1538.

Edward, living 1504. Will of Roger Wright.

Henry,= William Bellamy.

dau.=

Roger Wright, citizen and grocer. (7)

William Gerrard, of Ince, Lancashire,=

James Gerrard, temp. Hen. VIII.=Margaret, dau. of John Holcroft, of Holcroft.

Richard Page, of Sudbury Court, Harrow, yeoman. Will pr. P.C.C. 14 Jan. 1558-9,=Alice.

Anne, dau. of Thomas Ratcliffe, of Winmersley Lanc. only sister and heiress of William Ratcliffe. Arg. a bend engr. sa. in sinister chief corner an escallop gu. Harl. MS. 1549, f. 91.=Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Master of the Rolls. 30 May, 1581. Will pr. 6 Apr. 1593. 1 and 4 arg. a saltire gu. 2 and 3 az. a lion ramp. gu. ducally crowned or.

William Gerrard, (1) of Flambards, Harrow-on-the-Hill, esq. d. 15 Apr. 1583. Will pr. P.C.C. 24 Oct. 1584. Bur. at Harrow. Az. a lion ramp. arg, ducally crowned or.=Dorothy, living in 1581. Or. a fesse dancettée betw. three martlets, within a bordure az.

Thomas Page=[...] Page. Franc[...] Henry. Richard [...]

Agnes, mar. Thomas Thornton, of Greenford, co. Midd. Harl. MSS. 1412 f 102b; 1551 f. 1.

Jeremy Thornton of Greenford.

William Page.

Katharine.=William Bellamy, of Preston and Uxendon, in the parish of Harrow. Will pr. P.C.C. 23 May, 1566. Bur. at Harrow.

Mary.=John Edmonds.

Thomas Edmonds.

Isabel. Joan. Henry.

Thomas Gerrard, cr. Baron Gerrard, of Gerrard's Bromley, 21 July, 1603. Title ext. in 1711.=

Ratcliffe Gerrard,= 2nd son.

Charles Gerrard, cr. baron Gerrard of Brandon 1645, earl of Macclesfield, 1679. Ranger of Enfield Chace. Title ext. in 1702.

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Richard. James. Gilbert. Thomas. Felix. Philip. John.(2)

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Sir Gilbert Gerrard, of Flambards, cr. a bart. in 1620. A distinguished parliamentarian. Aged 24 years and 10 months in Aug. 1609.=

Sir Francis Gerrard, of Flambards, 2nd bart.=

Sir Charles Gerrard,= 3rd bart. d. s. p. m. 1701.

Sir Francis Gerrard,= 4th bart. d. s. p. m. 1704.

Sir Cheeke Gerrard, 5th bart. d. unm. 1715.

Richard Bellamy, eldest son.=Kathari[ne] [...] and Mar[...] Copdock [...] three bugle[...] sa.(5)

Faith Bellamy. (a son)

Thomas, living in Aug. 1615.

Andrey m[...] Wilford. A[...] in 1594.

[...] Bellamy [...] 27 in 1594 [...] unm.

Thomas, of Horndon-on-the-Hill, co. Essex, gent. Will dated 23 Aug, 1615. d. before Jan. 1615-6. Bur. at Harrow. 2nd son.=Katharine, dau. and coheir of John Symonds, of South Mimms. Will pr. P.C.C. 15 Jan. 1615-6. John Symonds, yeoman, d. 2 July 1571 and his will was pr. P.C.C. 30 July. (Book Holney 33.) His dau. Maude, or Maudlen, marr. John Ewer of Pinner, 25 Sep. 1565. South Mimms Par. Reg.

Bartholomew. 3rd son.

Robert.= 4th son.

William. Peter. Michael.

Jerome (6) exec. at Tyburn 21 Sep. 1586. 5th son.

Dorothy, bur. at Harrow, 1574. Lysons ii. 572.=Anthony Frankysh, (or Frankesse) of Water Stothard, co. Bucks.

Mary Frankish, living 1622.

(1) *Gerrard*, Harl MS. 759, f 226; 1551, f. 10; Burke's Extinct Peerage and Baronetage; Lysons II. 367, 568, 572, 578, *Harrow*. Foss, Judges v. 491. Norden [...] Britt. Midd. p. 23.

(2) The advowson of Harrow was bequeathed to John Gerrard by his father (Book Watson 30).

(3) Sister of Richard Nykke (so written by himself), or Nyx, LL.D. consecr. Bp. of Norwich, Apr. 1501, d. 14 Jan. 1535-6, and bur. in the cathedral. Le [...] Fasti II 468

[...] Will of John Bellamy, "civis et sellarius London," who names him his exor. Comm. Court of London. Admon. c. T. to Katharine, the relict, 27 Nov. 1458.

[...] Harl. MSS. 155, f. 44, Visitation of Suffolk 1561; 1560, f. 54. The will of Katharine Bellamy, of Acton, widow, was pr. P.C.C. 19 Nov. 1617. (Book Weldon 108.)

[...] Lysons, II. 566; Froude, xii. 267.

[...] Will pr. 12 Sep. 1538. Comm. Court of London, Book Tunstall, f. 321. He leaves to Clement his wife lands at South Mimms for life.

of Uxendon continued in the family until the early part of the 17th century, when it was aliened to the Pages, and in 1795 was the property of Richard Page, esq.,[a] of Wembley, who, at that date, was one of the governors of Harrow School. Its founder, John Lyon, the yeoman of Preston, who died 11th October, 1592, was a near neighbour of the Bellamy family at the time of the interesting events above recorded.

In the north transept of Hadley church lie the Goodyeres, or Gooderes, of whom mention has next to be made. There is, unfortunately, neither record nor tradition to show the place which they inhabited, but from their alliances and the cognizances incorporated with the fabric of the church, it is clear that they occupied a leading position here at the close of the 15th century and commencement of the following. Many pedigrees of the family are preserved at the British Museum, but, where unsupported by wills and other authentic documents, it is not prudent to lay too much stress upon their accuracy.

The origin of this family has been carried back to a certain Richard Goodere, the younger son of Thomas, lord of Poynton[b] in Cheshire, who in 1307 died in Scotland and was buried at Bowness, near Burgh-on-Sands, in Cumberland. It was on July 7 in this year that Edward I. died at the last-named place, five miles from Carlisle, when preparing to invade the neighbouring kingdom, and Thomas Goodere may have been engaged in the expedition. His son, Richard, is stated to have built himself a house at Hadley and to have called it *Bowness*.[c] The connection thus commenced continued through many generations, and the last trace we find of it was when Sir Henry Goodere, of Newgate Street, near Northaw, knight, in conjunction with Francis Goodere, his son and heir-apparent, mortgaged to Francis Kirtlande, of Holborn, tailor, for £216 13*s*. 4*d*., "all that messuage or tenement in Monckinge Hadley, called or known by the name of *Bonnyes*. And all the houses, edifices, &c. late in the tenure of one George Colborne, gent. And also three closes of meadow of 18 acres in Monckinge Hadley, &c." The earliest extant record of the family in this neighbourhood would seem to be the will of Richard Godyer, of Finchley, proved vi. Non. Maii 1403,[d] who may have been a son of the Richard who first settled at Hadley.[e]

[a] Lysons ii. 567. Lysons remarks (ii. 565, note 28) that this family had been, at the time he wrote, resident proprietors in the parish for two centuries and a half.

[b] Poynton Hall is now the residence of Lord Vernon.

[c] From an old writing in Latin relating to Stockport. Harl. MSS. 1424, f. 140^{b}: 1505, f. 159^{b}.

[d] Commissary of London, Book Broun 29^{b}.

[e] See Pedigree.

In 1494 the family was represented by John Goodere, whose memorial brass still remains on the floor of the north transept, with the inscription:—

Hic iace't Joh'es Goodeyere Gentilman & Johanna uxor eius qui quidem Joh'es obijt v° die august' A° d'ni m° ccccc° iiij° quor' aiab; p'piciet' de' amen.

Above is the effigy of a lady standing, with joined palms, and the two shields of *Goodere*, Gu. a fesse betw. two chev. vairé and . . . . a fesse betw. three lions passant. The name of John Goodeyere occurs, in the year 1496, 12 Hen. VII., amongst the persons appointed to be commissioners for Middlesex, and with justices of the peace to be associate. His will is dated 10 May, 1504.[a] It shows him to have been a man of substance, who had gone so far as to gather together the rudiments of a library, partly in MSS. and partly in print. The collection was somewhat miscellaneous, but books of any kind at that date were still rare in private hands.

In the name of god amen. the x. day of May In the yere of owr Lorde Jhũ crist a thowsand v c and iiij and in the xix. yere of the regne of King henry vij[th] I John Goodyere of Monken-hadlegh in the Counte of Midd' Gentilman being in good helth of body and in good remẽbrance and hole mynde thanked be allmyghty god ordeyne and make my testament in this mañ ffurst I bequeth my sowle to allmyghty god my maker and redemer and owre lady saint Mary and to saint John Baptyst and to all the holy and blessed company of heven and my body to be buried within the chapell of seint Anne within the parish church of owre blessed lady, saint Mary and seint Jame of hadlegh[b] aforesaid by Johanne my wife Also I bequeth to the workis of my mother church of Seint Powle within the Ciete of london vj[s] viij[d] Also I bequeth vnto the hie Aultar of my parish church of hadlegh beforesaied for my tithes negligently witholden vj[s] viij[d] Also I bequeth to the making of the first flowre of the stepull in the saied church of hadlegh as moch as it wull cost the making of Carpentry Also I bequeth the britherhood of the trinite in Cheping barnet vj[s] viij[d] Also I bequeth vnto the parish church of South Mymmes vj[s] viij[d] Also I bequeth vnto the parish churches of Rigge hendon Egeware ffreron barnet edelmeton Aldenham Endefeld and ffinchley to eũy of them iij[s] iiij[d] Also I bequeth to euery of my godchildern xij[d] in money Also I wull that myne executour finde a gode honest prest to singe xij monethes after my decease at seint Annes Aultar and he to say deprofundis euery day at masse at the Aultars and to pray for my soule and Johanne my wife's soul and all cristen sowles. And I wull that the saied prest have for his wagis x marcs in money Also I wull that therbe bestowed at my buryinge and at my Monthis mynde x marcs in money Also I yeve and bequeth to Margaret my wif[c] my best prymmer

[a] Proved P.C.C. at Lambeth. Book Holgrave 12.

[b] Vide *supra*, p. 118.

[c] The will of Margaret Goodeyer, widow, dated 24 Oct. 1509, was proved P.C.C. on the 4 March following, but there is nothing in it to indicate any connection with Hadley. (Book Bennett 26.)

coverd with crymysin veluet and clasped with siluer and gilt Also I yeve and bequeth to Margaret my wif my second gilt cup with a couer weying xx^{ti} vnc. with my Armys in the botome of the same cup and my ij lesser salts of siluer and parcels gilt with a couer weying xxj vnc. and a dĩ Also J pece of Siluer and parcels gilt weying xj vnc. and iij quarterns Also a dosen sponis of siluer that I bowght last Slypped at thendis weying xij vnc. Also a gret Maser with Jhũs in the botome Also a litell Maser with a fote of siluer and a sinkefowyle in the botome with a couer to the same Also I geve and bequeth to Margaret my wif all the stuff of houshold and other thingis that is comprised in a payre of endenturs whereof the on endentur is annexed to this my will and the other endentur is deliuerd to Margaret my wif to clayme the saied stuff and other thingis by such as is comprised in the saied endenturs *Also* I wull that all the plate and the prymer and all the stuff that I have gyven and bequethed to Margaret my wif is wering gere I wull that Margaret my saied wyf or hir assignes have and take all that is afore rehersed and no more and hens to cary hit by the space of xiiij. daies after my deces without any lete or interupcion of myne heyris or executour or of any other parson or parsons And my saied wif to have and enjoy all such thingis as is afore rehersed as hir owne foreuermor And if the saied Margaret my wif vex or trobull with myne executours vnderwriten or cause eny other manne to do brek my will or bequest or embesell any of my goodis to hir owne use or to eny other bodyes use otherwise then is before specified Thenne I wull that my bequestis made vnto the saied Margaret be as to hir voyde and of none effect but that they stonde and be to thuse and behoff of myne executour he to have theyme and enjoy them foreuermor Also I yeve and bequeth to John my sonne my best gilt cupp with the couer therto and my best saltis of siluer parcells gilt with a couer to theon of them and my tablet of golde that I was wonte to were abowte my nek with perle and stonne And I bequeth vnto my dowghter Alice my sonne Johnis wife a pece of siluer with fawcons weying viij vnc. in recompence for the primmer that I have bequethed to my wif Also I bequeth vnto my sonne Richard a pece of siluer weying viij unc. iij q3 Also I bequeth to my sonne William a pece of siluer weying vij vnc. iij q3 Also I bequeth to my son Walter a pece of siluer weying vj unc. and a dĩ Also I bequeath to my dowghter Johanne Combis in money $xiij^s$ $iiij^d$ Also to my dowghter Agnes Mery in money $xiij^s$ $iiij^d$ Also I bequeth to Johanne ffitz Johanne a brasse pot Also I bequeth to Johanne lewen a brasse pot Also I bequeth to Isabell Wood a brasse pott Also I bequeth to Thomas Brent a brasse pott by the discrecion of my executour Also I bequeth to Thomas Barderby a payre of shets and iiij pecis of pewter Also I wull that the money before bequethed be deliuerd within xij monthis after my deceace Also I yeve and bequeth unto my sonne John all my detts that is owing to me and all my mouabull goodis at large as bergeyns of wodsales or of any other thingis And all my cattall and corne exepte those things that I have willed and bequethid her in my testament before writen Also I bequeth to John my sonne all my wering gere that longith to my body he to bestow yt as he semith most necessary for the well of my sowle Also I bequeth to my saied sonne John Goodyere all the stuff howshold and thingis that is comprised in a pair of endenturs wherof thon endentur is annexed to this my will and the other is deliuered to my saied sonne to clayme the saied stuff and other thingis by such as is comprised in the saied endenturs And also I bequeth to the saied John my sonne all other thingis being within my saied house which is not bequethed nor comprised in this present testa-

ment nor in none of the said billis endentid to this my saied will annexed *The residwe* of all my plate and goodis in howshold not willid nor bequethed I yeve and bequeth to my saied sonne Johan he to have them to pay my detts that I owe to any body and to fulfill my will and bequests And I make and ordeyne the same John Goodyer my sonne my sole executour of this my present testament In witnes wherof to this my last will I have put to my seale the day and yere aforesaied And I make my sonne Richard superuisor

Thys endentur made the x[th] day of the Monyth of May in the xix[th] yere of the Regne of Kyng Henry the vij[th] witnessith that John Goodyere thelder of Monken hadley in the Counte of Midds Gentilmane hath geven to Margaret his wif all the stuff and other things that is comprised within this endentur as herafter more playnly hit doth appere that is to say In primis an Image of Alabaster of our lady and hir sonne Jhũ Item a Image of saint Dorothe of alblaster Item an Image on a tabull of Seint brigit Itm̃ a steynid cloth of saint John baptist Itm̃ a staynid cloth of owr lady at owr bedis hed Itm̃ a steynid Image of Seint Xp̃ofer Itm̃ a grene vestment with that that longith to hit Itm̃ a grene steynid bed with a testour to the same with an Image of the trinite and owr lady and Seint Gabriell Itm̃ iij curteynis paned bluwe and red of stamen[a] Itm̃ a fetherbed with the bolstar and a Matteres and a peyr of blanketts and a coũlet with Imagery that I bowth last that lyeth on my bed Item a fetherbed that lyeth in the Garret ouer the chapell chambur and the bolstar and the Matteres a payr of blanketts and the couerlet with Imagery that lieth on the same bed Item the ffetherbed with the bolstar that lyth in the whit Chambur that was John Barys and the blanketts on the same bed and the couerlet of olde Imagery lined with linen cloth that lieth on the same bedd Item an hanging of redd say with a staynid borther x yerdis longe and more Item iij payre of broken shets to make steynid hangingis Itm̃ vj pilows of diuers sortis Itm̃ vj paire of fflaxen shets and ij payre of towen shetts Itm̃ an olde red mantell a bokeram border steynid Itm̃ the paire of Andeyrons that was in the chapell chambur Itm̃ ij Chambur basins on of latin and a nother of pewter Itm̃ vj Coshens of verdur[b] in the hall Itm̃ an olde grene say tapet to mak bankers Item an harpe an ij lutis Itm̃ a gret plaine chest in the whit Chambur Item a shepechest in my chambur Item a spruse chest in my chambur Item a litell blak chest couerd with blak lether in my chambur Item ij borde clothes of diapur Item ij towellis of diapur a more and a lesse Item vj diapur napkins Item ij longe pleyne clothes of flax Item a towen clothe and a litell shotcloth Item iij plaine towellis *Item* a cobord cloth Item a joyned tabull in the hall Item the trestillis in the hall Item the litell folding tabull in the ꝑlure Item saint Nicholas cheyre coruen (carven) Item my wifis cheyr Item my joynid stolis Item the new garnish of vessell in the chambur Item tholde garnish of vessell in the kechin Item ij chargers in the buttry Item vj laten basons with an Ewer in the boterey Item a brode flat pewter basin in the bottry Item ij bell candillstikis of on sort Item ij bell candellstikes of a nother sort Itm ij flatt candelstikys of a nother sort Itm̃ iiij candelstikis of diuers sorts Itm a tapur a candellstik and a writyng candellstik Itm a cullendur of laton Itm ij chafing disches of laton Itm̃ a potell pot of pewter Itm a wine quarte pot of pewter for ale Item J wine pinte of pewter Itm a cruse of pewter to drink in Itm iij brasse

[a] *Stamine*, Linsey-woolsey cloth. Halliwell.

[b] *Verdure*, tapestry. Halliwell.

potts Itm iij brasse pannis Item the second gret bruing ketyll Item ij lesser kettillis Itm a starch panne with a stele Itm ij skymmers Item ij ladills Item iij spitts Itm̃ J paier of cobberdis Itm ij trevetts Itm a gredyron Itm the lesser frying panne Itm̃ a chafer of brasse of ij galons Item a fire forke and a fyre paire of tongs Itm a cole rake Itm ij pot hangers Itm a pair of potthokis Item ij dressing knyfis Item a kemelyn [a] Item a wasshing boll Item a boke of regimen principum in parchement Item a boke of diues [b] et pauper in printe Itm a boke of the knyght of the tower in print Item the caunterbury tales in parchment Item an old boke of the cronycls of yngeland Item an olde boke of bonuauentur Itm̃ a queyr of phisik of the secrets of women.

John Goodyere, the younger, named in the preceding will, did not long survive his father. His will, dated 26 Jan. 1513-4 was proved on the 14 Feb. next ensuing. The register of the Commissary Court of London is wanting from 1502 to 1516, but we learn that mention was made of his wife Alice, and that Thomas, his eldest son, was executor. When Nicholas Charles,[c] Lancaster herald, visited Hadley church in 1608, he found amongst its memorials the coats of arms of John Goodyere, who died in 1513, and of another John Goodyere, who died in 1507.[d] The will of Alice (Frowyke) his widow was proved[e] 2 May 1519, by her son Henry, power being reserved to Benjamin.

The last wyll off Alyce Goodyer᷒ late the wyff of John Goodyer off monkyn hadley yn the Com' Mydd gentyllma᷒ made the xx^th^ day off Aprell An 1519 *In dei noie Amen* ffyrst I bequeth my soule to Almyghty god to o^r^ lady seynct Mary And to all the holy company off hevyn my body to be buryed yn the churche off monkyn hadley yn the Chappell before seynct Anne by my husband I gyve unto the hygh Alt̃ yn Recõpens off all offerynge forgoten xiij^s^ iiij^d^ Itm̃ I give vnto my dought̃ Elizabeth a blacke gyrdell wth a bokyll and a pendant off Sylu᷒ & gylt Itm̃ I give unto Johan my s'uant a kowe and a payr off shetts The Resydue off my goodis seyng my body buryed & my dyryge & my masse don and my detts payed I gyve and bequeth unto myn executo^rs^ to be devyded by twext them the whyche I ordeyn and make henry and Benyamyn Goodyer my sonnes Itm̃ I give more unto the selyng and the Rode yn the forsayd churche vj^s^ viij^d^ hijs testibus Syr John Collwell curatt of hadley Elizabeth Bassett Agnes Belamy Issabell Buñe w^t^ others.

[a] Kemelyn, a tub, Chaucer. See Halliwell, *Kembing*.

[b] An edition in small folio was printed by Richard Pynson in 1493, and another, likewise in folio, by Wynkyn de Worde in 1496. The latter concludes with the postscript:—"Here endeth a compendyouse treatyse dyalogue of Dives and Pauper. That is to saye, the ryche & the poore fructuously treatynge upon the x cõmañdementes, fynysshed the iii daye of Decembre. The yere of our lorde god Mccccℓxxxxvi. Emprentyd by me Wyken de worde at Westmonstre." There are copies of either edition at the Brit. Mus.

[c] Lansd. MS. 874, f. 56. London and Midd. Arch. Society's Trans. iv. 261.

[d] Probably a son of John Goodyere, who d. in 1513.

[e] Commissary Court of London, 1516-21, f. 118^b^.

Her eldest son Thomas was already deceased. In 1608 Nicholas Charles copied his memorial on the north side of the church of Hadley, showing that his death took place in 1518.[a] Attached to it were the escutcheons of Goodyere and Hawte, *Or a cross engr. gu.* His widow, Joan,[b] eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Hawte, K.B.[c] by Isabel[d] his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Frowyke of Gunnersbury, and sister of Sir Thomas Frowyke of Finchley, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, remarried Robert Wrothe, esq. of Durants, Enfield, and by him had several children. Their eldest son, Sir Thomas Wrothe, was one of the knights of the Privy Chamber who signed the letters patent for altering the succession to the throne, 21 June 1553.[e] He was of those who fled the country for conscience' sake during the reign of Queen Mary. In 1564, being sent by Cecil with Sir Nicholas Arnold as commissioner to inquire into the complaints against the army in Ireland, he described the Pale, on his arrival, as a weltering sea of confusion, "every man seeking his own, and none that which was Christ's; few in all the land reserved from bowing the knee to Baal." He was Ranger of Enfield Chace and died in 1573, having married Mary, daughter of Richard, first lord Rich.[f]

Francis Goodyere, the eldest son of her first marriage, has been already mentioned in connection with the manor,[g] in which he appears at one time to have had an interest. He is recorded by Dugdale to have made considerable acquisitions of monastic property in Warwickshire, 36 Hen. VIII.,[h] but there was probably a connection already between the Goodyeres and this neighbourhood.[i] By a marriage with Ursula, daughter of Sir Ralph Rowlett of Gorhambury, and eventually one of the co-heiresses of her brother Sir Ralph Rowlett the younger, the fortunes of this branch of the family were no doubt increased, and

[a] Lansd. MS. 874, f. 56.

[b] Jane, daughter of her brother Sir William Hawte, was the wife of Sir Thomas Wyat of Allington Castle, Kent, executed in the reign of Queen Mary. Joan Wroth, widow, presented to South Mimms, 3 Dec. 1538.

[c] Made a Knight of the Bath at the marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales.

[d] Will of dame Joan Frowyke, her mother, dated 13 Apr. 1500. Proved P. C. C. (Book Moone 2).

[e] Edw. VI. d. on Thurs. 6 July. Froude v. 508, note; vi. 1.

[f] Lysons ii. 288, 317; Fuller's Worthies, *Middlesex*, p. 188; Froude viii. 54, 55.

[g] Vide *supra*, p. 48.

[h] The Manor of Baginton was granted by letters patent, dated 13 Apr. 36 Hen. VIII. 1545, to Francis Goodere, of London, gent., and his heirs. Dugdale, Warwickshire, ed. of 1656, p. 153a. Radway Grange, in the parish of Bishop's Itchington, was sold to the same, 13 Apr. 36 Hen. VIII. Ib. p. 421a. The site and demesnes of the abbey, with the whole lordship of Polesworth, were sold to him in the same year. Ib. p. 803.

[i] The will of John Goodyer of Bathyngton (Baginton) was proved P.C.C. 17 Oct. 1521. (Book Maynewaryng 16.)

the quarterings of Rowlett, Knight, Forster, Ineld, Gouldsmith and Jaye added to the arms.[a] The will of Francis Goodyere, described as of London, esq. dated 15 Dec. 38 Hen. VIII, and proved[b] by Sir Ralph Rowlett, his brother in law, 12 Aug. 1547, limits the manor of Polesworth to his eldest son Henry, and charges the manor of Baginton with a provision for a younger son Thomas.[c] The executors are Thomas Wrothe, Ralph Rowlett and John Cock,[d] whom he styles his brothers, with his uncle Henry Goodyere the alderman.

From this period the elder branch of the Goodyeres of Hadley is more especially identified with Warwickshire. Henry, who succeeded his father Francis in the inheritance of Polesworth at the age of thirteen,[e] must have been a man of some mark in his generation. As a supposed favourer of the Queen of Scots' cause, he was compromised in the affair of the duke of Norfolk,[f] and sent to the Tower. He had married the daughter of Hugh Lowther, and his brother-in-law, Richard Lowther, was governor of Carlisle when Mary crossed the Solway on Monday 16 May 1568. On the evening of the following day, Lowther, himself a Catholic but a loyal subject, escorted her from Workington, where she had landed, to Carlisle castle and, like all who at this season were exposed to her spells, was fascinated, paying the penalty of such indiscretion by undergoing imprisonment in the Tower.[g] Amongst the interrogatories submitted to the duke of Norfolk, 10 and 11 Oct. 1571, were two having relation to Goodyere's supposed complicity. The duke admitted that when the Scottish Queen was in custody of the earl of Huntingdon at Coventry,[h] Goodyere had supplied him with a cipher alphabet, which he had entered into his Bible "about the book of Exodus."[i] Dated

[a] Lansd. MS. 874. f. 100. From the destroyed church of S^t. Andrew, the site of which is included within the burying ground of S^t. Alban's Abbey, on the north side.

[b] P.C.C. (Book Alen 45). [c] Vide *supra* p. 48.

[d] John Cock, of Tewin co. Herts. esq. Master of Requests to Queen Mary, Sheriff of Herts 2 Ed. VI., married Anne, daughter of Thomas Goodyere. Clutterbuck ii. 55. *Broxbourn.*

[e] Dugdale's Warwickshire, London 1656. p. 153a.

[f] The duke was committed to the Tower 7 Sep. 1571. "Afterwards Banister, who was the Duke's Counsellour at Law, the earls of Arundell and Southampton, the Lord Lumley, the Lord Cobham and Thomas his brother, Henry Percy, Lowder (Lowther), Powell, Goodyer and others were committed to Prison, who every one of them, in hopes of Pardon, confessed what they knew." Camden's Hist. of Queen Elizabeth, 1688. p. 163.

[g] Froude ix. 232. 233. State Papers Dom. 27 Oct. 1571. vol. 81. No. 56. Confession of Henry Goodyere.

[h] Towards the close of the year 1569. Froude ix. 525.

[i] His Bible seems to have been a customary depository for suchlike treasonable documents. See Froude x. 294. note.

a few days afterwards, 27 Oct. we have a lengthy statement in writing sent by Goodyere, from the Tower, to Burghley, in his own justification. In it he alludes to a confession already made to Sir Thomas Smithe, by whom the duke had been arrested, and "Mr. Solicitor," to which the present is intended to be supplementary. The most curious feature of it is a postscript, in answer to "the Lyttell paper w^c^h yor L. sente me this morninge by M^r^ lieutenante." From this postscript it would appear to have been insinuated that Goodyere pretended to a descent from King Edward IV. He accordingly replies, "I have drawen divers pedigrees of my discent and have put only one in cullours, w^c^h is from one Thornburghe an Ancestor of myne to myselfe viij discentes, w^c^h I am hable to prove by the most auncyent wrytinges and monuments of my Auncestors, & by the testimony of men lyvinge. The matches, if it please yor L. are these, firste Thornburghes dought^r^ & heire Westes d. Sr Tho. Lewknors d. Brentes d. & heir frowicks d. of the folde Sr Tho. Hawtes d. Rowletts d. & one of his heires and lastly Lowther's dough^r^ maryed to myselfe, for the alledginge of my discente from Ed. the 4th. I assure yor L. upon my faythe & credytt I never did it &c." [a]

The duke was executed 2 June 1572, and the articles for the examination of Henry Goodyere, as well as the examination itself, 9 July 1572, are preserved amongst the Cecil papers at Hatfield.[b] It may be concluded that the charges were at least incapable of proof, as no further proceedings appear to have been taken. The subject, it is true, came up again in Oct. 1583, when John Somerville, who had married one of the Ardens of Park Hall, was in trouble for having boasted that he would assassinate Elizabeth. The story of this vain-glorious simpleton is told by Froude. Under examination in the Tower he stated that, when staying with his wife at Coventry from Christmas to Easter last past, he had been in frequent intercourse with Mr. Harry Goodyere, also lodging there, by whom he had been told that the buttons of gold which he wore on his cape and doublet were a gift from the Queen of Scots, and that he should continue to wear them for her sake. Froude supposes that his emulation was fired at the notion.[c]

A letter concerning money for the payment of troops, signed H. Goodere, bears the date of 25 Feb. 1585, and is addressed "To his excellencie the Earle

[a] State Papers Dom. Oct. 27. 1571. vol. 81 No. 56. The signature to the confession is H. Goodere, in which form the name is always found written from this period. The descents given agree with those of the pedigrees and confirm them. There had been a connection between the Hawtes and the Woodviles.

[b] Cecil Papers, vol. 159 f. 37.

[c] Froude xi. 609-611. State Papers Dom. Oct. 6. 1583. vol. 163 No. 4.

of Leycester, Generall of her Mat[s] army and gov[r]nor of all the United Provinces. At his courte."[a] He received the honour of knighthood before Zutphen, 5 Oct. 1586,[b] and is mentioned in 1587 as "Capteyn in command of 150 men, forming one of the companies of extraordinary foot-bandes sent for the reliefe of Sluce."[c] In July 1588, in anticipation of the coming Armada, we find his name amongst the colonels appointed to lead the army drawn together for the defence of her Majesty's person.[d] We can entertain no doubt therefore of his having by this time fully redeemed his position. In later years he is heard of on a not unimportant, but less conspicuous, stage, consorting with men of literary distinction and fulfilling the duties of a country gentleman in Warwickshire. Dugdale describes him as "a gentleman much accomplisht and of eminent note" in that county. He was the early friend and patron of Michael Drayton,[e] the poet, whom it has been said that he maintained at Oxford and who was one of the witnesses of his will. The overseers named in this document, proved 6 May 1595,[f] are Sir John Harrington of Combe co. Warwick knt.[g] Sir Henry Cocke of Broxbourn co. Hertford, knt. his cousin, Thomas Lucy son and heir apparent of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, with whom, as they sat together on the magisterial bench, he may have talked over the early delinquencies of William Shakspere, and Robert Burgoyne[h] of Wroxall co. Warwick, esq. By his marriage with Frances Lowther, he left two daughters, Frances, who married her cousin, Sir Henry Goodere the younger, and Anne, who, after her father's death, became the wife of Sir Henry Raynsford, of Clifford Chambers, co. Gloucester.

[a] Cotton MS. Galba. C. viii. f. 43. Acta inter Angliam et Belgium 1585.

[b] Amongst the knights made by the earl of Leicester in Holland, in 1586, is Sir Henry Goodyer, "captayne of the earles gard." Add. MS. 5482 f. 17[b].

[c] Late in July 1587, Sluys surrendered to Parma. The English relieving companies, "as resolute men as ever came to the field," marched along the coast from Ostend to Sluys. Froude xii. 380-382.

[d] State Papers Dom. July 1588.

[e] Born in 1563 at Hartshill in Warwickshire. Biog. Univ. Life of Drayton by Chalmers.

[f] P.C.C. (Book Scott 29). He d. 4 March 37 Eliz. Harl. MS. 757 f. 145.

[g] Sir John Harrington, of Exton, co. Rutland, knt. who acquired Combe Abbey by his marriage with Anne, only dau. and heiress of Robert Kelway esq. was cr. baron Harrington of Exton 21 July 1603. He was tutor to the Princess Elizabeth, dau. of James I., until her marriage, and died in 1613. His only son and successor d. unm. in 1614, when the title became extinct, and his elder surviving daughter was Lucy Harrington, countess of Bedford, celebrated in the verses of Daniel, Ben Jonson and Dr. Donne. Combe Abbey is now the seat of the earl of Craven. Fuller's Worthies, Warwickshire, iii. 290. Burke's Ext. Peerage.

[h] Ancestor of the present Sir John Montagu Burgoyne, bart. of Sutton Park co. Bedford.

The younger Sir Henry Goodere,[a] son of William Goodere[b] of Monk's Kirby, was much connected, like the elder, with the literary society of his day. He enjoyed the friendship of Drayton,[c] Inigo Jones, and Dr. Donne, who addressed to him a metrical letter, commencing with the stanza,—

[a] Amongst the names "of all such gent' as well englishe as Irish that have bin knighted sythence my L. of Essex L. Lieutenant his cominge into Ireland 1599" occurs that of Sir Henry Goodyer, at Dublin, the 5th of August in the forenoon. Add. MS. 5482 f. 18b.

[b] The name of Sir William Goodere appears amongst those who were knighted by James I. at Whitehall 23 July 1603, before the Coronation. Cotton MS. Claud C. iii. f. 243b.

[c] Ode to the worthy knight and my noble friend, Sir Henry Goodere, a gentleman of His Majesty's Privy Chamber.

These lyric pieces, short and few,
Most worthy sir, I send to you,
  To read them be not weary:
They may become John Hewes his lyre,
Which oft at Powlsworth by the fire
  Hath made us gravely merry.

Believe it, he must have the trick
Of rhyming with invention quick,
  That should do lyrics well:
But how I have done in this kind,
Though in myself I cannot find,
  Your judgment best can tell.

Th'old British bards, upon their harps,
For falling flats, and rising sharps,
  That curiously were strung;
To stir their youth to warlike rage,
Or their wild fury to assuage,
  In their loose numbers sung.

No more I for fools' censures pass,
Than for the braying of an ass,
  Nor once mine ear will lend them:
If you but please to take in gree
These Odes, sufficient 'tis to me;
  Your liking can commend them.

Yours,
M. Drayton.

"Who makes the last a patterne for next yeare,
Turnes no new leafe, but still the same things reades,
Seene things he sees, heard things again doth heare,
And makes his life but like a paire of beades."[a]

Upon James' accession he became an applicant, and continued a very persistent one, for court favour, basing his claim, in the first instance, upon his uncle's sufferings in the cause of the Queen of Scots, the King's mother, and, secondly, upon the expenses incurred by himself in the service of royalty. A characteristic letter is preserved among the Cecil papers at Hatfield, bearing the indorsement of 31 Dec. 1604, in which, at the beginning of the new reign, he hastens to lay before Cecil what he conceives to be his title to consideration.[b]

Most honorable Lorde,

My inward intention to apply my selfe and my service in particular to yr Lopp is as auncient as my attendance in Court, and having not all this while (notwthstanding my watch=full desire) founde any meanes to manifest the same; I thought I should bee untrue to my selfe, if I shoulde any longer smoother the intimation thereof to your Lopp. When I had resolved hereof, two questionable pointes appeared to mee, whether to doe it by my selfe, or some honorable frende; if by my selfe, whether by my mouthe, or by my pen. I concluded that no mediation could herein be used so fitly as myne owne, considering the judgement of him wth whome I had to deale and the free and unlimitable nature of the offer I was to make; and that it was as fitte to make the first tender of my selfe under my hande wch shall remayne a witnesse to condemne mee of treachery and dishonesty, if in any thing or in every thing I apply not my selfe to doe your Lopp the best service I am able; And I doe hereby in the most ample and humble sort, betroth unto yor Lopp the love and services (if they bee good enough for you) of him whose thirst for your favour, and disposition to serve you is extraordinary, and so shall appeare if they bee nourished by your countenance, favour, and protection for wch I am a most humble sutor, and also that upon better knowledge of mee you would please to find some use and tryall for my service in particular, in wch I will promise extreeme endevour to please you, and to be numbred amongst those that most intirely love and honor you. And till my better deserving may chalenge more, I beseech your Honor, Lett charity begge this muche at yor Lopps handes that you would thinke it no trouble to understand somewhat concerning my poore estate and to take it into favourable consideration.

It is not unknowen to our Soveraigne master that mine unckle Sr Henry Goodere for the zeale hee bare to his Matyes house and family ranne all his fortunes a grounde in the time of our late Queene, having suffered much both in estate and person, and more had done, had hee not founde extraordinary favour at the handes of your most worthy father, and of your unckle then

[a] Life of John Donne D.D. Dean of St. Paul's, by Rev. A. B. Grosart. ii. 25. Bell's Poets, *Donne*, iii. 128. State Papers Dom. Sep. 2. 1611. vol. 66. No. 2.

[b] Cecil Papers vol. 189 f. 124.

Lo: keeper; My purpose is not to trouble your Lo^{pp} wth the story hereof, only in summe to lett you know that besides his imprisonments and disgraces wch accompanied him almost to his death hee empayred his estate (by meanes of those troubles) twenty thousande poundes at the least, whereot I am able to make sufficiente proofe; To mee his heire hee left the rest of his decayed estate wth a more riche inheritance, his zeale to his ma^{tyes} title wch upon his death=bedd hee conjured mee to manifest upon all occasions. What courses I have taken some yeares past to intimate to his Ma: bothe the crosses of my deceased unckle and to make tender of myne owne service, I know his Ma^{ty} doth well remember; together wth his princely promises (bothe before I saw him, and many times since my attendance upon him) to consider the poore estate of my decayed house wth effectuall favour: To further wch I humbly and earnestly crave your honorable and favourable assistance in a sute that I must bee forced very shortly to crave at his royall handes to keep my selfe, my wife, and children from falling, wherein as I will not conceave any hope wthout the first obtayning of your favour, so will I not presume to sett it on foote wthout making your Lo^{pp} acquainted with the particularityes of it and obtaining your leave to proceede in it; I would not have done it so speedily, but that I am not able to wrestle wth necessity: nor am I ashamed to acquainte you wth the truth of my estate to whome I hope to bee beholding for your favour; The desire I have to doe his Ma^{ty} service and my ability cannot long stand together. Therefore I must either find some speedy frutes of his Ma^{tyes} bounty, or els wthdraw my selfe into some corner confounded wth shame of my want, and more, with greefe that I have presumed farther upon the King's promises then he is willing to shew I had cause. To conclude my sute to your Honor is two folde, first that it woulde please you to give mee leave to repayre to your Lo^{pp} and to sollicite youre furtherance in my behalfe, then that you will not thinke the tender of my selfe, and service disgraced, by being accompanied wth your trouble for mee; that proceeding from most necessary causes, and this from a mind wholy and thorowly disposed to approve mee.

Your Honors most humble and faythfull Servant,

HENRY GOODERE.

To the right honorable the
Lorde Cecill principall Secretary
to his Ma^{ty} and one of his Ma^{tyes}
most honorable privy Counsell.

Sir Henry Goodere had been appointed one of the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber[a] to James I., but his decayed estate was a source of continual perplexity to him, and furnished the theme of more than one abject appeal to the Sovereign. At the accession of Charles he insists more strongly than ever upon his difficulties, under the added stimulus of "misery grown by his expensive service to the late King," praying to be admitted a Gentleman Usher of the Queen's Privy Chamber, with meat, drink, and lodging, with some dignity, in that place where he had spent most of his time and estate.[b] Death

[a] State Papers Dom. May 30. 1605. vol. 14 No. 19.

[b] State Papers Dom. Aug. 13. 1626. vol. 33. No. 100.

overtook him on the 18 March 1627, whilst still besieging the Court with entreaties.[a] He left four surviving daughters,—his only son John having predeceased him in Dec. 1624,—the eldest of whom had married Sir Francis Nethersole,[b] much employed in missions to Germany, and secretary to the Queen of Bohemia. The Nethersoles inherited Polesworth, which from them passed to the Biddulphs, descendants of Sir Henry Goodere's youngest daughter, Anne. Under the head of Hadley, Weever[c] quotes a *Tetrastich* in honour of Sir Henry Goodyer of Polesworth, by "an affectionate friend," but gives no date and leaves the place of burial uncertain.

> "An ill yeare of a Goodyer vs bereft,
> Who gon to God, much lacke of him here left,
> Full of good gifts, of body and of minde,
> Wise, comely, learned, eloquent, and kinde."

At Hadley the representation of the family continued in the descendants of alderman Henry Goodyere, a younger son of Thomas Goodyere by Alice Frowyke. The funeral of the alderman is thus recorded in Machyn's Diary;—"1566. The iij day of November was bered in the parryche of sant Towlys (Olave's) in Southwarke master (   ) Goodyere, sumtyme altherman of London and letherseller, marchand of the stapull of Callys, with ij whytt branchys, xij stayffes torchys, and iiij grett tapurs, and mony mornars in blake, boythe men and vemen, and the compane of the Lethersellers in ther levere (livery)."[d] He died 2 Nov. 3 and 4 P. & M. leaving his son and heir William, then 36 years of age.[e]

[a] Harl. MS. 757. f. 145. There is a letter addressed by him to Secretary Conway in Feb. 1627. State Papers Dom.

[b] Knighted at Theobalds 19 Sep. 1619. Cotton MS. Claud. iii. On 21 Oct. 1619, he was succeeded in the post of Public Orator at Cambridge by George Herbert. Isaak Walton's Life of George Herbert.

[c] Fun. Mon. p. 533.

[d] The will of Henry Goodyere of Barmeseystrete (Bermondsey street) in the county of Surrey, esq. made 29 Apr. 2 & 3 P. & M. was proved by William his son, sole executor, 14 Dec. 1556. (P.C.C. Book Kitchin 25). Henry Goodyere, whose name does not occur in Smith's list of aldermen, and who was never sheriff, became one of the trustees of the parish of St. Olave's, for Horsleydown, in the 36th Hen. VIII. (See an account of St. Olave's Grammar School in the Gentleman's Mag. for 1836, N. S. vol. v. p. 139.) On the 19 Jan. 1586 Hugh Gooder released and confirmed the said land to the governors. Machyn, Cam. Soc. Pub. p. 118. Cf. Strype M. III. i. 507. Gent's Mag. 1836 vol. v. N. S. pp. 15. 137.

[e] Harl. MS. 757 f. 282. Administration of the goods of William Goodere, of Hadley, intestate, was granted 26 Oct. 1577 to Anne Goodere the relict, in the person of Barnard Carrier, clerk, as Attorney. A fresh grant of the same was made 14 Feb. 1577-8 to Anne the relict and Henry, the son. Admin Act Book Commissary Court of London 1570-1582 ff. 162. 170[b].

The line was carried on in William, who married Anne daughter of Edward Cooke, of London, goldsmith, by Joan his wife, sister of Sir William Staunford, and whose eldest son became Sir Henry Goodere,[a] of Newgate Street, Herts. This gentleman married Audrey the only child of John Rumbold yeoman, who had purchased 27 Jan. 9 Eliz. the reversion of the manor of "Newgate-strete, otherwise Tolmer," held of the manor of East Greenwich.[b] By her, who predeceased him, after a union of 53 years, 9 Apr. 1628, he had issue seven sons and as many daughters, of whom at his death, 12 June 1729, in his 78th year, he left surviving, according to a tablet formerly[c] in Hatfield church, two sons, Francis and Thomas, and four daughters, Anne, Judith, Ursula, and Lucy. His will was proved 16 June[d] 1629. He desires to be buried within the chancel of the parish church of Hatfield and appoints his son Thomas sole executor and residuary legatee.

As has been already mentioned, he had mortgaged his Hadley property in 1613,[e] having previously, in 1608, incumbered or disposed of lands at Totteridge and Whetstone.[f] The Close Rolls and Chancery Bills and Answers of this period afford glimpses of proceedings in which Francis, the elder son of Sir Henry, was involved, and lead to a suspicion of extravagant habits tending to the gradually hopeless incumbrance and eventual dissipation of the family possessions. In 1624, being then described as of Walton Grange,[g] Staffordshire, esquire, he brings a suit against his tailor,[h] the same Francis Kirtland to whom the Hadley property was mortgaged. Having ordered apparel about three years previously, to the value of £50, with an intention of going beyond the seas, upon abandoning that intention the order was countermanded, he agreeing to pay reasonably for labour already bestowed, on condition that Kirtland made him a satin doublet which

[a] Knighted at Lamer in Hertfordshire in 1608. Cotton MS. Claud. C. iii. f. 250.

[b] Close Roll 732. pt. 6. On 8 Feb. 5 Jac. we have a grant by the King to Henry Goodere esq. at a payment of £26 16*s.* 8*d.*, of "totum illud manerium nostrum vocat' sive cognit' p nomen de Newgate-streete sive p nomen de Tolmer," late part of the possessions of William marquis of Northampton. Pat. Roll. 1738.

[c] Arms. Quarterly, 1 and 4 Goodyere, 2 and 3 Thornbury. Clutterbuck ii. 368; Chauncy ii. 18.

[d] P.C.C. (Book Ridley 62).

[e] Close Roll 2123 pt. 13 No. 33. 4 Dec. 10 Jac. Vide *supra*, p. 139.

[f] Close Roll 1910 pt. 33. 21 Sep. 5 Jac. Cf. Close Roll 2798 No. 17 April 1629.

[g] He had married Katharine the daughter of George Onslowe of this place. The wife of Francis Goodeere was bur. 8 Sep. 1651. Northaw Par. Reg.

[h] 3 Feb. 1624. Chancery Bills and Answers, James I., G. ii. No. 20.

was to cost £5. 10. 0. His father and Thomas his brother having unsuccessfully endeavoured to come to terms with the tailor on his behalf, the action was brought to determine, with other objects, the value of certain scarlet used, Goodere alleging that it was only worth 20s. the yard, and the tailor maintaining, on the other hand, "that the said Scarlett was right Scarlett and noe Bastard," and that he had paid £3 a yard for it.

In 1633 we find him prosecuting a very singular action against one John Marston of Whitfield co. Northampton, clerk. It is worth introducing, as a picture of the age. He alleges that, about three years since, the defendant came to his house at Newgate Street to request him to contrive a marriage between him (Marston) and Jane Fountayne, spinster, the near kinswoman of plaintiff's wife, offering, if it should be effected, to lend Goodere £200 for a year, and also to purchase lands of him worth 100 marks per ann. for a jointure, the said £200 to be considered as part payment. Jane Fountayne assenting to the proposal, they became contracted, and a licence was purchased. Marston, upon this, asks Goodere to procure a horse and ride with him and his affianced bride from Newgate Street to St. Alban's, where the marriage was to be solemnized. On their way, at the town of Colney (London Colney), she fell from her horse and, either owing to the fall or to the rupture of an internal abscess, suddenly died. Marston, according to the allegation of Goodere, rode off before the funeral, undertaking to pay the expenses of it and to give £5 to the poor of Colney. In the sequel, plaintiff had to meet these charges himself, at a cost of £50, losing besides the promised loan of £200, and he complains that within a month or six weeks Marston was married to another woman. In his answer Marston traversed all the charges made against him, and it appears that Goodere had been outlawed by him. We have not before us the result of these proceedings, but the disintegration of the Goodere property in such hands will not surprise us. In Dec. 1649 [a] Francis Goodere sold to Robert Shiers, to whom it had previously been mortgaged (about 1639-40), his manor of Newgate Street, thereby dissolving its connection with the adjacent estate of Tolmers, which latter was afterwards purchased for £1000 by Shiers, 1 June 1655,[b] of Henry Goodere gent. late of Hatfield, son and heir apparent of Francis Goodere late also of Hatfield. After

[a] 17 July 1652. Close Roll 3697 No. 6. Confirmation Deed of that of 1649, between Francis Goodere late of Bishop's Hatfield esq. Thomas Goodere gent. his brother and Ursula Goodere his sister, of the one part, and Robert Shiers of the Inner Temple esq. of the other.

[b] Close Roll 3873. pt. 42 No. 26.

this transaction we hear no more of the Gooderes of Hadley as landowners, though the name still survives in Hertfordshire.

A brass on the wall of the north transept, partly hidden by the wainscot, records the virtues of Anne, first wife of Thomas Walkeden, and sister of Sir Henry Goodere of Newgate Street. Of the two shields originally attached to it the Goodere coat remains, but that of Walkeden is missing.[a]

> Loo here the sexe of wemenkynd,
> A perfitt patterne you may vewe,
> Of one that was (whilst that she was)
> A matrone mild, a mirrour trewe:
> ANNE WALKEDEN, a faythful wife,
> discend of GOODERE'S auncyent race,
> Who hath so ronne her earthlye course,
> That she hath wonne her goole of grace.
> One lovde of all, but loved best
> Of God, w[th] whom her soule doth rest.
> Buried the X of december MCCCCCLXXV.

Thomas Walkeden, of the Inner Temple, of a family derived from Stone, in Staffordshire, son and heir of Geffrey Walkeden, of London, skinner, and nephew of William Walkeden,[b] clerk, rector of Clifton-Campville, co. Stafford, married secondly at St. Paul's Walden, Herts, 26 Nov. 1576, Jane daughter of Thomas Hoo esq. of Kimpton and Walden, by Lucy, dau. of John Brocket esq. of Brocket hall.[c] Mary, the daughter of Thomas and Anne Walkeden, became the first wife of Abraham Halsey of London, gentleman, whom Mr. Henry Carew styles his cousin and names as his executor.[d]

In speaking of the manor[e] it was observed that, in 1608, the herald, Nicholas Charles, found the coat armour and pennons of Sir William Staunford still suspended in the church.[f] Of the year of his father's death we have no

[a] In Add. MS. 16940 f. 50. Patents of Arms 1540—1590, we find, as a gift to Geffrey Walkeden, of Stone, co. Stafford, in the year 1558, Arg. a chev. engr. betw. three griffins' heads erased az. beaked or; on a chief of the second an anchor gold betw. two bezants. Crest. A griffin's head erased, quarterly arg. and vert, beaked, eared, and a crown about the neck or. Cf. Harl. MSS. 1463 f. 9[b]; 6072 f. 9.

[b] Will proved P.C.C. 1611-12 (Book Fenner 38).

[c] Clutterbuck iii. 73. Harl. MSS. 1096 f. 77[b]. 1463 f. 9[b]. 1570 f. 92[b]. 2113 f. 169[b]. 6072 f. 9.

[d] Harl. MS. 1476 f. 361. Vide *infra* p. 160.

[e] Vide *supra*, p. 50.

[f] The same armorial bearings were in the hall of Gray's Inn.

Pedigree of TAYLOR, PA[LME]R, and STAUNFORD, of Hadley.

PALMER.
Harl. MS. 1551 f. 27b.

Robert Palmer=

John Palmer = of Stony Stanton, co. Leic. 4 Edw. 3.

Nicholas Palmer= of co. Leicester, living 35 Edw. 3 and 7 Hen. 4.

John Palmer=

Robert Palmer=Joan dau. and coheir. 30 Hen. 6.

William Brett of Brettshall= co. Warw. Gu. a fesse dancettée betw. six billets or;—Gu. a bend cotised betw. six martlets or.

Joyce, dau. and coheir.

TAYLOR.
Harl. MS. 1551, f. 27.

[He]nry Taillor,=Elinor, dau. of Thomas Carminow, living in 1493. [o]f London, 2 [s]on of —— Taillor, of Lancashire.

Taillor, gent.=Anne, sister and heir of Edward Hungerford esq. Died before her husband. Bur. at Barnet. Sa. two bars. arg; in chief three plates. [Barn]et, co. Herts. [in] chancel of church. Will Feb. 1493/4, of St. Alban's. Wallingford

Alianore [...]ll of her father).

Edward Taillour, of London gent. Will=Elinor Cheeseman, pr. P. C. C. 2 July 1509. Bur. at Barnet, in the chancel. Az. semée of crosses crosslet arg. three boars' heads, armed, of the second. Crest, A boar's head and neck couped, betw. two wings semée of crosses crosslet or.

CHEESEMAN.
Harl. MSS. 1546, ff. 68, 676; 1551, f. 29.

Edward Cheeseman of Dormanswell,=Joan, dau. of —— Lawrence, of Lancashire. co. Midd. cofferer to H. 7 and H. 8. Per chev. embattled arg. and sa. 3 mullets pierced counterchanged. Crest. A unicorn's head and neck arg. ducally gorged and horned or.

Elinor Cheeseman,=John Palmer, d. 29 Feb. 1558. Bur. at Barnet. (1) — John Palmer of Kentish Town, co. Midd. 2 husb. Will nuncupative pr. P.C.C. 4 Nov. 1542.

William Palmer Vide Herts and Leicestershire.

Richard Palmer of Wasperton, co.=Margery, dau. and heir Warw. Az. a fleur de lis in chief, and two trefoils slipped in fesse arg. Crest, A dragon's head couped or, collared and winged vert; on the collar three bezants; the wings fretty arg. betw. the fret trefoils of the last. — Margery, dau. and heir of —— Harthill, co. Warw. who mar. dau and coheir of Cotton. Barry of six, arg. and vert.

Richard, of Lynch, co. Hertf.

Alice, mar.—Percival, an attorney in the King's Bench.

Sir Thomas Palmer knt., mar. a noble Frenchwoman and d. s. p.

[...]th. dau. of—Edward Taylor, of=Katharine, dau. of Richard Crosse, of Liverpool, and widow of John Warren of St. Alban's. [...] Vaughan [...]tleton. — Edward Taylor, of Monken Hadley, esq. Posthumous. Will pr. P.C.C. 25 Jan. 1571-2. Bur. at Hadley.

Barbara,=William Pulter, of Hitchin, bur. at Hitchin, 14 Nov. 1568. — William Pulter, of Hitchin, co. Herts. d. 23 May, 1549, and bur. at Hitchin. Son of William Pulter, of Hitchin, sheriff of Herts. 1496, who d. 20 May, 1513.

Elizabeth.

Jerome Palmer,=Elinor, dau. of William, Lord Paget. — Jerome Palmer, of Kentish Town, eldest son.

Christopher Palmer= of Shenley, co. Herts.

Frances. Erasma.

Mary Palmer, mar. William Colles.

[Robe]rt Taylor [d.] s. p.

Henry Taylor gent.=Katharine dau. of —— Joyner of St. Alban's. — Henry Taylor gent. D. at South Mimms, 28 Feb. 1578/9 and there bur. in the chancel. Will pr. P.C.C. 16 March 1578/9.

Dorothy, dau of=Thomas Taylor=Anne, dau. of George Morgan, of Castell Dennant in Merionethshire, 2 wife. — Dorothy, dau. of Arthur Hopton, of Cockfield and Westwood, co. Suff. widow of John Beriff, of Colchester. — Thomas Taylor of Hadley and Plaistow, co. Essex. Bur. in Suffolk.

Christian, mar. —— Bird of London

Elinor.=William Staunford.

Ralph Palmer.=Mary [...]

[...]y Taylor, posthumous. [...]ars old at date of Inq. c. [H]atfield 29 Aug. 25 Eliz. [Ha]rl. MS. 756 f. 483) ½ 1 mess. &c. 1 claustr. de [...]r. &c. in Hadleiche mo[...]

Elizabeth. Dorothy. Anne.

Edward. Henry. } d. s. p.

Catharine.

William, d. s. p.

Richard Taylor,=Sibbell, dau. of Edw. Wightman, of Hinckley, co. Leicester. Per fesse or and sa. a maunch counterchanged. — Richard Taylor, of Knightsbridge, co. Midd. Anno 1629.

Edward Taylor. Anne. Elinor, d. young.

Sir Robert Staunford,=Anne, dau. of John Leveson of Wolverhampton. — Sir Robert Staunford, of Perry Hall co. Staff. knt. born 31 Jan. 1539, d. 20 March 1606-7. Admin. 11 May 1607.

Thomas 2 son.

Mary, dau. of Sir=Edward Staunford,=Da[...] — Mary, dau. of Sir Henry Shelley of Maple Durham, co. Hants. — Edward Staunford, born 1564. Joint lord of Great Barr.

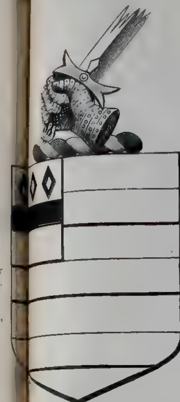
William Staunford=Dorothy, dau. of Sir John Pershall, d. 1638. — William Staunford d. in Aug. 1640 *

Robert went beyond sea to become a monk. *

Edward Staunford, born 1619, mar. cir[...] still possessed of lands in Handsworth[...]

(1) Here lyeth Elinor Palmer, wyffe unto Edward Taylor Esquier, and after yt wyfe to John Palmer Esquier of Kentishetowne, and one of ye dowghters of Edward Cheesemã, who was coferer to Kinge Henry ye vijth, wch Elynor dyd geve tow acares of medowe ground in Kentishe towne holden of ye p'bend of Cantelous unto ye use of the Poore of this towne and of Kētishtowne for ever, whych Elynor deceased the 29 daye of Februarie in anno dom'. 1558. Memorial tablet in Barnet Church; formerly on an altar tomb.

* Probably bapt. at South[...]



[The Ar]ms were given by Sir Christopher Ba[rker, Gar]ter, by patent dated 2 May 1542, 34 [H. 8, to] William Staunford of Hadley.

STAUNFORD.
Harl. MSS. 1077 ff. 61, 62; 1551 f. 45b; 1570 f. 63; 6128 f. 3b.
Hist. of Staffordshire, by Rev. Stebbing Shaw, ii. 108, 109, with MS. notes by Samuel Pipe Wolferstan, of Statfold, at Br. Mus.

Robert Staunford, or Stamford,=Margery, dau. and heir of —— Fisher, of Rowley, near Stafford. — Robert Staunford, or Stamford, of Rowley, co. Stafford.

Arms confirmed by Sir Christopher Barker, Garter, by patent dated 25 June 1544, 36 H. 8, to William Staunford of Rowley, son of Thomas. Arg. three bars az. on a canton gu. a gauntlet or, grasping a broken sword of the first, hilt and pommel sa. Crest. A stag's head arg. attired of the last, guttée de sang; on the neck a bar gemell gu.

William Staunford=Margaret, dau. and heir of —— Gedney of London. Bur. at Islington. Will pr. P.C.C. 7 Dec. 1542. — William Staunford, of London, merchant 2 son.

John, eldest son. A priest, d. s. p.

Thomas Staunford,=Dau. and heir of —— Henshawe, mayor of Gloucester. Gu. on a chev. betw. three lozenges arg. as many church bells sa. — Thomas Staunford, of Rowley, co. Stafford. 3rd son.

William Staunford.=Margaret dau. and heir of John Moore.

Joyce.=Anthony Babington of Tynmore.

[...] Carew esq.=Alice Palmer. Bur. at Hadley. [...] Hadley.

Henry Carew, gent. Died 12 Dec. 1626. Bur. at Hadley.

Sir William Staunford. Justice of C. P. 2nd son. Will pr. P.C.C. 11 Oct. 1558. Bur. at Hadley.

John, eldest son, d. s. p.

Thomas 3 son, d. s. p.

Anne.=Nicholas Withers, citizen and haberdasher. Will pr. P.C.C. 16 Oct. 1543. — Anne. Will pr. P.C.C. as of Hadley, widow, 19 Dec. 1547.

Elizabeth.=Edmund Atcombe of London, goldsmith.

Joan deceased before Oct. 1541.=Edward Cooke of London, goldsmith, deceased before Oct. 1541.

Anne. Alice. Elizabeth. } Will of Margaret Staunford.

Richard Cooke= a minor in 1541.

Anne Cooke,=William Goodyere a minor in 1541. — William Goodye[re] of Had[ley] See Goodyere pedigree.

William Withers, of Hadley, died 2 July 1566.=Wife deceased before July 1566. Bur. at Hadley. Will pr. P.C.C. 13 July 1566. Harl. MS. 758 f. 272.

Gertrude.

[...] daughter of Henry [...]

Joyce Withers, only child, 9 years old in July 1566, of Hounslow, Midd. Will nuncupative pr. P.C.C. 4 March 1571-2.

Henry. William. Anne. Cicely.

[William] Staunford,=Elinor, dau. of Christopher Palmer, of Shenley. — [...] bur. 23 Oct. [...] St Giles' Cripplegate. Will pr. 13 Nov.

Robert Staunford only son.

Henry Staunford, 4 son, of Blackfriars London. Bur. at West Drayton, d. s. p. Will pr. P. C. C. 2 Nov. 1616.

Ralph Staunford, M.A. of Oriel Coll. Oxford, 5 son. Living in 1613.

John

Margaret d. unm.

Frances=Thomas Repington, of Armington, co. Warw.

Dorothy=Vincent Pedcourte. — Dorothy living 1616.

Winifred d. unm.

Katharine=John Banbury of London.

Anne d. unm.

John Repington living 1616. Humphry. Edward.

Edward Banbury.

[...]r of —[...] Green [...]mbleton.

Robert.

Charles born=Eleanor Alderford. — Charles born 1577, d. 1638.

1. Frances.
2. Katharine.
3. Mary=Humphry Comberford.
4. Anne=Richard Barrington.
5. Margaret=Godfrey Crewe.
6. Agatha.

Margaret twin with=Richard Astley, of Thetford, co. Norf. younger brother of the Master of the Jewel House. Bur. in St Cuthbert's, Thetford. Will pr. P. C. C. 20 May, 1601. — Margaret twin with Henry; mar. 2ndly — Eden; living in Dec. 1626, and d. before 10 March 1628-9.

[...]ny=

John. Henry Francis.

Mary bapt. 18 May 1590. Anne * Frances. Margaret. Eleanora.

Drewe Astley, living in 1626.

Henry living in 1626.

—Baker=Mary=Stephen Pears keeper of the wardrobe at Richmond. — —Baker 1 husb.

Mary Baker. Robert Pears.

[...] A colonel for the King in 1645. Living 1659 and=Dorothy Southcot. [...] Hall passed to the Bests, who were owners in 1659.

John. Anne, a nun.

* See Register of that parish.



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STAUNFORD.

Harl. MSS. 1077 ff. 61, 62; 1551 f. 45b; 1570 f. 63; 6128 f. 3b.
Hist. of Staffordshire, by Rev. Stebbing Shaw, ii. 108, 109, with MS. notes by Samuel Pipe Wolferstan, of Statfold, at Br. Mus.

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William Staunford of London, merchant 2 son. = Margaret, dau. and heir of —— Gedney of London. Bur. at Islington. Will pr. P.C.C. 7 Dec. 1542.

John, eldest son. A priest, d. s. p.

Thomas Staunford, of Rowley, co. Stafford. 3rd son. = Dau. and heir of —— Henshawe, mayor of Gloucester. Gu. on a chev. betw. three lozenges arg. as many church bells sa.

William Staunford. = Margaret dau. and heir of John Moore.

Joyce. = Anthony Ba[...] of Tynmore.

ew esq. = Alice Palmer. Bur. at Hadley.

ry Carew, gent. ed 12 Dec. 1626. r. at Hadley.

Henry

= Sir William Staunford. Justice of C. P. 2nd son. Will pr. P.C.C. 11 Oct. 1558. Bur. at Hadley.

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Henry. William. Anne. Cicely.

[...]ford, [...]3 Oct. [...]Giles' [...]ipple- [...]pr. [...]Nov. = Elinor, dau. of Christopher Palmer, of Shenley.

Robert Staunford only son.

Henry Staunford, 4 son, of Blackfriars London. Bur. at West Drayton, d. s. p. Will pr. P. C. C. 2 Nov. 1616.

Ralph Staunford, M.A. of Oriel Coll. Oxford, 5 son. Living in 1613.

John

Margaret d. unm.

Frances = Thomas Repington, of Armington, co. Warw.

John Repington living 1616. Humphry. Edward.

Dorothy living 1616. = Vincent Pedcourte.

Winifred d. unm.

Katharine = John Banbury of London.

Edward Banbury.

f — [...]een [...]ton,

Robert.

Charles born 1577, d. 1638. = Eleanor Alderford.

1. Frances.
2. Katharine.
3. Mary=Humphry Comberford.
4. Anne=Richard Barrington.
5. Margaret=Godfrey Crewe.
6. Agatha.

Margaret twin with Henry; mar. 2ndly — Eden; living in Dec. 1626, and d. before 10 March 1628-9, = Richard Astley, of Thetford, co. No[...] younger brother of the Master of t[...] Jewel House. Bur. in St. Cuthbert[...] Thetford. Will pr. P. C. C. 20 M[...] 1601.

=

John. Henry Francis.

Mary bapt. 18 May 1590.
Anne *
Frances.
Margaret.
Eleanora.

Drewe Astley, living in 1626.

Henry living in 1626.

—— Baker 1 husb. = Mary = Stephen Pears keeper of the wardrobe at Richmond.

Mary Baker. Robert Pears.

[...] colonel for the King in 1645. Living 1659 and [...]l passed to the Bests, who were owners in 1659. = Dorothy Southcot.

John.

Anne, a nun.

* See Register of that parish.

record, but the will of Margaret Staunford, his mother, bears the date of 19 Oct. 1541.[a]

In the name of god amen. The xix daye of October the yere of o[r] Lorde god a Thousande ffyve hundred fourtye and one and in the xxxiij yere of the Reign of our souaigne lord King henry the eighte I Margaret Stamford late of london wydowe being of hole mynde and in good and perfytt remembr[a]unce laude and prayse be unto god make and ordeyn this my pñte testament conteyning herein my last wyll in maner and forme folowinge that ys to wyte ffirst and principally I comende my soule to Almighty god my maker and redemer in whome and by the merytts of whose blessed passhion ys all my hole trust of clere remyssion and forgevenes of my synnes and my body to be buryed in the ꝑishe churche of Islington in the countie of Midd in the South Ile of the same Churche under the stone there where the body of my late father lyeth buryed And yf it shall fortune the sayd stone to be broken in the Taking up then I will that there be anew stone there layd of the value of liij[s] iiij[d] sterling[b] Item I bequeth to the high Aulter of the forsayd Churche of Islyngton vj[s] viij[d] Item I wyll give and bequeth to my sone Wylliam Stamford all such profytts and gaynes as ar and shalbe comyng towards me out of those Thre hundreth pounds sterling whiche John ffitzherbert gentilman hath of myn in his occupying for the terme of viij yeres wherof ar yet vij of the seyd yeres to come at the tyme of the making of this present testament And after the sayd terme of vij yeres determyned and exspired I will that the seyd some of three hundreth pounds sterling shalbe deuyded and distributed by my Executour hereafter namyd in forme folowing that ys to sey ffirst I give and bequeth to Richard Cooke the sone of Edward Cooke of london goldsmyth deceassed a hundred pounds sterling to be dely'ued to hym at suche tyme and when as he shall accomplysshe his lawfull age of xxj yeres Item I bequeth to Anne Cooke[c] doughter of the seyd Edward Cooke a hundred pounds sterling to be delyued to her when she shall accomplisshe her lawfull age of xxj yeres or els be maryed. And yf it shall fortune eyther of the seyd Richard Cooke or Anne Cooke to deceas before they or eyther theym shall accomplisshe and come to their lawfull ags of xxj yeres or before the maryage of the seyd Anne Then I will that the seyd hundred pounds so bequethed to eyther of theym so deceasing shall remayn to thother of theym then survyving And thother hundreth pounds sterling I give and bequeth to Robert Stamford the sonne of my seyd sonne Wylliam Stamford to be delyu'ed to the seyd Robert at suche tyme as he shall accomplisshe and come to his lawfull age of xxj yeres yf he be then thryving Item I give and bequeth to the seyd Wylliam Stamford my sone as muche sylver plate gilte and ꝑcell gilte as shall amounte to the some of oon hundreth marks sterling Item I give and bequeth to Anne Atcom Alice Atcom and Elizabeth Atcom the childern of Edmonde Atcom late citizen and goldsmythe of london deceassed xxx[li] that ys to saye xx[li] of dett due to me by Henry Gosney bocher and as muche plate and money as shall amount to the some of Ten pounds equally amoungest theym to be devyded and to be dely'ed to theym when

[a] Proved P.C.C. 7 Dec. 1542 (Book Spert 13).

[b] = 4 marks. This was perhaps a customary price. The same is met with in the will of William Warner of Radlett, Herts. (Book Spert 16).

[c] Afterwards the wife of William Goodyere of Hadley, and living in 1577. See Pedigree.

they shall accomplisshe and come to theyr lawfull age of xxj yeres or els be maryed Item I bequeth to the forsayd Anne Cooke all suche household stufs and plate as was her late Mothers and the whiche her Mother gave and bequethed to me Item I give and bequeth to the forseyd Anne Cooke the best of my Apparell that ys to saye ffirst a gowne furred w^t^ Shanks[a] or booge[b] at her eleccion two gownes purfled w^t^ tawny velvet Two kyrtells of blak Chamblet two knytt gurdells of whyte sylver one of her mothers and oon other of myn A payre of beads of exile[c] gawded[d] with Aungells A payre of beads of corall doble gawded with sylver. Item I bequeth to the seyd Wylliam my sone two of my best fetherbedds Item I will that ayenst my buryall there be provided by myn Executor hereafter namyd xij new torches And after my funerall burned I will that they shalbe distributed in maner and forme hereafter folowing that ys to sey ffirst to the ꝑishe churche of Islington aforeseyd two of the seyd Torches, to saynt pancrys churche two of the seyd Torches, to saynte Giles churche w^t^out crepulgate two of the seyd Torches, to saynt Peters churche in Westchepe in london two of the seyd Torches To the Spittelhous nigh highgate one of the seyd Torches To the churche of Harnsey two of the seyde torches and to the chapell at the ꝑke gate at highgate an other torche of the forsaide torches Item I bequeth to eyther of my seyde sonne William Stamford and his wyfe a blak gowne Item I bequeth to my doughter Anne Wethers a blak gowne Item I bequeth to eyther of the forsayd Richard Cooke and Anne Cooke a blak gowne Item I bequeth to every of the three childern of the forseyd Edmund Atcom a blak gowne Item to eu'ry childe of my sayd doughter Anne Wethers a blake gowne And I make and ordayn my sayde sonne Wylliam Stamford soole executo^r^ And I utterly revoke and adnulle all and eu'ry other former testaments willes legacies bequests executors and overseers by me in any wyse heretofore made named wylled and bequethed or hereafter to be made to the contrary hereof. And I will that this my p̄n̄t Testament shall stand remayn & abyde for my very testament and last wyll together with all legacies bequests and executor herein made and namyd and noon other nor otherwyse In wytnes whereof to this my p'sent Testament and last wyll I the seyde Margaret have sett my seale the daye and yere aboveseyd Memorand' that the daye and yere w^th^in wrytten the bequeth of Ten pounds by yere given by the within namyd Margaret Stamford to the bringing up of the w'in named Richard Cooke and Anne Cooke and the bonde to be made to Anne Wethers for the ꝑformance of the same ys made voyde and of noon effecte These wytnesses hereafter named by me the sayd Margaret Stamford specially requyred to Testefye the legacies and bequests wiñ conteyned and the supscription above wrytten that ys to saye Jermayn horbery yoman Thomas Pellard Willm̃ Smyth John Whytford & Thomas Bradshaw s'v^a^nte of Wylliam Carkek notary.

It is likely that the Staunfords continued to exhibit a marked preference for the creed of their forefathers. Henry, the judge's fourth son, was arrested under

[a] *Shanks.* Fur from the legs of animals. Halliwell.

[b] *Booge,* or *Budge.* Lambskin with the wool dressed outwards. *Ib.*

[c] *Exile.* The word is met with in a variety of forms, but no explanation of it has been found.

[d] *Gawded.* Ornamented.

suspicion at the time of Babington's conspiracy and underwent examination on the 2 Sep. 1586.[a] He alleged that he had received ordination about seven years previously from the bishop of Rochester, at the request of the bishop of Salisbury, but had been tutor almost ever since to lord Paget's son; and accounted for his time during the last three weeks, either as spent in London with his relatives Repington and William Staunford or at lord Paget's [b] house at Drayton, where he had remained up to Tuesday 30 Aug. He further stated that, being the incumbent of Checkley in Staffordshire, he was engaged in a suit for the parsonage house and glebe of that parish, and it was implied that his visit to London was for the sole purpose of seeing Mr. Secretary Walsingham on the subject.[c] From the pedigree in Stebbing Shaw's Hist. of Staffordshire it would appear that he at one time held the living of Handsworth. In his will, dated 23 Apr. 1614,[d] in which he is described as of the Blackfriars London, gent. "weake in body but stronge and sounde in mynde," he desires to be buried in the high chancel of the parish church of West Drayton, to the poor people of which place he bequeaths £50 and £5 to those of Hadley, constituting his brother Henry Carew, gent., of whom hereafter, sole executor and residuary legatee.

Ralph Staunford, another son of Sir William, became M.A. of Oriel College Oxford 10 July 1581.[e] He is afterwards found at the English seminary at Douai, where the record is preserved of his arrival on the 7 Jan. 1583 and immediate admission ad communia superiora. On the following 23 Sep. he received ordination—ordinatus ad primam tonsuram—at the hands of the Cardinal of Guise.[f] Having been admitted in due course to the priesthood, he left Douai, on his appointment to the English mission, 28 Jan. 1586.[g] From the will of his brother William, dated 3 June 1613, we learn that he was then still living.

[a] State Papers Dom. vol. 193. No. 6 and 7.

[b] Jerome Palmer, his mother's eldest brother, had marr. Ellinor daughter of William 1st lord Paget, who died in 1563. Henry Staunford's pupil was William, afterwards the 4th baron, only son of Thomas the 3rd baron, who d. in 1589, having been attainted on suspicion of favouring the Queen of Scots.

[c] There is no trace of him either at Checkley or Handsworth.

[d] Proved P.C.C. 2 Nov. 1616. (Book Cope 111.)

[e] Bodl. MS. 3486.

[f] Louis de Lorraine, cardinal de Guise, brother of Henri duc de Guise, *le Balafré*, became archbishop of Rheims in 1574, but only entered into possession in 1583. Biog. Univ.

[g] Records of the English Catholics. Douai Diaries 1st and 2nd, by T. F. Knox D.D. pp. 12. 30. 192. 198. 203. 208.

Dame Alice Staunford, Sir William's widow, married secondly Roger Carew esq. of Hadley, concerning whose identity there is much uncertainty. The name is found amongst the original Governors of Sir Roger Cholmeley's School at Highgate in 1562,[a] and a Roger Carew was the colleague of Robert Wroth as one of the burgesses for St. Alban's in the 5 Eliz.[b] References to his cousin Nicholas Carew, in the will of William Staunford in 1613, and to Sir Nicholas Carew, in that of his brother Henry in the following year, seem to point to a connection with the Beddington family. Under the head of *Musters*, 10 July 1569, we have for the parish of Hadley :[c]—

Hadley . .	Edwarde Taylo^{r} Willm Goodere and Roger Carewe gent. after the rate of xx^{li} in lande a pece everye of them have one corselette one pyke one harquebuze one murryon one long bowe one sheef of arrowes and one steele cappe amounting in all to . . .	Corseletts	ij
		Pykes	ij
		Harquebuzies . . .	ij
		Murryons	ij
		Longe bowes . . .	ij
		Sheef of arrowes . .	ij
		Steele cappe . . .	ij
	Thomas Taylour after the rate of x^{li} in goods hathe	Long bowes . . .	j
		Sheef of arrowes . .	j
		Skulles	j
		Blacke billes . . .	j
	The comēn armore chardged upon the said poc̃he &c. as before.	Calyvers[d]	j

Dame Alice Staunford died at Hadley 20 Sep. 1573 and was there buried.[e] By her second marriage she left an only son, Henry Carew, whose memorial still remains on the eastern wall of the chancel, surmounted by the Carew arms and crest: Or, three lioncels pass. in pale sa. armed and langued gu. Crest. A mainmast, the round top set off with palisadoes or, a lion issuing thereout sa. Above the portrait of Henry Carew are the lines :

[a] Lysons iii. 64.

[b] Clutterbuck's Herts i. 53.

[c] State Papers Dom. July 10. 1569. Vol. 64 Musters No. 1 and 2.

[d] *Caliver.* A large pistol or blunderbuss.

[e] Stebbing Shaw, Hist. of Staffordshire ii. 108. 109. Harl. MS. 1570 ff. 59^{b}. 60. 62^{b}. 63, where it is erroneously stated that she was buried at St. Pancras.

In this parish I was borne,
And a single race did run,
Neare to the age of 66,
And then I did returne.

Let all men learn by me
The thinge they are sure to knowe ;
As I in to my Mother's grave,
So all to earth shall goe.

Underneath is the inscription :—

Heer vnder within the bricks lyeth buryed
The bodye of Dame Alice Stamford whoes
Fyrste husband was Sir Wm Stamford Knight,
One of the justices of the Comon Pleas,
And her second husband was Roger Carew of
This parish, esquire. She was buryed the 3[d]
November 1573. And upon her lyeth buryed
[a] Henrye Carew, gent. her onely son by the
Said Roger Carew, esquire, wh[h] said Henrye,
Beinge neare 66 yeares of age, directed by
His will a remembraunc[e] to be heare set upp,
Declaringe his mother and himself buryed heare,
And gave by his will x[l] to the poore of this parish,
v[l] to Barnet, v[l] to Shenlye, and v[l] to Sowth Myme[s].
He departed this mortal lyfe y[e] xii[th] Decemb[r]
1626, and was buried heere the xxi[th] of the same.

The will of Mr. Henry Carew, of London, gent. dated [b] 9 Dec. 1626, was read over to and amended by him on the day preceding his death. He directs that his body shall be conveyed unto his *grandmother* the earth "in decent mann[r] w[th] Scutshions of my Armes descendinge from my father to be about my Corpes & my Corpes to be interred in or as neere as convenientlie maye be the grave of my Mother Dame Alice Stamford, who lyeth buried next the wall ou' the east side as you enter the Chauncell at the upper end of the Chauncell of the parish Church of Hadlye. . . . . The some of five pounds to be bestowed by my executo[r] in settinge in the wall of the Chauncell a fayre blacke stone with gylded letters declaring a remembrance enteringe my Mother and my selfe

[a] The register records that on 21 Dec. 1626 Mr. Henery Carey was buried.

[b] Proved P.C.C. 13 Dec. 1626 (Book Hele 148).

there." His lands in Worcestershire and elsewhere he devises in trust for sale to his cousin Abraham Halsey,[a] whom he appoints executor and residuary legatee.

North and south of the Communion-table have been placed two brasses relating to the Gale family, with the following inscriptions:—

1. Here lyeth the bodye of William Gale, Citizen and Barber Chyrurgion of London, who dyed the xix daye of November, 1610, then being ye second tyme Master of his Company. He had two wives, Elizabeth and Suzan, and had issue by Elizabeth, v. sones and 8 daughters, and was lx and x yeares of age or thereabout at the time of his death.

   Blessed are they y^t^ concedereth the poore and needie.

2. Here lyeth the bodye of William Gale, gent. somtime M^r^ of Arts in Oxford, who had to wife Anne Gale, the daughter of Roger Bragge, gent. and had issue by her 2 sonnes, William and Nicholas; ye said Nicholas deceased before his father; the above sayd William Gale dyed the xxx daye of March An^o^ D'ni 1614, being about the age of fortye yeares.

Arms.[b] Az. on a fesse betw. three saltires arg. as many lion's heads erased of the field. Impaling *Bragge*, ... a chev. . . . . betw. three bulls passant . . . .

The date is perhaps a little early, having respect to his age, but the following entry in Machyn's Diary may notwithstanding refer to the elder William Gale.

"The xx day of June (A.D. 1562), was a gret shutyng of the compene of the Barbursurgeantes for a gret soper at ther owne hall for a xxx mess of mett of, for they dyd make ij godley stremars agaynst that day of ther harmes, the wyche they wher agmentyd by the most valeant Kyng at armes master (   ), and they had vj drumes plahyng and a flutt; and ij gret ausutts, and as a shot was wone, doune whent that and up the thodur, and as they whan the shut; and master Gall and ys syd wan the soper—the master of the compene."

Be this as it may, his will was proved[c] by William Gale, his son and sole executor, on the 21 Nov. 1610, two days after his death, which must have

[a] Abraham Halsey married Mary dau. of Thomas and Anne (Goodyere) Walkeden. On 15 Oct. 1663 admin. was granted of the effects of Abraham Halsey, late of Westham, Essex, but this date is almost too late.

[b] In Harl. MS. 1551. Visitation of Middx. f. 55, the arms are charged with a crescent or for diff. The crest given is a unicorn's head paly of six az. and or, armed of the last and charged with a crescent for diff.

[c] P.C.C. (Book Wingfield 107).

Pedigree of GALE.

William Gale [a] = of Carthrop, in the parish of Burneston, co. York.

Elizabeth. = William Gale of Monken Hadley. Born in Yorkshire. Bur. at Hadley. = Susanna.

William Dighton, of Aldersgate St. London, 2 son of Henry Dighton, of Ware.[b] = Angelet dau. of Nicholas Tooke, of Popes, near Hatfield.

William Gale, M.A. of Monken Hadley, gent. Matriculated from Merton Coll. 6 Apr. 1593, aged 18, as of London. = Anne, dau. of Roger Bragge, of London.

Margery dau. of George Cole of London, grocer. 1 wife, ob. s.p. Bur. at Hadley 8 Dec. 1632. = John Gale of Hadley, afterwards of Bushey, gent. Died 5 Jan 1655-6, aged 70. Bur. at Bushey. Ob. s. p. = Jane, dau. of Silas Tinte of London.

Elizabeth, mar. 1st Thomas Pierpoint of London grocer. Died 7. Feb. 1654, aged 85. Bur. at Bushey. = John Terry of London, goldsmith. Died at Totteridge, and there bur. 23 May 1637. Will pr. P. C. C. 6 June 1637.

Angelet Dighton. = William Gale, of Monken Hadley in 1634. Born circa 1607. Bur. at Hadley, 30 Sep. 1640.

Nicholas, ob. v. p.

Jane. Bur. at Hadley, 18 Apr. 1636.

Mary. Died 13 May 1642, aged 5. Bur. at Bushey.

Thomas Pierpoint. Died before Jan. 1656. =

William. John. Stephen. Susanna.

Thomasine, mar. Thomas Lownes, of London, haberdasher.

Anne, m. 1st Allen Brynt, of London skinner; 2nd Humphry Atkins, of London, grocer.

William Gale. Bapt. at Hadley 4 June 1631. Bur. at Hadley 2 Sep. 1632.

Thomas. Robert. Ralph.

Mary, m. Geo. Blackwell, gent of Bushey, and d. 15 Jan. 1665, aged 34. Bur. at Bushey. Elizabeth.

occurred at Hadley. To Susanna his wife he leaves his "coach with the twoe gueldings to it,"—which shews him to have been a man of substance,—together with all the west part of his house at Hadley; to "Mr. Carier, our Preacher," who witnessed the will, his little gray ambling mare. One wonders whether this was the nag which the rector a few years later bequeathed in his turn to his son Richard.[c] The younger William Gale did not long survive his father. His will is dated 26 March 1614[d] and was likewise witnessed by Barnard Carrier. He desires to be buried in the parish church of Monken Hadley in or near the place where his father lieth, and to Anne his wife devises his mansion and dwelling house there, with the close of ground adjoining, for as long as she continues unmarried, with remainder to his son William and his heirs for ever, who, within one month after his death, is to pay to the Churchwardens £5 in money towards the increase of the Stock for the poor.

[a] Harl. MS. 1551. f. 55. [b] Harl. MS. 1550. f. 183.

[c] Vide *supra*, p. 83.

[d] Proved P.C.C. by Anne Gale, the widow, 6 April 1614. (Book Lawe 27).

We find the family at Hadley for several years afterwards, where its latest representative seems to have been Mr. John Gale, the younger son of William, churchwarden in 1622, and in 1634 elected a governor of the Barnet Grammar School. He subsequently removed to Bushey, where Clutterbuck [a] records his tablet in the church, together with the memorial of his sister Mrs. Terry. In his will [b] are legacies to the Skinners' Company, of which he was a freeman, for a dinner, and to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. To the Barber-Surgeons Company is bequeathed £16 per ann. towards an Anatomy lecture, to be called *Gale's lecture.*

Mention has been already made of Ludgrove.[c] John Marsh, in 1543, gave Ludgrave-farm to the King, in exchange for other lands. Edward VI, in 1553, granted it to William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, when the auditor reported that the circumstance of its lying within the Chace, had been an impediment to its sale.[d] Norden, writing in 1598, describes Ludgraves as "a very faire house scytuate in a valley neere Enfeylde chase," but mentions no owner.[e] On 1 March 1610 licence was granted to Cornelius Fyshe esq. John Combe, Nicholas Farrar, Henry Walton, John Houghe and Thomas Underhill, to alienate the manor of Ludgraves and 2 messuages, 2 gardens, an orchard, 20 acres of land, 40 acres of meadow, 90 acres of pasture and 10 of wood, in Hadley and Edmonton, co. Midd. held of the King in capite, to Sir Roger Wilbraham knt. and Mary his wife, their heirs and assigns.[f] Sir Roger, second son of Richard Wilbraham, was a native of Nantwich in Cheshire, near which place is Dorfold, an ancient seat of the family.[g] When the royalist forces under lord Byron surrounded Nantwich in Jan. 1644, his head quarters were at Acton and his officers lodged at Dorfold.[h] He married Mary, daughter of Edward Baber, serjeant-at-law, of a family originally from Rogilbury in Somersetshire, by Katharine, 3rd daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh knt. Lord Mayor of London in 1558, and sister of Sir Thomas Leigh, of Stoneleigh.[i] The monument to his memory is one of the distinguishing features of Hadley church, where he was buried at the junction of the chancel and south

[a] Clutterbuck i. 342. 343. Chauncy ii. 463. 464, ed. 1826.

[b] Proved P.C.C. 28 Jan. 1655-6. (Book Berkley 1.)

[c] Vide *supra*, pp. 27. 34. 127 Note c.

[d] Records in the Augmentation Office. Lysons ii. 518.

[e] Spec. Brit. p. 36.

[f] Patent Rolls 7 James pt. 17 No. 54. Cf. Patent Rolls 7 James pt. 31 No. 38, where John Quarles licensed to alienate the said premises to Fyshe, &c.

[g] Burke's Landed Gentry, *Wilbraham, of Delamere.*

[h] Clarendon iv. 424. Markham's Life of Fairfax 129.

[i] Hist. of South Mimms. Pedigree facing p. 56. Harl. MSS. 1077. f. 44^b; 1445. ff. 129, 181; 1463. f. 5^b.

transept beneath a slab, now concealed, bearing the inscription;—"Under this grave stone lyeth the bodye of Sir Roger Wilbraham, knight, whose monument you see in the walle." It originally stood against the south wall of the chancel and helped to block up the hagioscope and south window, but was removed at the restoration of the church to the west end of the south aisle. It was the work of Nicholas Stone, who designed Spenser's monument in Westminster Abbey, and from a note in the sculptor's pocket-book would seem to have cost £80.[a]

Sir Roger Wilbraham, who was knighted by King James at Greenwich 20 May 1603,[b] wrote his will "with his own hand," 7 July 1615,[c] and concludes it with the pious ejaculation *Jesu, o Jesu, esto mihi Jesus.* He styles himself "auncientest M^r. of Requests in Ordinarie," and refers to his two poor Hospitals called Wilbraham's hospitals, the one at Nantwich his birthplace and "thother at Hadley in Midd. beinge my usuall Countrey dwelling parishe." His eldest daughter, Mary Pelham, was already married; the two younger, Elizabeth and Katharine, being still under seventeen years of age. Included in a number of like legacies he bequeaths 20^s apiece in rings, "to the instructors of my soule, Mr. Doctor Westfield[d] and to the preachers at Graies Inne, Nantwiche, and Hadley." Barnard Carrier, the last referred to, left the ring in question to one of his daughters.[e]

The almshouses at Hadley, which bear his name, and on which his coat of arms remains at the northern end, are at the corner of the Green facing westwards, and were destined to be "for a perpetuall maintenance for a poore almshouse for six poore women." Their inmates are chosen, as far as is possible, from the rank of decayed householders and receive an allowance raised, since 1873, to nine shillings weekly. The endowment consisted of a piece of adjacent garden ground, let in 1795 at £3 per ann. and of a ground rent in St. John's Square returning at that date £6 6*s.* per ann.[f] In the indenture Sir Roger is described as a parishioner "by reason of his capitall messuage of Ludgraves." The present yearly income of the charity is £157 4*s.* 9*d.*, derived from the interest of £3,101 14*s.* 8*d.* consols, the rent of No. 56, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell (£52 10*s.*) and the rent of the garden adjoining (£13).[g] Under the date of 22 Nov. 1604, James I.

[a] Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, i. 238, &c.

[b] Cotton MS. Claud. C. iii.

[c] Proved P.C.C. 12 Nov. 1616 (Book Cope 109), by dame Mary, the widow, and Ralph Wilbraham, of Dorfold, his only surviving brother, the executors named in the will.

[d] Dr. Westfield was probably at this time rector of Hornsey. He became bishop of Bristol in 1641.

[e] Vide *supra*, p. 84.

[f] Lysons, ii. 525.

[g] Information supplied by E. H. Hay, esq. the Treasurer.

granted the fine old gateway of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, subject to the proviso of an increase of rent, to Sir Roger Wilbraham for his life, who made it his town residence.[a] This building has since acquired an almost historic interest. In Jan. 1731, Cave the printer here started the Gentleman's Magazine, displaying a rude woodcut of the gate on the titlepage and setting up his presses in the hall over the archway. Here Dr. Johnson toiled for Cave, and here it is stated that Garrick received an introduction to a theatrical career in London, a tradition not without probability, as he had been Johnson's pupil at Lichfield.[b]

Sir Roger Wilbraham died of a new species of ague, which carried off sundry persons of consideration,—though we have it reported in a letter[c] of the period that the season was good and the harvest plentiful,—leaving his three daughters heirs to £4,000 a-year. Above the busts of himself and Lady Wilbraham on the monument is the inscription :

> This is ye monument of Sir Roger Wilbraham, Knt. descended of ye auncient familie of ye Wilbrahams of Woodhey in ye countye of Chester, who after he had served Queene Elizabeth as her Sollicitor Generall in Irelande ye space of xiiij yeares was in ye yeare 1600 sworne M^r^ of Requestes to her Majestye in Ordinarie, and afterwardes Surveyor of ye Liveryes to Kinge James in his Majestyes Courte of Wardes and Liveries, and Chauncellor unto Queene Ann.[d] He had to wife Marye ye daughter of Edward Baber,[e] esquier, serjeant at lawe. He slept in Christ Jesus ye xxix^th^ of Julie, in ye yeare of our Lord 1616, attendinge ye joyfull day of his resurrection.

Beneath the kneeling effigies of his daughters it is recorded that "his well-beloved wife, by whom he had three daughters, Marye, Elizabeth, and Katherine, in memory of his vertues and testimonye of her love erected this monument." There are three shields of arms ;—on the canopy, *Wilbraham*, Arg. two bars az. on a canton sa. a wolf's head erased of the field ; Crest, a wolf's head erased arg.[f] Motto : Comminùs quo minus ;—on either side of the busts, 1 *Baber*. Arg. on a fesse gu. three hawks' heads erased of the first, 2 *Wilbraham*, impaling *Baber*.

[a] Pennant's London, 1793, p. 216 ; State Papers Dom.

[b] Thornbury's Old and New London, ii. 317, 320.

[c] State Papers Dom. Aug. 24, 1616 ; Chamberlain to Carleton from London.

[d] A pension of £100 per ann. was granted to Sir R. Wilbraham, 21 June 1603, for his willing surrender of the office of Keeper of the Records in the Tower. The Surveyorship of the King's Liveries and the Court of Wards and Liveries were granted to him, 9 Nov. 1609, for life. On 8 March 1614, he received a grant in reversion of the office of Constable of Chester Castle for life. State Papers Dom.

[e] His will was proved 10 Sept. 1578 (Book Bakon 8), all his children being in their minority. To his daughter Mary he leaves £200 at the completion of her sixteenth year.

[f] This crest was granted, 28 July, 1580, to Thomas Wilbraham of Woodhey; Lupi caput cæsii coloris irrasum sive vi a corpore avulsum. Ashm. MS. 834, f. 24, at Bodleian Libr.

To Mary Pelham, the eldest daughter, the inheritance of Ludgrove descended.[a] Her sister Elizabeth married a kinsman, Sir Thomas Wilbraham, of Woodhey, bart, distinguished as a cavalier, who died soon after the Restoration. Their only daughter, Elizabeth, buried at Hadley at her particular request, whose memorial hangs beside the east window, was the wife of Mutton Davies,[b] a Flintshire gentleman, whose great-grandmother was Catharine Ravenscroft, daughter of George Ravenscroft of Bretton in that county, and of a family, who, during the 17th century, were large benefactors to Barnet church and town.[c] The said Mutton Davies was likewise great-uncle of the Rev. John Pennant, of Hadley.[d]

In spem beatæ resurrectionis,
ELIZABETHA DAVIES,
Thomæ Wilbraham de Woodhey in Com. Cestriæ Bar^{ti}.
Filia unica;
Muttoni Davies de Gwissaney in Com. Flint Armigeri
Coniux lectissima;
Prolis numerosæ, filiorum quinq. filiarumq. totidẽ,
Quibus oĩbus singulari pietatis exẽplo præbebat ubera,
Quosq. optimis moribus, hoc est suis, diligenter imbuebat,
Indulgentissima mater:
Officiis erga Deum opt. Max. Maritum, sobolem, amicos,
Mortales deniq. universos,
Inter paucos spectabilis:
Londini,
Quo non ad luxum, prodigasq. impensas,
Sed ob liberorum curam, maritum comitabatur,
Aprilis 1mo An. M.DC.LXXVIII^{vo}, Ætatis sue XXXVI,
Ex Variolis mortua;
Hadleiam, quod supremis verbis mandaverat, delata,
Juxta Avi D. Rogeri Wilbraham exuvias componitur
Coniugi optimè meritæ;
Hoc qualecunque Mnemosynon,
Vir mœstissimus P.

Arms—Gu. on a bend arg. a lion pass. sa. Impaling *Wilbraham*, Arg. three bends wavy az.

[a] Vide *supra*, p. 34.

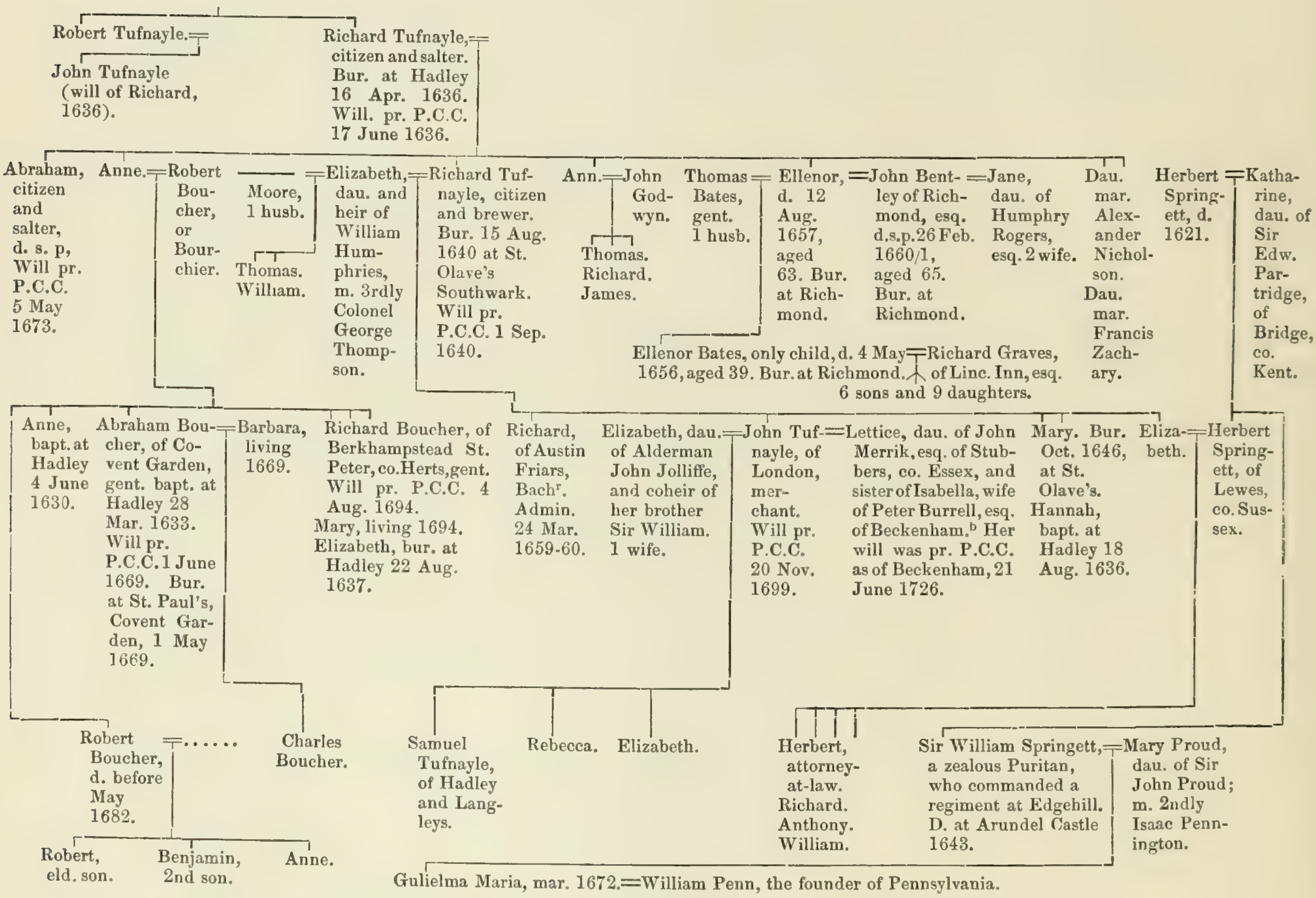
[b] Born 24 Feb. 1634; mar. 1657; died 29 Oct. 1684.

[c] Out of accumulations arising from the Ravenscroft benefactions Barnet church has been rebuilt and Queen Elizabeth's school restored and enlarged during the last few years.

[d] Piers Pennant of Bychton married, in 1656, Catharine (died 1723), sister of Mutton Davies and daughter of Robert Davies by his wife Anne, dau. and coheiress of Sir Peter Mutton.

A slab in the pavement, now covered, bore the inscription, "Mrs Elizabeth Davies was here interred April 3rd. 1678, as is expressed in her adjacent monument."

Pedigree of TUFNAYLE or TUFNELL,[a] of HADLEY, now of LANGLEYS.



[a] The confirmatory testimony of wills is wanting, but there seems a strong presumption that this family came originally from the adjoining parish of Enfield. Robert Tufnall (bur. 14 May, 1591) and Cecilia Norris (bur. Apr. 1597) were there married 25 Jan. 1563, and their two sons, Robert and Richard, baptized respectively 21 Sept. 1567 and 27 Aug. 1570, may have been the brothers mentioned in the pedigree. Enfield Par. Reg.; Burke's Landed Gentry, *Tufnell, of Langleys, co. Essex.*

[b] Burke's Peerage, Tit. *Gwydyr.* The son of Walter Burrell and brother of Timothy Burrell, esq. barrister at law, of Ockenden House, Cuckfield, whose pictorial diary has been printed in the Sussex Arch. Coll. iii. 118.

Contiguous to that of Mrs. Davies was a decayed slab, the inscription almost entirely effaced, though the name of *Tufnell* was decipherable, and it bore a small escutcheon of arms. These were without doubt the ensigns[a] of Richard Tufnayle or Tufnell, citizen and salter of London, buried at Hadley 16 Apr. 1636, whose son, another Richard Tufnayle, citizen and brewer, M.P. for Southwark in 1640, died at his residence at Clapham, leaving two sons and three daughters in their minority, having married Elizabeth, heiress of William Humphries and widow of — Moore, who took for a third husband Colonel George Thompson.

Other memorial slabs in the same part of the church were the following :—

Here lieth interred[b] the body of Mr. Thomas Hall, of London, Marchant, who departed this life the first day of April in the year of our Lord 1654, and in the five and fortieth year of his age : where is also interred with him two of his children, namely Thomas[c] Hall and Elizabeth Hall.

Nemo ante obitum felix.

The will of Thomas Hall of London, merchant, "now inhabiting at Hadley," is dated 22 Dec. 1653.[d] As executors he appoints his father-in-law Oliver Neve[e] esq. and "Margaret my well beloved wife, with whom I coupled myselfe in the feare of God refuseing all other woemen, liveing with her in the blessed estate of wedlock, by whome also through the blessing of God I have now liveing two daughters, Isabell and ffrances."

Here lyeth interred the body of William Venables esq, who departed this life the 21st of Oct. 1687 in the 43rd yeare of his age.[f]

In the south aisle :—

Mrs Frances Parslow, died 1720.

Edward Savage, died 9 Aug. 1733.[g]

[a] The arms of Tufnell, of Langleys, co. Essex, are Az. on a fesse, between three ostrich feathers arg. as many martlets sa. Crest. A dexter arm, embowed, in armour ppr. adorned with a scarf tied above the wrist az. and holding in the gauntlet a cutlass arg. the edge embrued, hilt or.

[b] Bur. 6 Apr. 1654.

[c] Bur. 16 Oct. 1653.

[d] Proved P. C. C. 27 Apr. 1654. (Book Alchin 473.)

[e] He mar. Elizabeth, relict of ..... Frith. Harl. MS. 1476, f. 164. Of the same family as John Le Neve, compiler of the Fasti Eccl. Angl.

[f] Bur. 23 Oct. 1687. The will of a William Venables, of Kinderton, Cheshire, esq. was pr. P. C. C. by Mary Venables, his niece, 4 Nov. 1687 (Book Foot 165), but, though the dates agree, there is no reference to Hadley.

[g] Bur. 11 Aug. 1733. Edward Savage, of Monken Hadley, gent. in his will dated 16 March and proved P. C. C. 17 Aug. 1733, bequeaths the whole of his property to his friend Honorat Smith, of the same place, esq.

At the western end of the north aisle:—

Mrs Jezabelah Webster, died Sep. 20, 1733.[a]

Mrs Margaret Mattison, died Nov. 26, 1749.[b]

Near the south columns of the tower were buried:—

Mr George Barclay, of London, Merchant, 12 June 1756.[c]

Mr William Chapman, of Greville Street, in parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, 10 Mch. 1758.

Near the north columns of the tower:—

Thomas Shewell, 7 March 1734-5.

Mrs Elizabeth Shewell, his wife, 22 Feb. 1751-2.

Towards the east end of the south aisle:—

Thomas Nuthall, from South Mimms, 13 March 1775.

The preceding memorials are no longer visible.[d] In returning to those still existent must be noted first, in order of time, a handsome slab under the tower, removed from beneath the pews in the north transept, with the inscription:—

Under this Marble stone
lyeth the Body of
JOHN WALKER, Esq:
Hereditary Usher of the Exchequer:
who dyed
the 1st of March MDCCIII,
Aged sixty three years.
He married
Cecil Daughter of
Sr Michael Heneage Knt.
And had by her
At the time of his Death
Two Sons
Heneage
and
John.

[a] Isabella Webster, bur. 22 Sept. 1733. To the village stonecutter this lady was evidently indebted for the heathen appellative upon her tombstone. The will of Isabella Webster, of Monken Hadley, Spr. dated 18 June and proved P. C. C. 9 Oct. 1733, secures all her property to her worthy and deserving friend, Mrs. Margaret Mattison, widow.

[b] Bur. 1 Dec. 1749. Daughter of Sir Edward Graves of Stead Hill, Kent. Lysons, ii. 521.

[c] Will pr. P. C. C. 12 June, 1756, by which lands in Aberdeenshire, part of the estate of Alexander, lord Saltoun, deceased, are settled upon any issue that may be born of his recent marriage with Mrs Mary Richards. Two of the executors named are his friend William Beckford, esq. and Richard Beckford, esq. aldermen of London.

[d] Notes taken by Rev. G. Proctor, D.D.

It is surmounted by the coat of arms, still in good preservation; Az. a chev. engr. erm. betw. three bezants, on each a trefoil slipped vert; impaling *Heneage*, Or, a greyhound courant sa. betw. three leopards' faces az. within a bordure engr. gu. Crest, A demi-tiger per pale indented arg. and sa. holding a branch of roses or, slipped vert. Motto, Walk in the feare of God.

The will of John Walker, of the Inner Temple, esq. dated 24 Sep. 1692, was proved 24 Apr. 1704.[a] He gives and devises his "offices of Cheife Usher of the Court of Exchequer and Marshal Proclamator and Barrier of the Court of Common Pleas and Justices in Eyre with all Houses rights members ffees advantages Hereditaments and Appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining And all and every his lands &c. scituate in the Townshipps of High Barnett, alias Chipping Barnett, South Mimms, Hadley and Ridge and elsewhere in the Counties of Middlesex and Hertfordshire unto Sr Michael Heneage[b] Knight and Joseph Washington[c] esq." in trust.

Mr Walker's name first occurs in the Rate Book in 1678. There is a tablet to the memory of his widow in the north transept.

At the foot of this Monument
Lyeth the Body of
Mrs CECILL WALKER,
Relict of John Walker, Esq.
who departed this life
May the 10th 1736
aged Seventy Two.[d]

Heneage, the elder son of the above John and Cecil Walker, dying s. p.[e] 15 May 1731, was succeeded by his brother John, whose descendants now represent their mother's branch of the Heneage family.[f]

Against the western wall, within the tower, is a tablet to the memory of Lady Wynne.[g]

[a] P. C. C. (Book Ash 97.)

[b] Will proved P. C. C. 21 Dec. 1711, by Charles Heneage, esq. the son. (Book Young 260.)

[c] Of the Middle Temple, and author of several law books, &c. He was bur. in the Temple Church, 28 Feb. 1693-4.

[d] Will proved P.C.C. 19 May 1736 by John Walker, of Lyneham, co. Wilts, esq. the son. (Book Derby 121.)

[e] Will pr. P.C.C. 28 May 1731. (Book Isham 139.)

[f] See Burke's Landed Gentry, *Walker-Heneage, of Compton Basset, co. Wilts.*

[g] Anna Wynne uxor Richardi Wynne Equitis sepult. 8 Feb. 1727-8.

Arms—Vert, three eagles displayed in fesse or. Impaling, Or, a bend vair betw. two cotises indented sa.

H. S. E.
ANNA
HENRICI HITCH DE LEATHLEY,[a]
In agro Eboracensi Ar:
Filia,
Richardi Wynne Mil: Servientis ad Legem
Uxor præcharissima,
Quæ

Pietatis Amoris Indulgentiæ Fidelitatis Charitatis	ergâ	Deum Maritum Liberos Amicos Pauperes

Optimum Exemplar
Vivens proposuit
Moriens reliquit.
Exiguum hoc Monumentum
Ingentis { Amoris / Mœroris } τεκμήριον
Conjux superstes si quis alius mœstissimus
P. F.
Obiit 6° Feb. Anno { Salutis 1727-8 / Ætatis 52.

In the chancel, on the north wall, are the memorials of Mr. Richard Poston and Mary his wife, of James Quilter, esq.[b] and Mary Anne his wife, of James and Henry Sampson, their sons, of Jemima and Emma Cecilia their daughters, and of the Rev. J. R. Thackeray and Marianne his wife.[c]

[a] Richard Brandling, of Leathley, co. York, captain of a troop of horse and subsequently colonel of a regiment under the marquis of Newcastle, married Helen, daughter of Arthur Lindley, of Leathley, and widow of Sir Ingram Hopton, knt. by whom he had four daughters, the youngest of whom, Alathea, married Henry Hitch, esq. son and heir of the Very Rev. Robert Hitch, D.D. Dean of York, who d. 10 Feb. 1676-7. Burke's Commoners.

[b] Exchanged his patronymic of Rumball for that of Quilter. John Rumball and Susannah Sampson were marr. at Hadley by licence 20 Oct. 1743. This family has been long connected with the parish, and held in deserved honour for unobtrusive worth, with the reality of a Christian profession borne witness to in a Christian conversation. The Rev. F. W. Quilter, D.D. son of the Rev. George Quilter, for many years vicar of Canwick near Lincoln, and grandson of James and Mary Anne Quilter, still owns property at Hadley. Vide *supra*, p. 126, Note c.

[c] Vide *supra*, p. 114.

On the same side, above the entrance to the vestry, is a brass,[a] with the inscription :—

To the loved and honoured memory of

FREDERICK CASS, of Little Grove, East Barnet, esq. Patron of this church, a Magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant for Hertfordshire, High Sheriff in 1844, one of the best of fathers and most upright of men, this Tablet is affectionately inscribed by his son. F. C. C.

Born Sep. 19, 1787. Died May 17, 1861.[b]

Against the wall opposite are six tablets to the memory of the Rev. C. J. Cottrell and Fanny[c] his wife and of the following members of their family :—John, their second son, died at Bombay, 13 Jan. 1796, aged 27; Frederick, their fifth son, Captain R.N. died in command of H.M's. ship Nyaden, off Barbados, 19 Apr. 1811, aged 30; Clement, their third son, rector of North Waltham, Hants. died in London, 26 July, 1814; Anna Frederica, their fourth daughter, died 11 July, 1818, aged 36; Charles, their eldest son, fellow of King's College, Cambridge, died 25 Feb. 1829, aged 62.

In the north transept are memorials of Richmond and Macartney Moore, of Henrietta, wife of the latter, of Maria Sarah Moore, of Thomas Windus, F.S.A.[d] of John Bonus Child[e] and Frances his wife, and of her brother Francis Rix of St. Neot's. To members of the Dury family there is in the same transept the following inscription :—

This tablet was erected to consecrate the memory of

LUCY MARIA, wife of Alexander Dury of this parish, who died on the second of January MDCCCV. aged XLI years.

Also of THOMAS DURY, their second son, who died of yellow fever in his XVI year, September MDCCCIII; serving as a midshipman on board His Majesty's ship Æolus on the Jamaica Station.

And of FRANCIS DURY their youngest son, a lieutenant in the XLIX Regiment, who died in his eighteenth year at York in Upper Canada June the IX. MDCCCXIII, of a wound he received in his head on the VI of the same month, in the night attack upon the American Camp near Burlington Heights.

[a] By J. G. Waller.

[b] Arms. Per chev. or and erm. on a chev. sa. betw. two eagles' heads erased gu. in chief and a garb of the first in base, a harrow gold betw. two fountains; impaling *Potter*, Sa. a fesse erm. betw. three cinquefoils arg. Crest. An eagle's head erased gu. charged on the neck with a fountain, in the beak three ears of wheat or. Motto. Ubique patriam reminisci.

[c] Vide *supra*, p. 112.

[d] Vide *supra*, p. 75.

[e] Arms. Az. a fesse embattled erm. betw. three eagles close or. Crest, An eagle with wings expanded erm. holding in the beak a trefoil slipped vert.

Also of ALEXANDER DURY,[a] who entered into rest the 4th of January MDCCCXLIII, aged LXXXVI.

Also in loving memory of ISABELLA, elder daughter of Alexander and Lucy Maria Dury, who lived for many years in this parish, and entered into rest at Cambridge, July 21st, 1855.

The south transept contains memorials of the Smith family, whose vault is in the nave. Sir Culling Smith, raised to the baronetcy in 1802, dedicates the earlier of these to the memory of his grandparents, Thomas[b] and Ann (Horne) Smith, of his parents, Thomas[c] and Culling[d] (Horne) Smith, of other members of his family, and of his maternal uncle John Horne,[e] governor of Bombay. A second tablet records the names of the aforesaid Sir Culling Smith[f] (died 19 Oct. 1812), and of his son and successor (died 30 June, 1829), who married in 1792 Charlotte Elizabeth, second daughter and coheiress of Sampson lord Eardley, and was erected by Sir Culling Eardley Smith, by whom in 1847 the name and arms of Eardley[g] were assumed by royal licence. Beneath either monument are the arms: Quarterly, 1 and 4, Vert, three acorns slipped or, 2 and 3 *Horne*, Arg. on a chev. engr. gu. betw. three bugles stringed sa. as many mullets of the field. Crest, a falcon, wings endorsed ppr. belled or, in the beak an acorn slipped and leaved also ppr. Motto, Spes decus et robur.

Culling Smith, the future baronet, purchased the Grove in Aug. 1774, and in July of the following year his elder brother Thomas, of Evesham, Worcestershire, esq. sold to him the messuage originally acquired of Robert Jenkyn of Harpenden, gent. by their grandfather Thomas Smith, who died seized, leaving

[a] Alexander Dury, described in the conveyance as of Welbeck St. lieut.-col. in his Majesty's 1st. Regt of Foot Guards, who purchased in Nov. 1784 the residence on Hadley Green, of late years styled Dury House, was the only son of Major-Gen. Alexander Dury, of the same corps, who fell in the unfortunate expedition to St. Cas in Brittany in 1758. There is a letter on the subject from Dr. Johnson to Bennet Langton, whose mother and the General's widow were sisters, dated 21 Sep. 1758. Boswell's Life of Johnson, by Croker, ii. 95, 96.

[b] Of Cheapside, linendraper;—the first to acquire property at Hadley. Will pr. 10 March 1739-40. He was churchwarden in 1729.

[c] Of Cheapside, linendraper. Admin. c. T. granted 12 June 1744 to Culling Smith his widow.

[d] 11 May 1775, Mrs. Culling Smith, widow of Thomas Smith esq. bur. Par. Reg.

[e] Bur. at Hadley 3 Dec. 1757. Will pr. P.C.C. 7 Dec. 1757 by Dr. John Monro, Thomas Smith and Lawrence Sullivan.

[f] Sir Culling Smith from Bedwell, bart, was bur. at Hadley, 26 Oct. 1812. Par. Reg. He marr. Mary sister of the Rev. John Burrows.

[g] Sir Eardley Gideon Culling Eardley, the 4th baronet, dying s. p. at Paris, 13 May 1875, the title became extinct.

Thomas, father of the said Thomas and Culling, his eldest son and heir. The property called the Grove, of which the residence formerly abutted on the main road in a line with the Priory, was purchased of the same Robert Jenkyn, in Nov. 1716, by James Shewell, citizen and haberdasher, and belonged afterwards to his eldest son James, who, in May 1750, conveyed it to William Williams of Friday Street, haberdasher, by whom it was sold, in Sept. 1762, to John Long, of Bishopsgate St. broker. From him it passed to Mr. Culling Smith, who later on became possessed of Hadley Hurst,[a] eventually removing thence to Bedwell-park.[b] In June 1782 Mr Smith conveyed the Grove to William Wilson of St. Martin Outwich, London, for £1800, but in March 1789 William Dickenson had the estate, which in Nov. of that year he left by will to his son George, who with others again disposed of it in July 1795 to William Ward, esq. the Rev. T. W. Ward and others selling it in May 1806 to Joseph Nutting, by whom the existing house was erected. Nutting's trustees found a purchaser in Aug. 1841 in Mr Joseph Dart,[c] and in July 1850 it became the property of Samuel Francis Thomas Wilde, esq. of the Inner Temple,[d] barrister at law, who, being at the time the honoured churchwarden of the parish, died in London 4 June 1862, aged 72, and lies buried in the churchyard.[e]

On the south wall of the same transept is the following:—

Sacred to the beloved and revered memory of

JOSEPH HENRY GREEN, F.R.S., D.C.L.

President of the General Medical Council of the United Kingdom, and twice President of the Royal College of Surgeons, England, who for the last twenty-eight years of his life dwelt in this Village, and worshipped in this Church.

He was born in London, the 1st of November, 1791, and died at the Mount, Hadley, the 13th of December, 1863.

His remains rest with those of others of his family, in the Cemetery at Highgate.

Arms—Az. three stags trippant or; impaling, *Hammond*, Az. a lion rampant arg. Crest, a stag's head. Motto, Quid et quomodo.

[a] Now, and for many years, the property of the Hopegoods. It is a well-built red brick mansion of the early part of the last century, and contains no less than six powdering-closets, attached to the principal chambers on the first and second floors.

[b] 7 July 1798 Maria dau. of Culling Smith esq. of Popes, Herts, was bur. Hadley Par. Reg.

[c] Since of Budleigh Salterton, Devonshire.

[d] Eldest son of Samuel Wilde, Deputy Teller of the Exchequer, by Isabella, daughter of Francis Mowatt, of East Dereham, Norfolk.

[e] Title deeds in the possession of Mrs. Wilde of the Grove, widow of Mr. S. F. T. Wilde.

A highly-gifted man, in whom superiority of intellectual power was met with in rare combination with simplicity of mind and a winning courtesy of manner ever ready to yield to all their dues. He was for many years the friend of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, at whose house at Highgate he was an habitual visitor, and who appointed him trustee for his children. His death-bed recalls that of one of the patriarchs and was eminently characteristic. Having taken an affectionate farewell of all around him, with hand resting upon his pulse he uttered the word 'stopped,' sank backwards, and expired. It is to be regretted that none of the results of so many years of laborious thought were ever given to the world in his lifetime. After his decease a work entitled *Spiritual Philosophy* was collected from his papers and published in two volumes by his friend and former pupil, Mr John Simon, with a memoir of the deceased master's life contained in an eloquent preface.

Tablets within the tower witness to the interment in that part of the church of Francis Baronneau esq. of New Lodge,[a] who died 13 Dec. 1813, aged 70, and of his wives, Margaret, who died 24 June 1793, aged 45, and Elizabeth, who died 3 April 1846, aged 78.

The wall of the north aisle is occupied with memorials of the Ince family, connected with the parish from the middle of the last century,[b] and whose vault is outside the church, to the north. There are inscriptions to Piggott Ince[c] esq. and Mary his wife, to James Berkeley[d] esq. and Mary his wife, to James Piggott Ince[e] esq. and Anna Maria his wife, to James Berkeley Ince esq. of Marrick Abbey, Yorkshire, their eldest son, and to other members of the family, now represented by the Rev. Edward Cumming Ince M.A. of Marrick Abbey, late vicar of Christ Church Battersea.

Previous to its restoration the church was disfigured by galleries, erected in several instances by private persons with the sanction of the parishioners in vestry assembled. The old books record more than one permission of this

[a] At Kick's End, but demolished subsequently to 1846 and the site included within Wrotham Park.

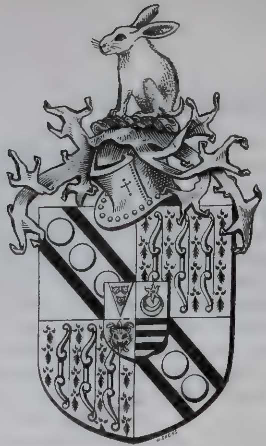
[b] Alice Ince is described as of Hadley, widow, in her will dated 13 June 1743. Piggott Ince, her son, was elected a Governor of the Barnet Grammar School, 6 Oct. 1753.

[c] Arms. Quarterly 1 and 4 *Ince*, Arg. three torteaux in bend betw. two cotises sa. 2 and 3 *Bowes*, Erm. three bows strung in pale gu. Crest, a rabbit sejant. On an escutcheon of pretence, 1 *Johnson*, Arg. on a pile az. three ounces' heads erased of the first, 2 *Minshull*, Az. an estoile issuant out of a crescent in base arg. 3 *Westbrooke*, Gu. a leopard's head jessant de lis or, 4 *Houghton*, Arg. three bars sa.

[d] Arms. Gu. a chev. betw. ten crosses pattée arg. impaling *Ince*. Crest, a bear's head couped arg. muzzled gu.

[e] Arms. Quarterly *Ince* and *Bowes*; impaling *Cumming*, Az. a chev. erm. betw. three garbs or.

Pedigree of INCE, &c.



1 and 4, Ince
2 and 3, Bowes

On escutcheon of pretence—
1. Johnson.
2. Minshull.
3. Westbrook.
4. Houghton.

Thomas Waterfield, = farmer of Ferring, co. Sussex. (1)

John Waterfield, farmer of Ferring. Mar. 19 Nov. 1571.* Bur. 31 Dec. 1594.* Will pr. 6 Feb. 1594/5 (Book Scott 9.) = Agnes Page, Bur. 4 July 1609.*

George Waterfield, vicar of Ferring. Bur. 29 Dec. 1599.* =

John Westbrook, of Godalming, co. Surr. Bur. 12 March 1620/1.† (4) = Elizabeth

Thomas, eldest son, farmer of Ferring. Bapt. 25 Jan. 1578/9.* = Dorothy. Will pr. P.C.C. as of Lewes, Sussex, widow, 9 June 1653.

William Waterfield, gent. Bapt. 16 Jan. 1582/3 * Mar. 22 Oct. 1613.* Bur. 29 Sep. 1649.* (2) = Mary Eagar. Bur. 17 Feb. 1639/40.*

Daniel, of Godalming, co. Surrey. Bapt. 15 Jan. 1586/7.* Mar. 29 May 1611.† Bur. 17 March 1653.† Will pr. P.C.C. 11 Apr. 1657. (Book Ruthen 140.) = Jane Petow.

Agnes. Bapt. 10 Nov. 1572*. Mar. 5 May 1591.* Bur 16 Jan. 1628/9.† = James Eliot, gent. of Godalming. Bur. Sep. 1625.†

Joan. Bapt. 14 Mch. 1573/4.* Mar. 20 July 1596.* = Thomas Terry, of Long Sutton, Hants.

Suzanna. Bapt. 16 Mch. 1576/7.* Mar. 10 Oct. 1597.* = William Peachie.

Elizabeth. Bapt. 11 Feb. 1587/8.*

Sara. Bapt. 23 July 1589.* Mar. 19 Oct. 1609.* = John Gratwicke.

Caleb Westbrook, of Godalming. Bur. 24 July 1635.† Admin. P.C.C. 20 Oct. 1635. = Phebe .... Bur. 16 Sep. 1655.†

John.†

George Westbrook. Bapt. 24 Feb. 1594/5.† = Ellen.

Elizabeth.† Mary.† Abigail.† Ann.†

Barbara Waterfield. Bapt. 23 Aug. 1618.* Mar. 11 July 1637.* D. 30 May 1657 and bur. at Ferring. = Captain John Westbrook. Bapt. 1 Sep. 1616.† D. 7 June 1666 and bur. at Ferring.

Francis. Bapt. 13 Nov. } Bur. 24 Nov. } 1614.†

Elizabeth.† Phebe.† Ann.†

Caleb Westbrook. Bapt. 29 Aug. 1624.† = Elizabeth .... living in 1700, a widow. (Will of Richard Westbrook.)

Henry, bapt. 11 Jan. 1626/7.†

William Westbrook, bapt. 13 Nov. 1638.† Mar. at Little Bartholomew's London, 2 June 1663. D. 29 Feb. 1702, ætat. 64. Bur. at Ferring. Will pr. P.C.C. 1 Apr. 1703. Gu. a leopard's head jessant de lis or. = Elizabeth, dau. and heir of Thomas Houghton esq. of Mayfield, co. Suss. d. 16 Oct. 1694, ætat. 54. Bur. at Ferring. Arg. three bars sa.

John Westbrook, bapt. 24 Nov. 1640.† =
- John. } Will of William
- William. } Westbrook, 1703.

Barbara, bapt. 29 May 1642.† Mar. ...... Wilkinson. =
- William.
- Margaret, mar. ...... Wills.
- Elizabeth, mar. ...... Watts.

Phebe, mar. Lawrence Parker, citizen and skinner. =
- William.
- Mary.
- Phebe.

Caleb, bapt. 21 June, 1646.†

Richard Westbrook, merchant. For 20 years consul at Cyprus. d. unm. 15 Aug. 1700 ætat. 49, and bur. at Ferring. Will pr. P.C.C. 24 Jan. 1700/1.

Richard Johnson of Whetstone, co. Midd. gent. D. 22 Dec. 1730, aged 69. Bur. at Friern Barnet. Will pr. P.C.C. 12 Jan. 1730/1. Arg. on a pile az. three ounces' heads erased of the first. = Mary Sawyer.

John Minshull esq. of Portslade co. Suss. Az. an estoile issuant out of a crescent in base arg. = Barbara Westbrook dau. and coheir. bapt. 4 June 1667 } mar. 4 Aug. 1691 } at Ferring. d. 27 June 1716 ætat. 49 and bur. at Ferring.

Jane, bur. at Ferring, 30 Aug. 1680.
Elizabeth. m. Thomas Andrew of Ormond St esq.
Mary, bur. at Ferring, 12 Jan. 1735/6. Admin. c. T. 21 Feb. 1735.

Phebe, bapt. 13 June 1681 at Ferring, mar. at Westmr Abbey 29 June 1703, d. 17 Dec. 1713 and bur. at Alfriston. = Thomas, son and heir of Thomas Chowne of Alfriston co. Suss. d. 16 Sep. 1724 and bur. at Alfriston. Admin. c. T. 7 Oct. 1724.
- Thomas.
- Phebe.
- Mary.

Joseph Richardson rector of Dunsfold co. Surr. d. 1742. Descended from Nicholas Richardson of co. Durham, who came into Yorkshire in 1561. Berry's Sussex Genealogies, p. 49. =

Charles Ince, citizen and woollen-draper. Will pr. 8 Dec. 1740. = Alice .... Will pr. P.C.C. 23 Jan. 1745. Niece and heir-at-law of Ralph Piggott, the purchaser, in Feb. 1716, of Marrick Abbey.

Elizabeth, mar. William Quilter, citizen and leather-seller.

Katharine, d. 9 Oct. 1727, aged 34. Bur. at Friern Barnet.

John Johnson, of Whetstone, a distiller. d.s.p. 8 June 1739, aged 43. Will pr. P.C.C. 12 July 1739.

Richard Johnson, citizen and skinner, of parish of St Sepulchre's London. Admin. c. T. 9 Aug. 1726. = Barbara Minshull, eld. dau. and coheir. Bapt. at Portslade 8 June 1699. D. 4 July 1757, aged 57. Of Great Queen St, St Giles's in the fields 22 Oct. 1753. Will pr. P.C.C. 19 July 1757.

John Minshull. Bapt. at Portslade 2 Oct. 1697. Bur. at Ferring 3 July 1698.

Elizabeth Minshull. Bapt. at Portslade 20 Mch. 1700/1. Mar. at the Guild-hall-chapel, London, 7 July 1723. D. 22 March 1752. = Joseph Richardson, barrister at law, of the Middle Temple, b. 14 July 1689, d. 8 Jan. 1734. Bur. at Dunsfold.

Elizabeth mar. Rev. Thomas Warton B.D. Professor of Poetry at Oxford. =
- Rev. Joseph Warton, b. 1722 Head Master of Winchester 1766.
- Thomas Warton b. 1728. Author of the History of English Poetry.

Mary Ince, d. 1 Sep. 1768, ætat. 50. = James Berkeley, esq. d. 6 Jan. 1761, ætat. 61. Bur at Hadley.

Charles Ince, d. 1769–70.

Piggott Ince, of Hadley, esq. d 5 Nov. 1765 æt. 45. Bur. at Hadley. = Mary Johnson, mar. 2ndly 6 July 1749 at St Bride's Fleet St. d. 28 Feb. 1768 æt 47. Bur. at Hadley. = Richard Bosworth, merchant, of parish of Ch. Ch. Newgate St. son of John Bosworth esq. chamberlain of city of London and Hester his wife. Ob. v. p. Will pr. P.C.C. 4 Feb. 1745–6. (Sir John Bosworth knt. d. at Epsom, 3 Aug. 1752.)

Barbara Johnson, elder dau. and coheir, mar. at Friern Barnet, 1 Jan. 1753, d. 8 Apr. 1774, aged 55. = William Westbrook Richardson, (3) of the Middle Temple, barrister at law. High Sheriff of Sussex 1770, d. 23 July 1771, aged 45.

John, fellow of King's Coll. Camb. rector of Winterbourne, d. unm. 1785.

Lawrence, d unm. 1772.

Thomas, of Warminghurst Park, Sussex, d. 1797. = Frances 2 dau. of John Margesson.

James Piggott Ince, of Marrick Abbey Yorkshire, mar. 7 Sep. 1775, d. 19 Oct. 1829, aged 79. = Anna Maria, dau. of Rev. William Cumming, Fell. of Trin. Coll. Camb. vicar of Great Wymondley, Herts. 1752–1766. Afterwards vicar of Great Barford Beds. d. 1 Dec. 1830 aged 73.

Mary Elizabeth } bapt. and bur.
Edward Minshull } at
Barbara-Ansilla } Hadley, d. unm.

John.
Catherine, m. James Marriott esq. (afterwards Rev. James Marriott) of Spelmondham, Kent, 21 May, 1767.
Richard.

John Margesson esq. of Offington co. Suss. =

Frances, 2 dau. mar. Thomas Richardson.

William Margesson, esq. d. 1843. =

Rev. William Margesson. =

William George Margesson, esq. now of Finden Place.

Mary, elder dau. = William Richardson, of Finden Place, Sussex, d. s. p. 16 June 1801.

Richard, bapt. at East Barnet, 9 Sep. 1758.

John.

Barbara, d. young.

William Westbrook Richardson, succ. his cousin at Finden Place, d. s. p. 1871 and bur. at Ferring. Sa. on a chief arg. three lions' heads erased of the field. Quartering—1 Pollard, 2 Peebles, 3 Frank, 4 Minshull, 5 Westbrook.

Thomas Richardson, of Sutton Hurst, Sussex, d. unm. 1869. bur. at Ferring.

James Berkeley Ince, of Marrick Abbey, d. unm. 10 May 1845.

Rev. Edward Ince, vicar of Wigtoft cum Quadring, co Linc. d. 6 Aug 1840. = Mary Sophia, dau. of Capt. John Bourchier, R.N. Lieut. Gov. of Greenwich Hospl. Living in March 1881, aged 95.

John,
William, Capt. 38th Regt } mar. and
Charles, 8th Regt } left issue.
Samuel,
Ralph-Piggott, Capt. 56th Regt. mar. and d. s. p.

Catherine Ann
Mary
Harriett
Lydia
Caroline
Elizabeth Frances
Anna Maria
Louisa
Barbara Ancilla.
} all d. unm.

Rev. Edward Cumming Ince, M.A. of Marrick Abbey, present representative of the family. Of Jesus Coll. Cambridge, B.A. 1847, M.A. 1861. = Elizabeth Margaret Caroline, dau. of John Gason, esq. M.D. of Enniskerry, co. Wicklow. Az. a fess erm. cotised arg. betw. three goats' heads erased of the third, attired or.

* At Ferring.

† At Godalming.

(1) The Waterfields, a very numerous family, farmed lands at Ferring under the bishops of Chichester at this period.

(2) Another William Waterfield, son of George (the vicar), was bapt. 11 Jan. 1586/7.

(3) Mr. W. W. Richardson resided for a time at Belmont, East Barnet. He was elected a Governor of the Barnet Grammar Sch. 20 Aug. 1759.

(4) The Westbrooks were settled at Godalming from an early period. William de Westbrook, who mar. Margaret dau. and coheir of Henry Norbridge of Guildford, d. seized of the manor, which gave its name to the family, in 1437. The eastern end of the south aisle of the parish church is known as the Westbrook-chapel and contained, in Brayley's time, memorials of the family, which have since disappeared. Brayley's Surrey v. 202, 208, 212. Add. MS. Br. Mus. 14311 f. 67. Cf. Harl. MSS. 1076 f. 44; 1135 f. 116b; 1406 f. 106b. Dallaway's West Sussex ii. 29. Horsfield's Hist. of Sussex ii. 137. Berry's Sussex Genealogies p. 171, where the pedigree is very incorrectly given.

nature. That conceded to the Right Hon. Henry Coventry has been already mentioned.[a] In the last century, at a Vestry held 14 Nov. 1725, it was "unanimously agreed that Mr Percival Chandler be permitted & allow'd to raise the wall of our church on the north side to a convenient height & to build a gallery on the same side at his own proper cost and charge & for his own use & behoof." And again, during the incumbency of Mr. Burrows, we meet with a resolution that "whereas for some time past there has been a complaint that there were not pews in church sufficient for the number of inhabitants that assemble together on Sundays, in some measure to remedy this inconvenience the Rev. Mr. Garrow has come in person this 30th day of June 1776 to petition the gentlemen of the Vestry for leave at his own expense to build a gallery in the belfry the better to accommodate the poorer sort of people in their attendance on divine worship";—a proposal which was thankfully accepted the same day.

Faculties are likewise extant, granting or confirming a title to pews. Of these may be noted that issued in the name of George,[b] bishop of London, 11 May 1626, "in the 5th year of our translation," to Godfrey Maidwell,"[c] of the parish of Monken Hadley, gentleman, and especially addressed to the minister and churchwardens, permitting him to "have a certaine pewe or seate in the Churche of Hadley beforesaid in the upper end of the midle Alley or Ile in the body of the said Church confirmed unto you for yor self and yor wife and children to sit kneele and remain in for the hearing of divine service and sermons there read and preached." The pew in question had been previously assigned, it is stated, to Jane Thwaits wife of Matthew Thwaits, late of the said parish, gentleman, who, intending no longer to be an inhabitant, had passed over the right of his dwelling-house to the said Godfrey Maidwell.[d]

A like concession, dated 14 Feb. 1627, in the 7th year of our translation, was made to Magdalene Berners, als Wilford, the late wife and executrix of

[a] Vide *supra*, p. 26.

[b] George Monteigne, consecr. bishop of Lincoln 14 Dec. 1617, transl. to London 1621, to Durham 1628, to York 1628; died 6 Nov. 1628.

[c] Godfrey Maydwell, of Clement's Inn, London, 3rd son of Thomas Maydwell of Geddington, Northants, by Mary dau. and heir of William Brackenbury of the same, married 2ndly Anne, eldest dau. of James Pagitt, one of the barons of the exchequer. Harl. MSS. 1468 f. 129b; 1476 ff. 178, 351b. She was bur. at East Barnet 17 June 1637.

[d] Lib. Vic. Gen. Marten (Pars. 2da) 1623—7, vol. 13, f. 212. There was formerly an inscription to the memory of Mrs. Thwaits in the church of East Barnet, where she was buried 26 Nov. 1650. Chauncy. Lysons. East Barnet. Par. Reg.

William Wilford, esq. late of Hadley, co. Middlesex, deceased, and records that her late husband, having resided three years at Hadley, and being without a seat in the church, "had found a vacant place of verie small use before the Minister's reading pewe, where, with the consent of the then Churchwarden, then he did erect a verie convenient pewe or seate being in the bodie of the said Churche on the north side of the Middle Alley &c.[a]

It was the custom in former times to deliver the church plate, which is valuable and curious, into the custody of the churchwardens for the time being, who took a formal receipt for the same from their successors in office. Amongst the notices of this may be recorded, under the date of 29 May, 1667 :—

It is ordered and agreed by us whose names are underwritten parish[rs] of Monken Hadley that the parish plate, being one silver Ewer single guilt, one silver Challice with a Cover single guilt, one other silver Challice with a Cover, one Plate or Dish of silver single guilt, be del[d] to John Howland and Mr. Elston Wallis now Churchwardens of this parish.

There consequently belonged to the church at this period, besides the three pieces of plate given by Mr Emerson,[b] "one other silver chalice with a cover;"—doubtless the oldest piece in our possession, and probably the property of the church from the time of Elizabeth.

On 24 May, 1670, we have it entered :—

Received of the said John Howkins one of the late Churchwardens of the p̃ish of Muncken Hadley in the county of Midds, the p̃ish plate, beinge one silver Ewer single guilte, one silver Challice single guilte, with a Cover to it, one other silver Challice with a cover, one plate or silver dish silver guilte, one table Cloath for the Communion Table, one Napkin diaper, one Cushion for the pulpit, and a greene Carpett for the Communion table and one blacke whood. By me Will. Dry now Church Warden.

On 5 May, 1712, a receipt is given by the incoming churchwarden for precisely the same articles; but a little later we find an addition, owing to the donation of another cup and cover from Mrs Cecil Walker.

I do hereby acknowledge to have received this 3[rd] day of May 1715 of Mr Edward Chandler, late Churchwarden, one spout Pot, three Cups with covers, and one little Plate, being all that belongs to y[e] Church of Monken Hadley. Witness my hand, Saml. Hickes.

[a] Lib. Vic. Gen. Duck, 1627—1637. Vol. 14, f. 27.

[b] Vide *supra*, p. 60.

An inventory of the Communion Plate, taken the 15th May, 1733, gives the following result:—

		oz.	dwt.
A Guilt Cup and Cover, M[rs] Walker - -	w[te]	15	06
A Guilt Flaggon - - - -	w[te]	32	12
Another Guilt Cup and Cover - - -	w[te]	20	13
Another Cup and Cover, Silver -	w[te]	15	09
M[r] Chandler's Plate - - - -	w[te]	14	00
Another Plate - - - -	w[te]	10	15
The weight of all the Plate -		108	15

A similar inventory, of 12 April, 1737, has, in addition to the above:—

A gilt Cup and Cover the gift of James Quilter Esq. or M[rs] Quilter.

Mr. Edward Chandler, therefore, gave a silver alms plate between 1714-5, when he was churchwarden, and 1733; whilst between 1733 and 1737 came the Quilter benefaction. These, with a second plain silver alms plate, exactly matching Mr. Chandler's, given by Mrs. Godley, mother of Dr. Proctor, the late rector, constitute the whole of the plate belonging to the church of Monken Hadley.

A brief selection must be made from the inscriptions in the churchyard. On an altar-tomb:—

Arms, in a lozenge. Sa. a chevron engr. betw. three chess rooks arg. impaling, *Gyll*, Sa. a pale betw. four fleurs-de-lis or.

In a Vault underneath lyes interred the Body of
ELIZABETH,
Widow and Relict of Valentine Warter,[a] formerly of the
Parish of S[t] Dunstan's in the West in the City of London
Gent. She departed this life the 21 of January 1723, in the
78[th] year of her Age.

Mrs Warter, described in her will[b] as of St. Andrew's Holborn, instructs her grandson, Francis Warter, of the Six Clerks Office (son of John Warter [c] of Bar-

[a] Derived from John Warter of Stableford, co. Salop, a captain in the train bands, who was shot by accident in 1653. Burke's Landed Gentry, *Warter of Cruck Meole.* The will of John Warter, of Mortlake, gent., the father of Valentine, was pr. P.C.C. 5 June 1679, by Elizabeth the widow and John the son.

[b] Proved P. C. C. 28 Jan. 1722-3. (Book Richmond 20).

[c] Mary, daughter of John Warter of Barbados, was second of the five wives of Thomas Foley, of Stoke Edith, Herefordshire (whose eldest son Thomas was cr. baron Foley in 1776), who had by her Robert, D.D. dean of Worcester, and Sarah, mentioned in Mrs. Warter's will. Burke's Peerage. The will of John Warter, of the parish of St. Michael, in the island of Barbados, gent. was proved P. C. C. 22 July, 1714, by Mary his widow.

bados), to whom she devises all her lands in Monken Hadley and Barnet, that she desires a private burying at Hadley with a stone laid over her grave; the funeral charges not to exceed £50. Mr Brudenell was to be one of the pall-bearers.

On a monument against the south wall of the tower, beside the porch :—

Here lyeth WILLIAM BRUDENELL, of this Parish Gent. late one of the Sworn Clerks of his Majesty's High Court of Chancery, aged 81 years. Dyed ye 2 October 1734.

Here lyeth ELIZABETH wife of William Brudenell, of this Parish Gent. She dyed ye 4 Aprill.

In his will,[a] written with his own hand, 28 July, 1708, Mr. Brudenell requests that he may be "interred privately in some dry churchyard near the chancel, within the quick earth if possible," and bequeaths everything to his "beloved wife, by name Elizabeth, and the sister of John Birkhead, Gentleman, and her heirs for ever, hoping she will be buried by me."

On a flat stone formerly forming the top of an altar-tomb :—

Mr EDWARD WADESON,
Died 11 Aug. 1738, aged 54.

Arms—Sa. a chev. arg. betw. three eagles displ. or.
Crest—Out of a ducal coronet a demi-eagle displ. . . . . .

Mr. Wadeson, of St. James's Street, whose will was proved 21 August, 1738, left a widow, Sarah, and an only daughter, a minor, of the same name. He is mentioned by viscount Micklethwait, who was also buried at Hadley about four years previously, as his steward.

On an altar-tomb[b] to the north of the church are the two inscriptions following :—

Arms, in a lozenge, *Coke.* Gu. three crescents and a canton or.

Underneath this Monument lyeth the Body of ELIZABETH COKE,[c] second daughter of John Coke Esq. of Melbourn in the County of Derby, and Mary his Wife, only daughter of S^r

[a] Proved P. C. C. 9 May, 1735, by Elizabeth Brudenell, widow. (Book Ducie 92). Mr Brudenell's residence was near the Almshouses.

[b] This monument was repaired shortly before his death by the late lord Palmerston, lady Palmerston being the representative of the Cokes of Melbourne. Clutterbuck's Herts iii. 209. Sir Matthew Lamb, bt. of Brocket Hall, who marr. Charlotte, the neice of Elizabeth Coke, was the father of Sir Peniston Lamb cr. baron Melbourne in 1770.

[c] By her will, dated 17 Aug. and proved 4 Oct. 1739 (Book Henchman 209), Elizabeth Coke of Monken Hadley spr. constituted her niece Mrs. Susan Fanshawe, of the same place, sole executrix and universal legatee.

Thomas Leventhorp, of Shingle Hall in the county of Hertford. She died on the 5th day of September 1739, aged 63 years, and was by her own Orders interred here.

To the Memory of
SUSANNA FANSHAWE[a]
only Daughter of John Fanshawe, Esqre of Parslows in the County of Essex, and Mary his Wife, eldest daughter of John Coke Esq. of Melbourn in the County of Derby.
She died Sep. 13 A.D. 1759. Aged 60 years.
And by her own order was interred here.

On a flat stone next to that of Mr. Edward Wadeson:—

NICHOLAS COTTERELL
of Furnival's Inn, London, Gent.
Departed this Life August the 19th 1742
In the 59th year of his age.[b]

On a flat stone beside the preceding, at the north-east corner of the church-yard:—

Arms—Gu. a saltire arg. charged with a crescent.
Crest—A bull's head erased.

In memory of
SANDFOORD NEVILE, Esqr
late one of the Procurators General of the Arches Court of Canterbury, and Procurator General to the Earl Marshall of England, in his High Court of Chivalry, who died on the 3rd December 1748, aged 63 yrs. He was the Son and 16th Child of Gervas Nevile, late of Holbeck, in the Parish of Leeds, in the County of York Esq. by Dorothy his Wife.[c]

Behind the east end of the chancel are memorial slabs of the Egerton family.

[a] Will proved P. C. C. 24 Sep. 1759 (Book Arran 296). "If I die at Hadley I desire to be buried as near to the body of my Aunt Mrs. Elizabeth Coke as conveniently can be." Amongst the legacies is one of £100 to her cousin Mrs. Jane Musgrave. On 20 Sep. 1793 was buried Jane Musgrave, aged 101. Hadley Par. Reg.

[b] His will, proved P. C. C. (Book Trenley 243) mentions two nephews, Charles and John Cottrell and a niece Mary Swallow. To his very good friend Sandford Nevile he leaves a ring of 30*s.* value.

[c] Sandford Nevile, who d. unm. was the 9th and youngest son of Gervase Nevile (d. 31 May 1696) by Dorothy, dau. of Francis Cavendish, esq. of Doveridge, co. Derby, and grandson of Gervase Nevile of Beeston, near Leeds (d. 15 Feb. 1676), quarter-master-general to the marquis of Newcastle in 1643. Admin. of the estate of Sandford Nevile was granted 20 Dec. 1748 to the Rev. Cavendish Nevile his brother, the last male of his family. From their sister Barbara descends through females the present Percy Sandford Nevile, esq. of Skelbrooke-park, near Doncaster. Foster's County families of Yorkshire.

Here lyeth the Body of SARAH, late Wife of Charles Egerton, Citizen & Habberdasher of London, Dyed the 14th May 1730, aged 41.

Here also lyeth the Body of ELIZABETH his second Wife. She dyed the 8 June 1738, aged 52.

Also the Body of the above-said CHARLES EGERTON, Esq. who dyed April the 6th, 1747, aged 60 years.

Arms—Gu. a fesse betw. three pheons arg.[a] impaling, quarterly or and gu. on a bend sa. five bezants, for *Stebbing.*

Crest—A plume of feathers erm.

Underneath this Stone lie the Remains of JOHN EGERTON, Esqre, who died March 26th 1789, aged 66 years. Also of his Wife ANN ABIGAIL EGERTON, who died August 11th 1803, Ætat 66 years.

Charles Egerton, son of the Rev. Thomas Egerton, rector of Adstock, Bucks, descended from Thomas Egerton, Master of the Mint, who died in 1596, was baptized at Adstock, 30 December, 1686. Settling in London, and engaging in trade in Fleet Street, he was thrice married, taking for a third wife, 29 November, 1746, Agnes, daughter of Thomas Southern,[b] the dramatist, the friend of Dryden and Congreve. She was buried at Hadley,[c] 14 May, 1764. To her by his will, dated 27th March, 1747, in which he is described as of the parish of St. Dunstan in the West, he left his "Coach or Chariot and a pair of Coach Horses," together with a life interest in several houses at Hadley, one of them tenanted by Sandford Nevile, with remainder to his son John. There were two other sons, Charles, already deceased, and Stebbing,[d] a daughter Sarah,[e] who had married Mr. Thomas Spicer, and an unmarried daughter Elizabeth.

His son John, born 1723-4, married,[f] when quite a young man, 30 August, 1743, "the widow Brattell[g] of Enfield with £15,000." What became of the

[a] These are the arms of *Egerton of Wrinehill.*

[b] It was Southern who introduced Congreve to Dryden. See Quarterly Review, No. 292, Oct. 1878. Hallam's Lit. of Europe iii. 525, 526. Biog. Univ. Chambers' Biogr. Dict.

[c] The earliest mention of Mr. Charles Egerton as a freeholder at Hadley is his purchase of some property on the Common in April 1739. The same was sold 18 Nov. 1791, by the children of his son John, to Mrs. Jane Hopegood.

[d] Stebbing Egerton, esq. who d. 27 Dec. 1778, and Mary his wife, who d. 24 Aug. 1783, were both buried at Barnet.

[e] Buried at Hadley 27 Sept. 1737.

[f] Gent's Mag.

[g] The will of Daniel Brattell, esq. of Enfield, was pr. 24 Nov. 1741. He left a widow Susannah and a daughter Ann. A Sir John Brattle of Enfield, knt. was one of the Commissioners at the later survey of the Chace in 1685.

widow and her fortune is not known, but on 24 May 1758 he espoused, secondly, Ann Abigail, daughter of John Chandler,[a] apothecary, of Cheapside, elder brother of Samuel Chandler, D.D. a distinguished Presbyterian minister. Besides three daughters there were issue of this marriage two sons, John and Charles, who both took holy orders. The former was at one time curate of North Mimms, whilst the latter became vicar of Thorncombe in Devonshire, and died in 1845.

On a flat stone near the centre of the churchyard, threatened by incroaching turf, is the modest but very ill-cut inscription :—

Here lyeth the Body of Hester Chapone,
who died December 25th, 1801, aged 75 years.

There was a long and close intimacy between this lady, whose *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind*,[b] and other works, at one time generally known and held in high estimation, had formerly a very wide circulation, and the Burrows family. In her declining years of sorrow and adversity she was indebted to them for unfailing sympathy and almost for a home. To Hadley she came to die, and ended her life in the village.[c]

The Monro family, whose vault is in the churchyard to the east of the church, have been connected with the parish since the middle of the last century, when Dr. John Monro, descended from the Monros of Contillick,[d] married, 17 Nov. 1753,[e] Elizabeth the eldest daughter of Thomas and Culling Smith. His grandfather, Alexander Monro, D.D. born in 1648,[f] Principal of the University of Edinburgh in 1685, and a determined non-juror, left, at his death, about 1698, by his second wife Marion Collace, a son James, of Balliol College, M.D. physician of Bethlehem Hospital from 1728 to 1752. The eldest son of the latter, afterwards Dr John Monro, was born at Greenwich, 16 Nov. 1715. From Merchant Taylors' School he became a fellow of St. John's College, Oxford,[g] and on 10 April, 1741, was appointed Radcliffe Travelling Fellow, through the interest of

[a] Died 15 Dec. 1780, and buried in the nave of Hadley church, 22 Dec. Par. Reg. Lysons ii. 525.

[b] Dedicated to Mrs. Montagu.

[c] Vide *supra*, p. 106.

[d] Burke's Peerage, *Munro of Foulis, bart.*

[e] At St. Michael's, Cornhill. The officiating clergyman was his brother, the Rev. Thomas Monro, who married at Hadley, 2 Aug. 1755, Miss Helen Soresby. (Vide *supra*, pedigree of Brunskell). She died in April 1762. Elizabeth Juliana, one of his daughters by a second marriage, married her cousin Captain James Monro of Hadley.

[f] Biog. Univ.

[g] B. A. 1737, M. A. 1740, B. M. 1743, D. M. 1747.

Sir Robert Walpole, upon which he migrated to University College. Having studied medicine at Edinburgh, Leyden, where it has been erroneously[a] stated that he was a pupil of the celebrated Boërhaave, and Paris, at which place we find him in 1745, he devoted his attention principally to the treatment of insanity, defined by him as "a vitiated judgment," and in 1751 became joint physician with his father at Bridewell and Bethlehem. His residence from the year 1781 was in Bedford Square, London, but he retired to Hadley at the beginning of 1791, and died on the 27 Dec. in that year. His father and he were long looked upon as at the head of their branch of the profession, and he was consulted on the occasion of Margaret Nicholson's attack upon George III. 2 Aug. 1786. He has been described as tall and handsome, naturally grave though of a warm temper, of gentle and refined manners, and characterized by a remarkably punctilious sense of honour. His second son, Captain James Monro, who commanded the East India Company's ship Houghton, purchased in 1790, of the representatives of the Shewell family, the house at Hadley which, with occasional intervals, has been the home of the Monros until the present time. The late Mr. Cecil Monro, second son of Captain James Monro, and Chief Registrar of the Court of Chancery, died on the 20 Feb. 1878, aged 74, in the house where he was born, a gentleman distinguished for his cultivated mind and literary tastes, who edited the Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou for the Camden Society in 1863. The family hatchments were removed, with others, at the time of the restoration of the church.

Not far distant lie the Garrows. From Aberlour in Banffshire, on the banks of the Spey, where it flows in an easterly direction and forms the county boundary, there came to England in the last century two brothers, William and David Garrow, of whom the former had been a medical student at Elgin and the latter had graduated M.A. of the university of Aberdeen.[b] A third brother, Joseph, entered the Royal Navy as a volunteer, and eventually rose to be lieutenant in command of the Garland, dying in 1796. They were the sons of William Garrow by his wife Jean Moir, who lie buried at Aberlour beneath a stone with an inscription bearing the date 4 May 1742. William Garrow, whose ancestors, according to the local tradition, came from Slains on the Aberdeenshire coast, held a small farm at Mains of Allachy, where the hill-side slopes from the south towards the Spey. When the brothers William and David left

[a] Biog. Univ. Chalmers' Biog. Dict. The dates, however, disprove this. Boërhaave died at an advanced age in 1738.

[b] 1st April 1736.

Scotland is not known, but about the year 1747 we find them settled respectively at Barnet and Hadley, the one as a medical practitioner and the other keeping a school for young gentlemen. William Garrow M.D., of Barnet,[a] elected a Governor of the Grammar School 20 Aug. 1759, died unmarried in 1795, and was buried at Hadley. He had purchased landed property at Totteridge, which he devised to his nephew Edward.

David, who had taken holy orders in the Church of England, in June 1760 bought the Priory,[b] which, according to family records, he had held by lease from the 12 of March 1747. He died 19 March 1805[c] at the age of 90, having had a numerous family by his wife Sarah, who predeceased him. The monument to his memory in Hadley churchyard was erected by his son Sir William. In Dec. 1796 he became a benefactor to the parish by a gift of £333 6*s.* 8*d.* Consols, towards endowing a Sunday school, the promotion of psalmody in the church, and other purposes, constituting as trustees, the number of whom was never to be more than seven nor less than four, Edward Garrow, William Makepeace Thackeray, James Quilter, Andrew Hopegood, Alexander Dury, and William Ward, esquires, and the Rev. Charles Jeffryes Cottrell rector. The rector, during his incumbency, and the owner of a piece[d] of freehold land opposite the Priory, upon which a fir-grove had been planted, were always to be of the number. The fund now (1881) amounts to £625 10*s.* 1*d.* Consols and £132 6*s.* 7*d.* Red. 3 per Ct. Annuities.

His eldest surviving son, Edward, having made a fortune in India, established himself, upon his return to this country in 1795, at the Mount on Hadley Common, whence he removed to Totteridge and, having served as high-sheriff for Herts in 1804, died in 1820.[e] William, another son, born at Hadley 13 Apr. 1760, who was wholly educated at his father's school, gained distinction at the bar, and, having been Solicitor (1812) and Attorney General (1813), sitting in parliament for Gatton and other constituencies, was raised to the bench, 6 May 1817, as one of the barons of the exchequer. Retiring in Feb. 1832, he became a P.C. and died at his house at Pegwell Bay, near Ramsgate, 24 Sep. 1840.[f] He

[a] His residence was a red brick house between the Red Lion and the entrance of Wood Street.

[b] He acquired other property at Hadley, still in the possession of his descendants.

[c] There is an account of him in the Gent's Mag. at the time of his decease.

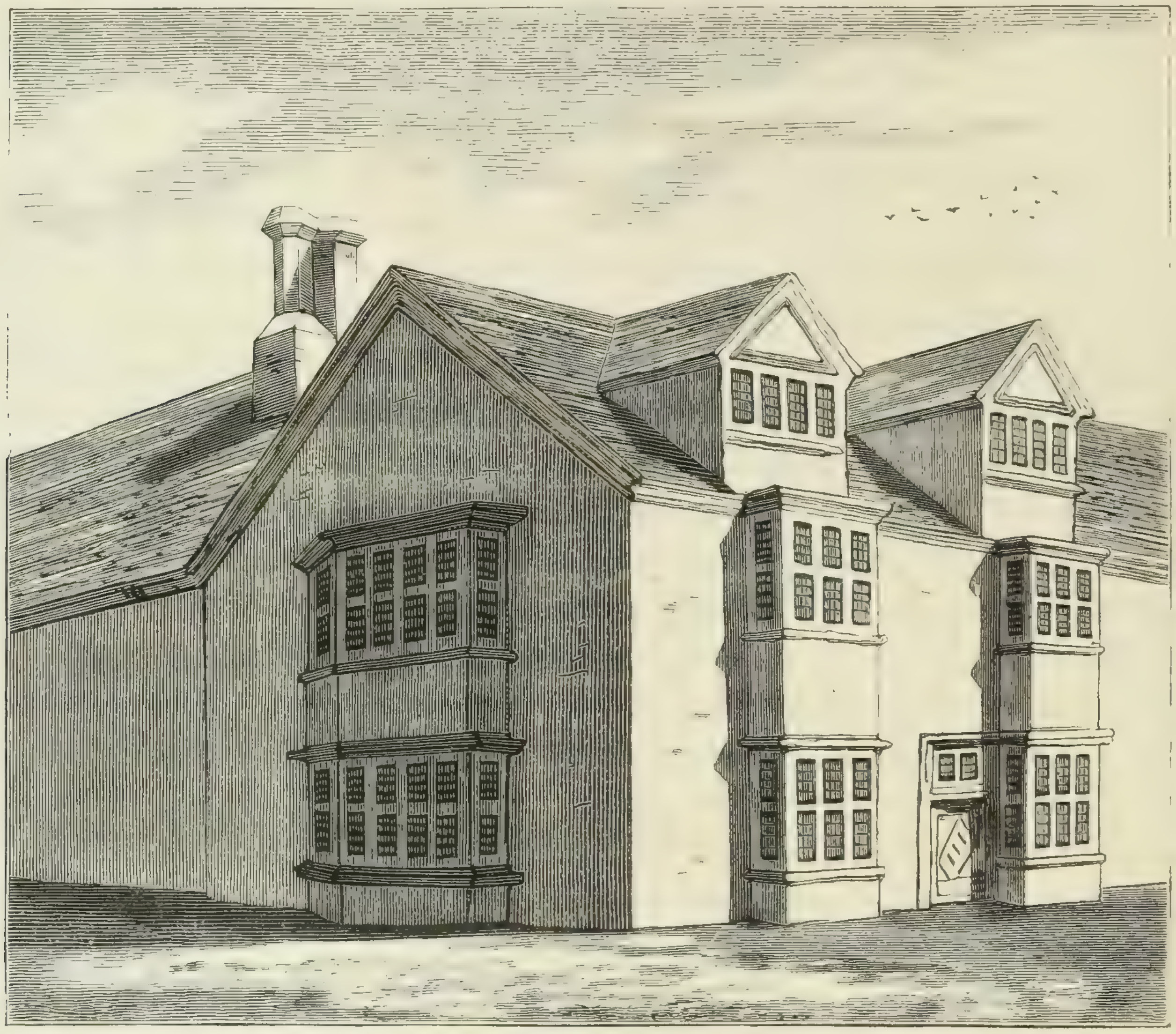
[d] This piece of land, originally waste, had been sold by Mr. Peter Moore, as lord of the manor, to the Rev. David Garrow.

[e] Buried at Hadley.

Foss, Judges, ix. 86.

was father of the Rev. David William Garrow, D.D., rector of East and Chipping Barnet.

The Priory still belongs to the family, now represented by Georgina Martha, wife of Capt. Nicholetts, R.N., and Catherine Harriet, wife of Col. A. R. Hoskins, R.A., daughters of the late Rev. George Baker Garrow,[a] grandson of Mr. Edward Garrow, It traditionally connects the parish with Walden Abbey, and



THE PRIORY.[b]

contains an upper chamber panelled throughout. The chimney-piece, elaborately carved in oak, exhibits episodes in the life of Our Lord in high relief, with detached figures of the evangelists. Round the cornice of the room are the signs of the zodiac. There is, unfortunately, no date. Early in the last century

[a] Of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Rector of Chiselborough, Somerset, 1842.

[b] From the illustrated copy of Lysons in the Guildhall Library, where it is styled, "House at Hadley anciently belonging to Walden Abbey."

it was owned by the Chandlers, who had inherited from their relatives the Townsends, and was conveyed in February 1749, by Susanna Chandler, widow of Thomas[a] Chandler, gentleman, to her brother, John Marlar, of Beddington, Surrey, calico printer, only son of Thomas Marlar,[b] of the same. By Mr. John Marlar it was sold to the Rev. D. Garrow, having for several years previous to 1747 been tenanted by Col. John Arnott,[c] who succeeded his father, Sir David Arnott, as third baronet. He was a military officer of distinction and, at the time of his death in June 1750, held, in the rank of lieutenant-general, the appointment of adjutant-general of North Britain.

The Hopegoods, another family connected with Hadley from the earlier years of the last century, have their memorials in the churchyard, behind the north aisle. Edward Hopegood, citizen and clothworker of London, possessed estates on the Hampshire coast, in the parish of Milford, and makes mention in his will of his manors of Milford Barns and Milford Montague.[d] By his wife Mary, described in her will as of Hackney, and desiring to be buried with her husband in the parish church of St. Margaret, Lothbury, he had a son Edward, of London, merchant, whose third son, Andrew, died 4 Dec. 1742, in his eightieth year, still owning landed property at Milford and in the adjacent parish of Hordle, which, with other estates, he strictly entailed. After a bequest of ten pounds to the poor of Hadley,[e] his will goes on to recite that "whereas several of the inhabitants of the said parish have contributed and do now annually contribute for and towards the cloathing and educating of twelve girls in the said parish, now I do therefore will and direct that the sum of four pounds per annum shall be paid by quarterly payments for and towards supporting, cloathing, and educating such twelve girls, so long as such contribution shall

[a] Son of Percival Chandler of Hadley by Sarah his wife.

[b] Will proved P. C. C. 5 July 1748 (Book Strahan 217).

[c] Elected a Governor of Barnet Grammar School, 24 Aug. 1719. He was the grandson of Sir Michael Arnott, of Arnott, co. Perth, created a baronet 27 July, 1629. Burke's Extinct Baronetage.

[d] When this locality is taken into account, it seems probable that the family may have been derived from the same source as Thomas Hopegood, Hapgood, or Habgood, who married Edith, sister and heiress of John Barn, who died 5 Oct. 6 Eliz. (Harl. MS. 758, f. 128) and by his marriage acquired possessions at Wimborne Minster in Dorsetshire. The will of Thomas Habgood was proved P. C. C. by Edith, the relict, 1 Aug. 1583. He mentions, besides other relatives, two sons John and Richard, both of whom we find settled at Wimborne Minster. The will of Richard was proved P. C. C. 1 Feb. 1607/8, and that of John, P. C. C. 13 Feb. 1636/7.

[e] There is likewise a legacy to the poor of Charlton Marshall in Dorsetshire.

subsist, and for no longer; the first payment to be made at the end of three months next after my decease."[a] His eldest son, of the same name, was the father of Andrew Hopegood, esq., whose grandson William Vere Hopegood, an officer in the 97th regiment, son of the late Francis Vere Hopegood, is the present proprietor of Hadley Hurst, in the occupation, during several years past, of Wilbraham Taylor, esq., gentleman usher in ordinary to the Queen.[b]

Amongst other monuments that may be enumerated are those of Mrs. Sarah Severn, wife of Mr. Benjamin Severn,[c] of Queen-street Cheapside and Church lane Whitechapel, sugar refiner, who died 28 Jan. 1811, aged 51,—of Mrs. Susannah Keet,[d] who died 24 July 1830, aged 86,—of Amelia wife of William Makepeace Thackeray, who died 29 April 1810, in her 53rd year, and of the said William Makepeace Thackeray, who died 11 March 1813, in his 64th year,—of Emily, youngest daughter of Thomas and Frances Trollope,[e] who died 12 Feb. 1836, aged 18. Lysons mentions those of Robert Stebbing,[f] citizen of London (1726), Thomas Robinson, gent. (1727), and George Hailes,[g] gent. (1754).

[a] This benefaction is still continued. The National School has its twelve clothed girls, nominated, as vacancies occur, by the subscribers in turn.

[b] Youngest son of Edward Taylor, esq. of Bifrons, Kent, M.P. for Canterbury from 1807 to 1812. See *Burke's Landed Gentry.*

[c] Mr. Severn, after his wife's death, became the possessor of Hare-hall, Essex, where he was a noted breeder of cattle. He died near Nottingham, of which neighbourhood he was a native, 29 July, 1832. Gent's Mag. Neale's Views of Seats, vol. i.

[d] Daughter of John Crawley, esq. of Stockwood Park, co. Bedford, and married 12 April, 1798, to the Rev. John Keet, rector of Hatfield. Gent's Mag. Clutterbuck's Herts ii. 37, 112, 364. The Par. Reg. indicates that she died at Finchley. After her death Mr. Hopegood purchased the residence she occupied —the site of which is now included within Hadley Hurst—of Mr. Andrew Reid of Lionsdown, who married Miss Geldart. The Rev. D. Garrow in his will, dated 2 Jan. 1790, mentions a house which he had sold to Thomas Geldart esq.

[e] Mrs. Trollope, the novelist, occupied about this time the residence on Hadley Green contiguous to the almshouses, on the south. Mr. Anthony Trollope alludes to his sister's burial in *The Bertrams*, ii. 367. The scene of the story is partly laid at Hadley.

[f] Of Chelsea, co. Midd. but apparently of Suffolk origin. Admin. c. T. (P. C. C.) granted to Sarah Stebbing the relict, 11 Nov. 1726. (Book Plymouth 243). The will is a rather remarkable document. He left two sons, John and Robert, and a daughter Sarah, wife of Mr. Charles Egerton. His widow was bur. at Hadley, 22 Sep. 1744, and her will pr. P. C. C. as of the parish of St. Clement Danes, by her son John, four days previously, on the 18th.

[g] Will pr. as of St. George's, Hanover Square, by Mary Hailes the relict and George Hailes the son, 26 July, 1754, P. C. C. (Book Pinfold 199).

Pedigree of HOPEGOOD.

Arms. Az. a chev. erm. betw. three anchors arg. Crest. A female figure leaning upon an anchor.

Walter Cade of Reigate, co. Surr. haberdasher.

Edward Hopegood, of St. Mary Abchurch, citizen and clothworker. Mar. at St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, by licence, 24 June, 1616. Bur. at St. Margaret's, Lothbury, 2 April 1646. Will pr. P.C.C. 8 April, 1646. = Mary Cade. Bur. at St. Margaret's, 24 Mar. 1662/3. Will pr. P.C.C. as of Hackney, co. Midd. 8 April, 1663.

Andrew Cade.

Simon Cade.

Edward Hopegood, of London, merchant. Mar. at All Hallows, Barking, in 1656. Bur. at St. Margaret's, 3 Oct. 1679. Will pr. P.C.C. 8 Oct. 1679 = Jane Burdett. Bur at St. Margaret's, 15 July, 1707. Admin. as of Ashtead, co. Surr. 26, July, 1707.

Andrew, of London, merchant, D. unm. Bur at St. Margaret's, 23 Dec. 1717. Will pr. P.C.C. 3 Jan. 1717/8.

Abraham, of London, merchant, D. unm. at sea. Will pr. P.C.C. 22 Mar. 1659.

Anne. = Humphrey Hill, citizen and mercer of London, of the Hills of Soulton, Hawkestone and Adderly, co. Salop. Will pr. P.C.C. 23 May, 1653, by Anne, the relict.

- Edward Hill.
- Mary.

Mary. = Peter Caulier. Mar. 19 April, 1642, at St. Peter le Poor, London.

Elizabeth, living in May 1662. = Abraham Caulier. Admin. Apr. 1662.

Francis, of London, merchant. D. unm. Bur. at St. Margaret's, 13 Feb. 1718/9. Will pr. P.C.C. 14 Feb. 1718/9.

Edward.

Andrew Hopegood, merchant, of Hadley. Elected in May 1620 a Director of the Royal African Company (Hist. Reg.) D. 4 Dec. 1742, aged 79. Bur. at Hadley. Will pr. P.C.C. 17 Dec. 1742. = Sarah, dau. of Sir Peter Floyer knt. Alderman of London, d. 11 Jan. 1774, aged 90. Bur. at Hadley.

Elizabeth. Bur. at St. Margaret's, 21 June, 1665.

Jane. Bur. at St. Margaret's, 11 Nov. 1740. Admin. as of Monken Hadley, spr. 19 Nov. 1740.

Lettice. Bapt. at Mitcham, co. Surr. 19 Dec. 1666. Admin. as of Ashtead, 26 July, 1709.

Bartholomew. Abraham. Edward. — Will of Mary Hopegood, pr. 8 Apr. 1663.

Sir William Beeston, knt. governor of Jamaica. Will pr. P.C.C. 17 Nov. 1702. 1 husb. Bur. at Titchfield. = Anne-Hopegood. Bur. at Titchfield, Hants. Will pr. P.C.C. 15 Aug. 1721. = Sir Charles Orby, bart. Admin. 11 May 1716.

Sarah. Bapt. at St. Andrew's, Holborn, 9 Oct. 1712. Bur. at Christ Church, London, in Lady Floyer's vault, 9 April, 1713.

Andrew Hopegood, d. 16 Aug. 1781, aged 68. Bur. at Hadley. = Elizabeth, d. 18 June, 1812, aged 66. Bur. at Hadley.

Francis. Bapt. at St. Andrew's, Holborn, 29 Jan. 1717/8, d. 3 June, 1753, aged 36. Bur. at Hadley. Admin. as of St. Anne's, Westminster, bach[r] 1 Aug. 1754.

Edward. Bapt. at St. Andrew's, 22 June, 1720, d. Jan. 1793, aged 73. Bur. at Hadley.

Jane. Bapt. at St. Andrew's, 17 Feb. 1715/6, d. 17 Sept. 1809, aged 94. Bur. at Hadley.

Sir Thomas, Modyford, bart. = Jane Beeston, only child. = Charles Long, esq. of Longville, Jamaica. 2 husb. Ancestor, by a former marriage, of Henry Lawes Long, esq. of Hampton Lodge, Surrey and of East Barnet, Herts.

Andrew Hopegood, of Hadley. Born 31 May, 1772. D. 16 Jan. 1843. Bur. at Hadley. = Catherine. D. 5 Mar. 1849, aged 65. Bur. at Hadley.

Sarah Jane, d. 22 Mar. 1842, aged 72. Bur. at Hadley. = Rev. Thomas Monro, rector of Little Easton, Essex.

Martha Floyer, born 4 June, 1771. D. 16 Dec. 1811. Bur. at Hadley.

THE REGISTERS.

No register is extant earlier than that commenced by Ely Tournor in 1619,[a] and until his deprivation the entries were made with commendable regularity. The neglect customary throughout the country during the civil troubles was only in part remedied at the Restoration, the registration at Hadley remaining in the hands of Tristram Hurst, appointed parish clerk and registrar in 1659, who is answerable for names, which from bad spelling would hardly have been recognized by their owners, even if the penmanship did not create an additional difficulty. Mr. Tompson, during his short incumbency, set down his entries in Latin, as did also Mr. Morgan in the following century. At the death of Mr. Tayler there is a slight interruption and again towards the close of Mr. Morgan's tenure of the benefice, owing probably, in the latter instance, to absence from home about the concerns of the Skerries lighthouse. Since Mr. Pennant's appointment the insertions have not been interrupted. From 1746, however, until 1755, when the Marriage[b] Act was passed, no record of weddings has been preserved,—an hiatus to be deplored. The following extracts have been chiefly selected from those not otherwise referred to.

Baptisms.

July 7, 1619.	Thomas, son of Thomas Emersom esq. and Jane his wife.
Mar. 19, 1619-20.	Ely, son of Ely Tournor and his wife.
Oct. 2, 1620.	Thomas, son of Thomas Emersom esq. and Jane his wife.
May 14, 1621.	Bridget, daughter of Ely Tournor and Anne his wife.
April 18, 1622.	John, son of the same.
April 14, 1624.	Abigall, daughter of the same.
Mar. 9, 1624-5.	Magdalen, daughter of William Wilford esq. and Magdalen his wife.
Oct. 8, 1626.	Jane, daughter of Ely Tournor and Anne his wife.
Feb. 18, 1628-9.	Anne, daughter of the same.
Aug. 10, 1630.	Nicholas, son of the same.
Oct. 17, 1637.	Thomas,[c] son of Mr. Richard and Margaret Cuthbert.

[a] *Supra*, p. 59.

[b] 26 Geo. 2.

[c] Second son of Richard Cuthbert of Hadley by Margeret, sister of Thomas Harrison, esq. of Dancer's Hill. See Hist. of South Mimms, pedigree to face p. 56. The Cuthberts appear to have resided previously at Enfield, where Edward, son of Richard and Margaret, was bapt. 13 Aug. 1634. Par. Reg.

April 24, 1638. Elizabeth Enfield,[a] inventa in scrobe.

Sep. 15, 1639. Thomas and Edward, sons of John Hutchinson esq. and Lucy his wife.

July 21, 1641. Francis, son of Richard Cuthbert gent. and Margaret his wife.

Oct. 2, 1641. John, son of John Hutchinson esq. and Lucy his wife.

Sep. 20, 1643. Grace, daughter of Valentine Pendarvis gent. and Phillis his wife.

The six and twentieth day of August in ye yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred fourty and seven Robert[b] the son of Robert Atkyns esq. and of Mary his wife was baptized.

The eleventh day of September in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred forty and eight Lewin and Wilcocks (being twins) the sonns of Justinian Pagitt of this parish esq^r^ and of Dorcas his wife were baptized.

Jan. 5, 1653-4. Mary,[c] daughter of John Bucke esq. and Mary his wife.

Jan. 6, 1658-9. Comfort, daughter of Mr. Timothy Eman.[d]

[a] A surname derived from the parish in which they were discovered was frequently assigned to foundlings.

[b] Afterwards Sir Robert Atkyns, the historian of Gloucestershire, knighted by Charles II. as of Saperton, co. Glouc. Lans. MS. f. 73. He was the son of Sir Robert Atkyns, who, in May 1689, became Chief Baron of the Exchequer, by his first wife Mary, daughter of Sir George Clerke, and grandson of Sir Edward Atkyns, likewise a Baron of the Exchequer. He died in 1711, having only survived his father, who had powerfully supported the revolution of 1688, by a single year. Lysons ii. 524, Biog. Univ.

[c] John Buck, esq. of Hamby-grange, co. Linc. eldest son and heir of Sir John Buck, knt. of the same, mar. 2ndly Mary, dau. and heir of William Ashton, esq. by Mary, dau. and heir of Henry Ewer, esq. of South Mimms. Their marriage articles were dated 21 Aug. 1652, and in his will, pr. P. C. C. 21 June, 1669, it is mentioned that great difficulties had arisen about the settlement. He was cr. a baronet 22 Dec. 1660. He left two sons, William, who succ. as 2nd bart. and Henry, and two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, of whom the former mar. the Hon. James Vernon, Secretary of State to William III. Her will, pr. P. C. C. 2 Feb. 1715-6, was made in favour of her "brother" Ralph Guest, of Hardington, co. Worc. and his children, Lawrence, George, Thomas, and Mary. The baronetcy became extinct 7 June, 1782. *Supra* p. 64; Clutterbuck's Herts i. 251, 264 ; Hist. of South Mimms, 62, 64.

[d] Only child of Timothy Eman, citizen and goldsmith of London, (will pr. P. C. C. 9 April 1638 by Rachel, the widow. Book Lee 41) by his wife Rachel, dau. of Richard Vaughan, who re-married Thomas Pagitt, esq. second son of James Pagitt, baron of the exchequer. His will, as of New Windsor, co. Berks, was pr. P. C. C. 12 April, 1681, by Elizabeth, the relict, dau. of John Copley, of Batley House, co. York. Elias Ashmole, antiquary and Windsor Herald, whose mother, Anne Bowyer, daughter of Anthony Bowyer of Coventry, and Bridget, the second wife of Baron Pagitt, were sisters, mentions Thomas Pagitt in his diary as "the chief instrument of my future preferments." In the same diary the entry is met with, under the date of May 1663,—"Towards the end of this month I christened Mr. Timothy Eman's son, of Windsor." Robinson's Hist. of Tottenham, 90, 92, 130. Arms. Arg. a lion ramp. reguard. purp. Crest. A lion sejant reguard. purp. Harl. MSS. 1358, f. 7^b^, where the first Timothy is described as a jeweller in Aldgate Ward; 1483, f. 135. Visitation of Berkshire 1664, where the second Timothy is stated to be in his 41st year, and the third in his 5th year, on 30 March, 1665. Conf. Harl. MS. 1530, f. 86.

Jan. 2, 1659-60. Timothy, son of the same.
Aug. 10, 1665. George, son of George Fetteplace esq.
April 23, 1681. Margaret, dau. of Thomas[a] and Mary Cuthbert.
June 20, 1693. Anne, daughter of William Bluck[b] esq. and Diana his wife.
July 2, 1704. Samuel, son of Samuel Stonard, attorney, and Mary his wife.
Sep. 27, 1719. William, son of John and Mary Arnot.[c]
Sep. 4, 1727. Anne,[d] daughter of Thomas and Cullen Smith.
Aug. 12, 1742. Charles, son of Charles[e] and Elizabeth Fanshaw.
Mar. 17, 1750-1. Edward, son of David and Sarah Garrow.
Apr. 27, 1760. William, son of David and Sarah Garrow.
Nov. 12, 1765. Frances, daughter of Charles Jefferys Cotterel[f] esq. lieutenant in the first Regiment of Guards and Fanny his wife.
July 30, 1768. Culling,[g] son of Culling and Mary Smith.

Marriages.

April 5, 1634. Francis Atkinson and Susan Michell.

No marriage is recorded between Feb. 1644-5 and Nov. 1653.

June 22, 1654. George Blackall, woollen-draper, of the parish of S[t] Faith's, and Magdalene Wilford, eldest daughter of John Wilford of Hadley esq. were married by Thomas Harrison esq. one of the justices of the peace for the county of Middx.

July 18, 1654. A marriage performed by Richard Powell esq, one of the justices of the peace for the said county.

Dec. 19, 1654. Thomas Grove esq. and Margaret Hall.

[a] Probably the son of Richard and Margaret. Vide *supra*, 17 Oct. 1637.

[b] Justice of the peace. His name occurs in the parish books between 1684 and 1698. In the register of St. Andrew's, Holborn, is found:—1690, Dec. 5, Diana, dau. of William Bluck, esq, of Brownlow S[t]. and Diana his wife, bapt.

[c] The will of Sir John Arnott, "late of Arnott, co. Fife, but now of the city of York, bar[t]," was pr. P. C. C. 20 June, 1750 (Book Greenley 185), by William Arnott, esq. of York, his second son, power being reserved to Ann, Mary, and Harriot the daughters. He was succ. by John his eldest son. There is no allusion to his wife.

[d] D. unm.. Bur. at Hadley 16 Sep. 1782. The earliest entry relating to the family.

[e] Rear-admiral, R.N. b. 26 Dec. 1699, third son of John Fanshawe, esq. of Parsloes, Essex, m. Elizabeth, dau. of Sir John Rogers, bart. of Blachford, Devon. Will pr. P. C. C. as of Reading, co. Berks, 5 May, 1757. He left three sons, John, Robert (father of the late lieut.-gen. Edward Fanshawe, R.E., C.B.), and Charles, recorder of Exeter.

[f] Afterwards took holy orders and became rector of Hadley.

[g] Cr. a baronet in 1802.

Sep. 17, 1656. A marriage performed by Justinian Pagitt esq. one of the justices of the peace for the county of Middx.

Sep. 3, 1661. Mr. Edward Seamer and Mrs. Frances Wilford.

May 26, 1663. tow frō the paper mill from Hadfild.

Sep. 28, 1663. tow frō the Town of Walltumabye.

Sep. 3, 1665. John Moyse and Elizabeth Montague.

Mar. 22, 1665-6. Edward Wilford and Elizabeth Searles.

April 3, 1666. John Wilford and Mary Croxton.

April 13, 1669. Percival Chandler and Elizabeth Francklin.

Aug. 29, 1669. John Powell and Abigail Turner.[a]

Dec. 26, 1678. William Berrow gent. and Mrs Mary Vaughan.

July 1, 1684. William Gostlin esq. and Mrs Margaret Garnish.

May 7, 1685. Sr Thomas Longfeild and ————.[b]

July 1, 1689. Mr Edward Cotton and Mrs Hellen Lee.

May 5, 1702. Edward Masters and Elizabeth Mohun.

Aug. 2, 1755. Thomas Monro of St Bartholomew the less, London, Bach^r and Hellen Soresby of Hadley Sp^r by Lic.

Sep. 24, 1763. Charles Jeffryes Cottrell of Chelsea co. Midd. Bach^r and Fanny Smith, a minor, of Hadley Sp^r by Lic.

Jan. 14, 1773. Rev. James Liptrott of Egham, Clerk, Bach^r and Amelia Ann Scarr of Hadley Sp^r by Lic.

BURIALS.

July 9, 1620. Robert Stamford.[c]

Sep. 12, 1624. John Tourno^r.

Dec. 12, 1627. Mr Lawrence Maidwell.[d]

Oct. 11, 1336. Nicholas Tourno^r.

Dec. 16, 1636. Mrs Mary Langā.[e]

[a] Probably of the family of Ely Tournor the rector.

[b] Sir Thomas Longueville, second bart. of Wolverton, co. Bucks, m. 2^ndly Katharine, second dau. and coheir of Sir Thomas Peyton, second bart. of Knowlton, co. Kent. He d. 25 June, 1685, seven weeks after his marriage, in consequence, it is said, of a fall from his horse, his will being only dated on the 12 of that month.. Lady Longueville d. s. p. 30 Dec. 1715, and was bur. in the north aisle of Westminster Abbey. Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers, p. 285. Brown Willis, Collections in the Bodl. Libr. Nichols's Herald and Genealogist viii. 469. Burke's Extinct Baronetage. Collins's Baronetage. In the Hadley Reg. the name of the bride is omitted.

[c] Probably a descendant of Sir William Staunford or Stamford.

[d] Several relatives of Mr. Godfrey Maydwell were thus named. Harl. MS. 1476, ff. 178, 351^b. Add. MS. 5533, f. 56.

[e] This and the two following entries doubtless refer to children of alderman John Langham, a Turkey merchant, afterwards knighted at the Hague by Charles II., and on 7 June, 1660, cr. a baronet. On 20 July, 1637, he had been elected a governor of the Barnet Grammar School, and, in 1647, his name occurs in transactions relating to the manor of Hadley. In 1642 he served the office of sheriff, and was

April 16, 1637.	M[rs] Sarah Langā.
April 22, 1637.	M[r] Thomas Langā.
Mar. 10, 1637-8.	Richard son of M[r] Richard Cuthbert.
Nov. 10, 1639.	Abigall Tourno[r].
Dec. 11, 1639.	Elizabeth Tourno[r].
Aug. 12, 1641.	M[r] Thomas Peacock son of Richard Peacok esq.[a]
Feb. 11, 1641-2.	Anne Tourno[r].
July 11. 1642.	M[r] Edward Williams merchaunt Lond.[b]
Nov. 18, 1642.	Phillip Theobridg.[c]
April 6, 1654.	M[rs] Faith Norton Wid. sister to M[r] Francis Atkinson.
Feb. 21, 1659-60.	M[r] William Dyton who dyed at neither hollow way, near London.
July 31, 1660.	A lestershire boy, his name was Edward.
Sep. 30, 1660.	Steven Martin Church Clarke of this parish.[d]
June 28, 1663.	Francis Harrison gent.[e]
May 18, 1666.	Richard Alexander Cōmon Cryer of London.
Aug. 4, 1666.	Sir Richard Tracy.[f]

sent to the Tower in 1647 by the Parliament, with other members of the Corporation, for refusing to publish an Act for the abolition of Royalty. He d. 13 May, 1671, at Crosby House, in St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, of which he held a lease for 99 years from 1642, which he bequeathed to his son Stephen. His will, as of Cottesbrooke, Northants, was pr. by his three sons, James his successor, William, and Stephen, 21 June, 1671-2 (P. C. C. Book Duke 79). London and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans. I. 48, V. 64; Harl. MSS. 1358, f. 12[b]; 1476, f. 84; 5533, f. 134; Wotton Baronetage ed. 1771, ii. 13; Newcourt Rep. i. 364; *Citizens of London and their Rulers*, B. B. Orridge.

[a] Thomas fil. Richardi Pecoke, esquire, et Richourd, bapt. Sept. 1, 1640. Finchley Par. Reg. Richard Peacocke, esq. lord of the manor of Totteridge, m. Rechard, dau. of Michael Grigge, esq. of Hadley, and by her had 14 children. Clutterbuck ii. 449. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans. V. 56, 73.

[b] Left by his will £20 to the parish, " for the settinge of the poore to woorke." The receipt of this sum from Mrs. Mary Williams, his widow and executrix, was duly acknowledged at a Vestry held 27 Nov. 1644. Hadley Reg. Book.

[c] A tanner. Will pr. Comm. Court 1642-1644, f. 52[b].

[d] His appointment as "Parish Register" bears date 24 Aug. 1653, and is signed by Thomas Harrison, J.P. before whom he took the necessary oath.

[e] Younger son of Thomas Harrison, citizen and merchant taylor of London, by his wife Frances Ewington, and brother of Mr. Thomas Harrison, of Dancer's-hill. He m. at Northaw, 17 March, 1658, Martha 3rd dau. of William Leman, esq. and to her by his will, dated 3 March, 1662 (P. C. C. Book Juxon 80), left his residence, &c. at Hadley for life. To the minister of Hadley he gave £5 and, on 15 July, 1667, the churchwardens acknowledged the receipt of £20 bequeathed by him to the poor of the parish. Mrs. Martha Harrison, his widow, was bur. at Northaw 13 Feb. 1682. Hadley Par. Reg. Northaw Par. Reg. Clutterbuck ii. 414; Hist. of South Mimms 56. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Trans. v. 58. The church of Northaw was totally destroyed by fire on the morning of Sunday, 20 Feb. 1881, and the registers, with few exceptions, perished.

[f] 4th baronet. Paul Tracy, of Stanway, co. Glouc. was cr. a bart. 29 June, 1611. Admin. granted

Feb. 3, 1666-7.	The wife of Jeremiah Halfhide.[a]
Aug. 7, 1672.	John Sanford esq.
Feb. 10, 1673-4.	A travelling woman from the pimblycoe house.[b]
March 29, 1675.	Sir Thomas Beverly.[c]
July 27, 1676.	M[rs] Dorothy Conquest.[d]
Aug. 13, 1678.	Joannah daug. of Col. John Pinchbank and Joannah his wife, "the first bur. in fflannell."

William May signs the register as Curate 9 May, 1685.[e]

July 19, 1692.	Tristram Hurst.[f]
Sep. 27, 1703.	Katharine Huxley, wife of M[r] Huxley, Minister.
March 6, 1703-4.	John Walker esq.
Jan. 19, 1704-5.	Tho. Askew, son of Will. Askewe, Schoolemaster.

20 Aug. 1666, to Sir John Tracy, bar[t], uncle and next of kin of Sir Richard Tracy, bar[t], of Hadley, co. Midd. dec[d] bach[r]. Sir John Tracy d. s. p. 1677, when the baronetcy became extinct. *Arms.* Or, an escallop in the chief point sa. betw. two bendlets gu. *Crest.* On a chapeau gu. turned up erm. an escallop sa. betw. two wings or. Harl. MS. 1468, f. 134[b], where the pedigree is attested by the signature of Paul Tracy. Burke's Extinct Baronetage.

[a] An old Hertfordshire name. The will of Jeremy Halfhide of Hadley, gent. was pr. P. C. C. 23 Dec. 1671 (Book Duke 144).

[b] For the origin of this name see Thornbury's Old and New London; Isaac Taylor's Words and Places; *The Alchemist,* Ben Jonson; "Pimlyco, or runne red cap: 'tis a mad world at Hogsdon." 1609. 4to. a poem. Gough's Brit. Top. I. 539.

[c] Of Lincoln's Inn; Master of the Requests; knighted at Hampton Court, 5 July, 1662; younger son of James Beverley, of Cainho-park, in Bedfordshire, by a dau. of —— Conquest, of Houghton Conquest, in that county. (Le Neve, Harl. Soc. Pub. 1873, p. 159; Lans. MS. 870). In his will, dated 27 Jan. 1674-5, (pr. P. C. C. 12 Apr. 1675, Book Dycer 31), he "leaves his bodie to be interred at the discretion of his executrix in some Church distant at least tenn miles from London, without all unnecessarie expense, saving five pounds to the Poore of the Parish where he shall be buryed," and estimates his property at £2800 at most, a larger sum than he ever expected to possess, but not so large, he imagines, as his relations look for. He gives his silver bason unto his ever worthy good friend Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, unto his worthy and ever honored good friend Dr. Tillotson, the reverend dean of Canterbury, ten pounds, and his residuary estate to his kinswoman Mrs. Dorothy Conquest, youngest daughter of his uncle Sir Edmund Conquest, long since deceased, whom he appoints sole executrix. Amongst those mentioned is his "dear friend Robert Ashton, esq." who was probably Robert Ashton of Lincoln's Inn, brother of William Ashton of Hadley. Vide *supra* p. 64. Clutterbuck's Herts i. 251, iii. 83. Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Pub. iv. 443.

[d] The lady mentioned in the preceding note. Her will, pr. P. C. C. 28 July, 1676 (Book Bence 89), in which she is described as of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, contains a similar provision as to her place of interment.

[e] From the North Mimms Registers we learn that John Penniston was curate of Hadley in 1695 and John Brown on 3 July, 1707.

[f] Succeeded Steven Martin as Parish Clerk and Registrar. His appointment, dated 3 Jan. 1659, is signed by Mr. Thomas Harrison.

May 5, 1706. Thomas Rokebey of Skella, in y[e] County of York Esq[r] Son and Heir of William Rokeby late of Ackworth Parke in the same county Esq[r] deceased, died the second day of May 1706, & was buried on Sunday the fift day of y[e] same Month in the Parish Church of Hadley.[a]

In the month of August 1727 there were 12 burials.

Jan. 26, 1733-4. Lord Viscount Micklewait.[b]

March 25, 1750-1. M[r] John Berkley.

Feb. 22, 1751-2. M[rs] Elizabeth Shewell.[c]

May 14, 1753. Honorat Smith Esq[r].[d]

June 23, 1753. M[rs] Ann Horne.

Dec. 13, 1754. Michael Gunnion.[e]

March 31, 1756. M[rs] Ann Bristow, from S[t] Andrew's, Holborn.

March 10, 1758. M[r] William Chapman, of S[t] Andrew's, Holborn, in the church.

Oct. 26, 1762. M[rs] Lucy Pratt, from the parish of S[t] Pancras.

Oct. 8, 1766. The Reverend M[r] Nathaniel Ball.

Jan. 11, 1767. M[r] James Berkley of this parish, but buried from his house in London.

Oct. 1, 1767. M[rs] Maria Chandler, from M[r] Egerton's.

Sep. 9, 1768. M[rs] Elizabeth Berkley.

Apr. 2, 1769. Reginald Heber.[f]

June 9, 1771. Rowland Gunyon.[g]

[a] William, the eldest son of William Rokeby, of Hotham, co. York, by Dorothy, his wife, dau. of William Rokeby, esq. of Skiers, was cr. a baronet in 1661 (extinct 1678). Thomas, the third son killed at Dunbar in 1650, was the father of William of Ackworth Park. Burke's Extinct Baronetage.

[b] Joseph, 2nd son of Joseph Micklethwait, of Swine, co. York, secretary to the Earl of Stanhope in Spain, was cr. baron Micklethwait of Portarlington, 14 Aug. 1724, and viscount Micklethwait of Longford, in the Kingdom of Ireland, 6 June, 1727. He d. unm. and in his will, pr. P. C. C. 16 Jan. 1733-4 by Anne Ewer, spinster, sole executrix, he "desires that his body may be privately buried in any Country Churchyard, except Ealing, at the discretion of his executrix, within ten miles of the place where he shall die, and not less than fifteen foot under Ground." To Mrs. Anne Ewer, of Dartmouth Street, in the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, is left the bulk of his property, including the house in which he now lives in Queen Square in that parish, and his share in the chapel in Queen Square. Amongst the legacies are £25 to the poor of the parish where he is buried, and £100 to Anthony earl of Shaftesbury, to buy him a ring. This was the 4th earl, only son of Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl, by Jane, dau. of Thomas Ewer, of the Lea. See Hist. of South Mimms. Burke's Extinct Peerage.

[c] The will of Elizabeth Shewell, of Hadley, widow, was pr. P. C. C. by Thomas her son, 13 March, 1751-2 (Book Bettesworth 77).

[d] The will of Honorat Smith was pr. P. C. C. 10 May, 1753, by John Carter and Mary Randall Carter, nephew and niece of his late wife.

[e] Probably the same who was parish clerk in 1741.

[f] Will pr. P. C. C. as of Long Acre in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, co. Midd. gent. 4 Apr. 1769 (Book Bogg 127).

[g] John Norris succeeded Rowland Gunyon in the office of parish clerk 19 Oct. 1766. Ralph Bye

May 11, 1775. M[rs] Culling Smith, widow of Thomas Smith, Esq[r].
Apr. 10, 1782. Mary Smith, wife of Culling Smith, Esq[r].
Jan. 31, 1784. Charles Smith, from London, late of Madras, Esq[r].
Jan. 3, 1789. Thomas Smith, Esq[r] from London.
Dec. 17, 1789. Richard Bristow Burnell, from London.[a]
Jan. 31, 1798. Edward Grey, Esq[r], from Hartsbourn Manor, Herts.

Between the years 1660 and 1687, we find, in the earliest register, the customary entries of collections after briefs, chiefly in aid of losses by fire. Amongst these records, perpetuated in the vile handwriting of Tristram Hurst, may be mentioned—

Oct. 6, 1661, for the prodystant Churches in Lathyanya, 9*s.*
Feb. 8, 1662, for a baptized Turke, £0 5*s.* 5*d.*
Oct. 2, 1666, for the poore Inhabytantts of London, whome had great Losses by fyer, £02 05*s.* 11*d.*
Sep. 13, 1668, for Captives taken in allgieres sallye,[b] 12*s.* 5½*d.*

VESTRY BOOKS.

The creation of Local Government Boards together with the abolition of compulsory church rates have of late years nearly superseded the functions of the Vestry as an outlet for parish rivalries and local spleen. Its duties have now become little more than formal, but in the olden days it constituted a species of parochial parliament, whose counsels were by no means destitute of the warmth noticeable at times in deliberative assemblies of far more exalted pretension. A few extracts from the Vestry minute books may perhaps be allowed a place here. The earliest notice relates to 1666, but the record is not consecutive until a few years later.

23 May, 1666. "Agreed that Edward Nicholls his heirs &c. shall allow unto the said William Tompson his dwelling in the messuage wherein he now lives and that for all the time or

having been clerk thirty-seven years, died 20 March, 1823. Francis Jaques, his successor, died 5 Nov. 1837 and, on the 12th of the same month, John Bayford Heron, the present clerk, who claims direct descent from Rawlins Heron (d. 1738) only son of the Rev. Arthur Heron, rector of Moreton, Essex, (d. 1733), was appointed by Mr. Thackeray, then rector. The Rev. Arthur Heron was son of Arthur Heron, rector of Bardwell Suffolk 1631—1675, and brother of John Heron, rector of Shipdham Norfolk 1696—1706.

[a] One of the sixty clerks of the High Court of Chancery. He d. 11 Dec. 1789, aged 58, and his tomb is in the churchyard, north of the church.

[b] Sallee, a large seaport on the north-western coast of Morocco. It was formerly the great stronghold of Moorish piracy.

term of years that the said W. T. shall continue Minister of Monken Hadley and also when he is gone out the said E. N. his heirs &c. shall allow yearly so long as the world endureth at the said house to twelve poor people of the said parish as by the Churchwardens and Overseers shall be thought most meet, on every Ashwednesday one load of the best white pease and one load of the best wheaten meal. And at every Christmas a quarter of good marketable beef weighing at the least fifteen stone, and at every Easter another such quarter; In witness whereof the parties have set their hands the twenty-third of May 1666."

A bond of £1000 of the same date was given by Edward Nicholls to Thomas Fletcher for performance of these articles.

— Feb. 1672. " Ordered that Mr John Chapman do pay to the six poor Almswomen of Hadley (being in great necessity for want of their present yearly maintenance) the sum of five shillings apiece out of the moneys remaining in his hands which he receives of Mrs Dillingham for rent for the parish house in her possession, and that the verdict of the said Almswomen shall be a good discharge for the same."

24 Feb. 1672. " Received of Mr John Chapman by vs Jane Usher, Jane Sparks, Mary Chandler, Dennis Lane, Anne Vale and Sarah Sudborough, almswomen of Hadley, the sum of five shillings apiece."

20 May, 1677. "Agreed that there should be a whipping post set up and likewise a ducking stool."

26 Dec. 1677. " Whereas Tristram Hurst the Clercke of the Parish hath been several times ordered to dispose of his Daughter out to service and notwithstauding doth not onely still retain her, but in contempt hath lately hired his sayd Daughter to live with him as his servant, it is ordered that if he shall not dispose of her out to service by the 1st day of February next ensuing the said Tristram is actually to all intents and purposes whatsoever dismis'd from officiating in ye place of Clerck to the sayd Parish."

24 Feb. 1677–8. "Agreed that Justinian Pagit esq. at his request shall have leave to make a fair vault under his pew for the interment of his family in the same chancel where his own pew stands."

13 March 1680. "Agreed that Tristram Hurst the late Clerk by consent of the Parishioners assembled be from henceforth put out from any further officiating, by reason of sundry abuses and misdemeanors by him committed."

In the accounts of Peter Dry, churchwarden for 1684–5:

" p^d^ to the Ringers for the day that the King was proclaimed, . 00 02 06.
p^d^ to the paritor for bringing an order to pray for the King, . 00 01 00."

16 Sep. 1689. Collected in the parish of Monken Hadley the sum of sixteen pounds one shilling and nine pence upon a brief for the distressed Irish Protestants.

29 March, 1693. " Whereas order hath bin lately given by Justice Galliard, one of the Justices of the peace for the County of Middlesex, that A nightly watch bee sett for the secureing of this parish from Thieves and Robbers, Wee the parishioners thereof doe hereby order and direct the Constable of this parish that hee imediately shall bring in ye names to this Vestry of all such persons that shall any wayes make any default in watching or warding in his turne in this

parish in order to his being returned into the Crowne office if the said Vestry shall see Just Cause."

16 Jan. 1693–4. Received by the hands of Mr John Walton two deeds with a pair of Indentures of a fine for the selling of the Church house and other Tenements for the use of the Curate and the poor of the parish, bearing date the 2 and 3 days of Oct. 1678.

6 Sep. 1710. The Rev. Dr Philip Bisse [a] was assessed to the relief of the poor. In Nov. of the same year he was again assessed as bishop of St David's, and in Aug. 1715 as bishop of Hereford.

"By virtue of an Order from his Grace the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Lev^t^ of the County of Middlesex.

All Gent-soldiers under the Command of the Honble. Col. Shoreditch and in the Company commanded by Capt. Jno. Mills in the red regiment of Militia of the County of Mid^x^ are hereby commanded to be ready at the next Beat of Drum to march to the place of parading at Highgate compleatly arm'd and cloath'd in order to march to towne to attend the entry of his sacred Majesty King George. Of this you are not to fail, as you will answer the contrary at your Peril.

Aug^st^ ye 30th 1714. JNO. MILLS, Capt."

9 Oct. 1715. Agreed that, whereas Mr Hicks the present churchwarden hath received a summons to appear at the Bishop's Visitation, he shall be indemnified at the charge of the whole parish, if he shall refuse to appear, this parish being a donative and no way subject to the bishop's jurisdiction.

14 Oct. 1728. Agreed that repairs necessary to be done on the church of Hadley shall be done at a convenient time in March next, provided the rate shall not exceed the sum of £50. And it is further agreed that the Churchwarden may raise the wall of the body of the church on the south side and put in two large new windows, and alter the roof on the same side to make it answer the north side, provided that such additional expense shall be defrayed by a voluntary subscription among the inhabitants and in no other manner. Walt^r^ Morgan, Minister, with others.

24 Oct. 1731. Agreed that a Workhouse shall forthwith be erected for the Maintenance of the poor who are impotent and for setting others to work as the law directs.[b]

19 Oct. 1766. At a Meeting of the Trustees of the houses in the yard the gift of Justinian

[a] Elected, as Dr. Bisse, a governor of the Barnet Grammar School, 5 Sept. 1709, but, never having attended, his successor was chosen 24 Aug. 1719. He died 6 Sept. 1721, desiring to be buried in Hereford Cathedral with his wife, the countess dowager of Plymouth. Lady Bridget Osborne, 3rd daughter of the 1st duke of Leeds (Clutterbuck, i. 447), was the widow of Charles Fitz-Charles, an illegitimate son of Charles II., created earl of Plymouth, who d. s.p. in 1680. She married Dr. Bisse in 1706 (Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers, 201), and died 9 May, 1718. The bishop in his will, dated 21 July 1718, devised to his executors all his estate at Hadley, in the county of Middlesex. (Proved P. C. C. 20 Dec. 1721, Book, Buckingham, 221). His brother, the Rev. Thomas Bisse, chancellor of the diocese of Hereford, was the originator, in 1723, of the Festival of the Three Choirs.

[b] The old Workhouse formerly stood on the border of the Common, near the tree called Latimer's elm.

Pagitt it was ordered that John Norris the present church clerk shall have that house Rowland Gunyon now resides in he being turned out of being clerk of the church, it being a house for the church clerk.

17 April, 1781. Resolved that the present state of the walls of the church is such as requires an immediate repair by putting an iron bar to tie the two plates together at the extremity of the same and by taking down the loose stone work of the buttresses and facing up the same with brick work.

Sunday, 8 July, 1787. At a Vestry held in the parish church for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of carrying into effect the laws made against the profanation of the Sabbath, Resolved that the Churchwarden do immediately direct Stocks to be erected on or near the spot where they formerly stood and that two pair of iron hand cuffs be provided and given in care of the constable.

Resolved that the Constable and Headborough who are now present be instructed to inform all shopkeepers and alehouse-keepers within the parish and such others as are contiguous, although in Enfield parish, that the laws against the profanation of the Sabbath will be immediately put in execution against such as shall open their houses for the sale of their goods or liquors on the Sabbath.

Sunday schools having been established in many parishes to good effect, resolved that the Vestry be adjourned to Sunday next immediately after service in the morning to take into their consideration the propriety of having one in this parish.

Sunday, 15 June, 1794. Resolved that the churchwarden do replace the things lately stolen from the Church at as little expence as is consistent with decency.

DURY HOUSE.

So entitled of late years from the name of a former owner, but which would more becomingly have been designated *Wilfords,* after the family who possessed it in the 17th century. A residence built of red brick, at the northern extremity of Hadley Green, adjoining the Priory. On 1 Jan. 1625-6 it belonged to William Wilford esq. who by his will of that date devised his manor of Elsings in Enfield, together with all his freehold and copyhold lands in Enfield and Hadley, to his eldest son John and the heirs of his body, with remainders over to his three younger sons successively in tail. He was buried at Enfield,—from which place he had probably removed to Hadley,[a]—7 Jan. 1625-6.[b] In April 1635 John his son and heir married his first wife Frances Sadler,[c] and by her had an elder son

[a] *Supra*, p. 176. Enfield continued to be the family burial place, and the vault was beneath the vestry.

[b] Par Reg.

[c] Title deeds in the possession of Mr. George Pooley.

Thomas Cordell,= of Enfield. Harl. MS. 1463, f. 54b. Gu. a chev. engr. betw. three griffins' heads erased erm. Crest: A cockatrice vert, wattled, beaked, and collared or.

John Wilford, citizen and sc Acquired Norrys farm, cir Ondeby and Cecily his wife of Cecily. Bur. in church Ludgate. Will pr. P.C.C Cf. Comm. of London, Boo Harl. MS. 759.

John Cordell,= of Enfield.

Robert Cordell,= of London.— Harl. MS. 1096 f. 92b.

Margaret, = dau. of — Hodge, of Enfield, ob. 1598.

=Henry Campion. 2 hus.

William, living in Sep. 1540

Stephen Wilford.= Will dated 16 Sept. 1547, d. 26 Sep. 1547, 1 E. 6. (2).

=Julian of B Alex will w

William Cordell, of Fulham, Master Cook to Qu. Eliz.

Thomas Cordell,= of London, mercer.

Elizabeth Cordwell,= ? bur. 25 Feb. 1583-4.*

=John Wilford. Aged 21 at Inq. taken 24 May, 8 Eliz. Admin. Comm. of London, 18 Aug. 1586, f. 101, granted to Thomas and George Wrightington. Bur. 20 Aug. 1586.*

Thoma of Gr Bur. Will p 1606, b

William Wilford,= of Enfield and Hadley. Bur. 7 Jan. 1625-6.* Will pr. P.C.C. 16 Jan. 1625-6.

Magdalen, = dau. and heir of Roger Taylor of Aldersgate St. Harl. MS. 1551, f. 21.

= —— Berners. 2 hus.

Thomas. Bapt. 4 June, 1577.*

Jane. Bapt. 26 Nov. 1579.*

Jo Bapt. 1 1582. 29, N 1589.*

William, bapt. 29 Apr. 1604.* bur. 15 Oct. 1617.*
Henry, bur. 19 Aug. 1614.*
Matthew, bur. 16 Nov. 1616.*
Thomas, bapt. 28 May, 1610.*

Frances Sadler.= Mar. 1 Apr. 1635. Bur. 19 Sept. 1651.*

=John Wilford esq.= of Hadley. Bur. 28 Oct. 1670.* Will pr. P.C.C. 23 Nov. 1670.

=Bridget .... Living in 1668.

Mary, bapt. 18 June, 1605.*
Margaret, bapt. 27 May, 1609.*
Magdalen, bapt. 9 Mar. 1624-5.†

bapt. 18 June co. Herts. worth, co. Bu Rector of No dary of St. Pa 30 Mar. 1675. 1675. (3)

Bridget, bapt. 26 Oct. 1656.†

Bridget, bapt. 5 Dec. 1657. †

John, bapt. 30 May, bur. 19 July, 1637.*

Edward Wilford esq.= of Hadley. Bapt. 9 Apr. 1640.* Mar. 22 March 1665-6.†

=Elizabeth Searles.= Living 15 Sep. 1724.

=Roger Dade gent. 2 hus. Bur. Apr. 1692*. Admin. 29 Apr. 1692 to Elizabeth the relict. (1)

John Wilford,= of Mimside, Hadley, Bapt. 30 Apr. 1642.* Mar. 3 Apr. 1666.†

=Mary Cro

John. Bapt. 7 Jan. 1667-8.† Bur. 12 Jan. 1667-8.†

George. Admin. 14 Nov. 1699, to Richard the brother. d. unm.

Richard Wilford, of Hadley, and afterwards of East Barnet, gent. d. unm. Bur. at East Barnet, 26 Jan. 1731-2. Will pr. P.C.C. 10 Aug. 1732 by John Cotton esq.

Charles.

Roger, bapt. 2 Nov. 1689.*

Elizabeth, m. .... Hayward, living in Sep. 1724. (Will of Rich. Wilford.)

John, bapt. 11. Sept. 1668.†

E bapt 166

* At Enfield.

† At Hadley.

(1) At the date of the later survey of Enfield Chace, Roger Dade, in right of his wife, or as guardian of George, her son, held two parts of the Manor of Elsings, al's Norris Farm.

(2) At the Inq. taken 24 May, 8 Eliz. upon the death of Stephen Wilford. f. 123. "m̄ voc. Elsings al's Norreys ffarme, &c. in Enfeild et Hadley mon eiusd. ten. de R. ut de ho. suo de Mandevile, p'cell. duc. sui Lanc. p' 2/5 ten. de m° H.M. in soc. p'fidel. et. 2 s. redd."

Pedigree of WILFORD of Hadley and Enfield.

Arms of WILFORD.

Crest: A bunch of swans' quilles arg. Arms: Per pale or and gu. three leopards' faces counterchanged, mantelled vert, dubled arg.

These Armes and Creast were given and confirmed to John Wilford of Enfeld, of the Mann^{r} of Elsings al's Norris hall in the county of Middlesex, Gent. by Christopher Barker al's Garter, Esqr. principall King of Armes of Englishmen, &c. given at London the xxth day of June 1536 A° 28 H. 8. The same armes and crest was likewise ratified and confirmed and allowed by Robt. Cooke al's Clarencieulx King of Armes the 17th day of August A° 1586, (the said pattent is under two seales of the said Garter, thone his owne Seale of Armes thother of his office).—Harl. MS. 1096, f. 90^{b}. Visitation of London, 1664.

Thomas Cordell, = of Enfield. Harl. MS. 1463, f. 54^{b}. Gu. a chev. engr. betw. three griffins' heads erased erm. Crest: A cockatrice vert, wattled, beaked, and collared or.

John Wilford, citizen and scrivener of London. = Agnes, dau. of —— Bylsby, of co. Linc.—Harl. MS. 1551, f. 21. Will pr. P.C.C. 8 Feb. 1547-8.
Acquired Norrys farm, circa 1519, of Rich. Oudeby and Cecily his wife, of the inheritance of Cecily. Bur. in church of St. Martin next Ludgate. Will pr. P.C.C. 16 Jan. 1541-2. Cf. Comm. of London, Book Story, ff. 67^{b} 68. Harl. MS. 759.

John Cordell, = of Enfield.

Robert Cordell, = of London.—Harl. MS. 1096 f. 92^{b}.

Margaret, = Henry Campion. 2 hus. — dau. of — Hodge, of Enfield, ob. 1598.

William, living in Sep. 1540

Stephen Wilford. = Will dated 16 Sept. 1547, d. 26 Sep. 1547, 1 E. 6. (2).

Juliana, dau. of William Shyne, = of Bradley co. Berks. Mar. 2^{ndly} Alexander Wrightington, whose will was pr. P.C.C. 11 Dec. 1558.

= Peter Sainthill, esq. of Bradninch, county Devon, son of Richard Sainthill of Sainthill. 3 hus. Mar. 29 July, 1560.* Or, on a fess engr. az. betw. 3 leopards' faces gu. as many bezants, each charged with a fleur de lis of the second; on a pile in chief, also of the second, three demi fleurs de lis attached to the top and sides of the field. Harl. MSS. 1080 f. 179^{b}; 1538 f. 232^{b}.

Walter Hendley, = of Coursehorne, esq. Hasted's Kent ii. 491, 492. Harl. MS. 1548, f. 112^{b}.
= —— dau. of John Hales, baron of the Exchequer. 1 wife.

William Cordell, of Fulham, Master Cook to Qu. Eliz.

Thomas Cordell, = of London, mercer.

Elizabeth Cordwell, = ? bur. 25 Feb. 1583-4.*

= John Wilford. Aged 21 at Inq. taken 24 May, 8 Eliz. Admin. Comm. of London, 18 Aug 1586, f. 101, granted to Thomas and George Wrightington. Bur. 20 Aug. 1586.*

Thomas Wrightington, of Gray's Inn, gent. Bur. 20 June, 1606.* Will pr. P.C.C. 6 Nov. 1606, by Henry Martyn.

Richard.
George, bur. 8 Aug. 1612.*
John.

Barbara.
Mary, bur. 30 Aug. 1557.*

Mary, mar. Henry Martyn, of Steeple Morden, co. Camb. gent.

Peter Sainthill. = Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas Martyn of Steeple Morden, D. C. L.

John Sainthill = of Morden, co. Devon. 2 son.

Thomas Hendley, = of Coursehorne, in Cranbrook, Kent, esq.
= Anne, dau. and heir of Henry Bowyer, of Cuckfield, Sussex.

William Wilford, = of Enfield and Hadley. Bur. 7 Jan. 1625-6.* Will pr. P.C.C. 16 Jan. 1625-6.

Magdalen, = —— Berners. 2 hus. dau. and heir of Roger Taylor of Aldersgate St. Harl. MS. 1551, f. 21.

Thomas. Bapt. 4 June, 1577.*

Jane. Bapt. 26 Nov. 1579.*

John. Bapt. 15 July, 1582.* Bur. 29, Nov. 1589.*

Elizabeth. = Bapt. 2 Sep. 1578.*

= Sir Thomas Hendley, knt. High Sheriff of Kent, 14 Charles I. Paly bendy gu. and azure, an orle of eight martlets or. Crest: A martlet rising or.

Bowyer.

Walter Hendley, of Cuckfield, = cr. a bart. 1661, d.s.p.m. 1675.
= Frances, dau. of Sir Thomas Springett, bart.

John Hendley of Otham, Kent, esq. = d. 30 Apr. 1676, æt. 59.
= Priscilla, dau. of —— Fladd, of Gore court, esq.

William. bapt 29 Apr. 1604.* bur. 15 Oct. 1617.*
Henry, bur. 19 Aug. 1614.*
Matthew, bur. 16 Nov. 1616.*
Thomas, bapt. 28 May, 1610.*

Frances Sadler. = Mar. 1 Apr. 1635. Bur. 19 Sept. 1651.*

= John Wilford esq. = of Hadley. Bur. 28 Oct. 1670.* Will pr. P.C.C. 23 Nov. 1670.

= Bridget .... Living in 1668.

Mary, bapt. 18 June, 1605.*
Margaret, bapt. 27 May, 1609.*
Magdalen, bapt. 9 Mar. 1624-5.†

Roger Wilford, D.D. = bapt. 18 June, 1611,* of Northchurch, co. Herts. Sequestered from Marsworth, co. Bucks. during the rebellion. Rector of Northchurch 1661. Prebendary of St. Paul's, 23 June, 1665. Bur. 30 Mar. 1675.* Will pr. P.C.C. 2 Apr. 1675. (3)

Edward Wilford, = of Enfield, gent. Bur. 29 Aug. 1682.* Admin. 29 Jan. 1683 to Edward, the son. See ENFIELD.

= Susanna, sister of Sir Samuel Starling, knt. a brewer. Le Neve's Knights. Harl. Soc. Pub. viii. 211. Bur. 17 Mar. 1674-5.*

Thomas. Bur. 14 Aug. 1639.*

Bowyer Hendley esq. = High Sheriff of Kent 1702, purchased Gore court 1712, d. 3 Dec. 1742 æt. 87.
= Mary Sharpe.

Bridget, bapt. 26 Oct. 1656.†

Bridget, bapt. 5 Dec. 1657.†

John. bapt. 30 May, bur. 19 July, 1637.*

Edward Wilford esq. = of Hadley. Bapt. 9 Apr. 1640.* Mar. 22 March 1665-6.†

= Elizabeth Searles. = Living 15 Sep. 1724.

= Roger Dade gent. 2 hus. Bur. Apr. 1692*. Admin. 29 Apr. 1692 to Elizabeth the relict. (1)

John Wilford, = of Mimside, Hadley, Bapt. 30 Apr. 1642.* Mar. 3 Apr. 1666.†
= Mary Croxton.

George Blackall, citizen and salter, = a woollen-draper of the parish of St. Faith's in London. Will pr. P.C.C. 10 July 1660.

Magdalen. = Bapt. 14 Apr. 1636.* Mar. 22 June, 1654.†

= Richard Alexander esq. 2 hus. Bur. 18 May, 1666.† Will p. P.C.C. 13 May, 1665, by Magdalen his widow. (4)

Frances. = Bapt. 2 Oct. 1638.* Mar. 3 Sep. 1661.†
= Edward Seymour, gent.

John. Bapt 7 Jan. 1667-8.† Bur. 12 Jan 1667-8.†

George. Admin. 14 Nov. 1699, to Richard the brother. d. unm.

Richard Wilford, of Hadley, and afterwards of East Barnet, gent. d. unm. Bur. at East Barnet, 26 Jan. 1731-2. Will pr. P.C.C. 10 Aug. 1732 by John Cotton esq.

Charles.

Roger, bapt. 2 Nov. 1689.*

Elizabeth, m. .... Hayward, living in Sep. 1724. (Will of Rich. Wilford.)

John, bapt. 11. Sept. 1668.†

Edmond, bapt. 2 Nov. 1669.†

Mary, bapt. 28 May, 1672.†

Magdalen Blackall.

Richard Alexander. Living in Oct. 1665.

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* At Enfield.

† At Hadley.

(1) At the date of the later survey of Enfield Chace, Roger Dade, in right of his wife, or as guardian of George, her son, held two parts of the Manor of Elsings, al's Norris Farm.

(2) At the Inq. taken 24 May, 8 Eliz. upon the death of Stephen Wilford. Harl. MS. 759, f. 123. "m voc. Elsings al's Norreys ffarme, &c. in Enfeild et Hadley monachor. vide. 2/3 eiusd. ten. de R. ut de ho. suo de Mandevile, p'cell. duc. sui Lanc. p' 2/5 1 f. m. et ceter. ten. de m° H.M. in soc. p'fidel. et. 2 s. redd."

(3) He subscribed the terrier at Marsworth in 1639 and was returned as vicar in 1650. (Cole Ath. Cantab. No. 5883 p. 159. Clutterbuck's Herts i. 319.) He was succeeded in his prebend, 18 Dec. 1675, by John Tillotson, then dean of Canterbury, afterwards Archbishop. Newcourt i. 147.

(4) His will is dated 10 Oct. 1665, and was made "considering the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the time when it may happen, especially in this time of the infection."

Edward, who by his wife, Elizabeth Searles, married at Hadley 10 April, 1668, had three sons George, Richard, and Charles. By his will of 11 Sep. 1668, John Wilford devised all his real estate, with the exception of a house and lands at Enfield in the occupation of Edward Pelsey, left to his younger son John, to Edward and his heirs male. By lease and release of 4 and 5 Feb. 1683-4 Edward mortgaged his property to Samuel Aubery, against whom Richard Wilford, having succeeded as heir male by the death of his brother George soon after attaining his majority, obtained a decree in Chancery for reconveyance, but does seem to have exercised his equity of redemption. In Oct. 1707, in consideration of an annuity of £100 secured on property in Norfolk, he conveyed all his lands in Hadley and Enfield to John Cotton, esq.[a] of Ashill in that county and of the Middle Temple, who thus became the purchaser of the inheritance and equity of redemption. Richard Wilford afterwards resided at East Barnet, and was there buried. By his will he bequeaths everything of which he shall either die possessed or which may descend to him at the death of his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Dade, to his "kind and good friend John Cotton of East Barnett esquire, from whom I have received more obligations than all mankind." In June 1725 Mr. Cotton sold Dury House to Percival Chandler,[b] who already held it under a long lease, and whose father Edward Chandler,[c] inn-holder, and Thomas Townsend, farmer, were previously in occupation. From the Chandlers it passed by purchase in 1749 to John Marlar, who by the Act of 1777 received a grant in fee of 8a. 3r. 30p. of contiguous chace land. Mr. Marlar resold the property in 1780 to John Cambel esq. captain in his Majesty's Corps of Engineers, who conveyed it in 1784 to Lieut.-Col. Alexander Dury. It has since become the property of Mr George Pooley of Hadley, the present owner.[d]

THE RECTORY HOUSE.

It has been stated, in an earlier part of this book,[e] that all trace of the residence provided for the minister in 1588 by alderman Kympton disappeared

[a] In 1719 John Cotton, esq. erected Little Grove, East Barnet, originally named New Place. His crest with that date is still seen on the leaden pipes at the four corners of the central building.

[b] Vide *supra*, p. 175.

[c] Vide *supra*, p. 177.

[d] Title deeds obligingly communicated by Mr. Pooley.

[e] Vide *supra*, p. 80.

about the time of the Civil War. The alderman and his immediate successors very probably regarded it as simply private property, and looked upon the minister himself as little else than a domestic chaplain, with certain parochial duties annexed to the office. Later investigations at the Record Office have, however, brought to light documents, which conclusively shew that the house in question stood on the site of the present rectory, though it was not until after sundry intermediate changes of ownership that it was restored to its original purpose by the younger Justinian Pagitt and Anthonina his wife, in the year 1678. Upon the purchase of the manor by Michael Grigge and Mary his wife we learn that Mr Francis Atkinson was in occupation, and perhaps received his pupils there, until his removal to Ludgrove.

By Indenture made 15 *June,* 3 *Charles* (1627),[a] between Matthew Thwayts of Chipping Barnet, gent. Robert Harrison of London, gent. and George Cole of London gent. of the one part, and Michael Grigge of Monken Hadley esq. and Mary his wife, of the other, in consideration of £450, paid to Thwayts by Mr and Mrs Grigge, Thwayts, Harrison, and Cole convey "all that messuage, called or known by the name of the vicarage situate in Monken Hadley, in or near the churchyard, sometime in the tenure of Barnard Carrier, clerk, deceased, and now of Francis Atkinson gent. and all those three fields and one pightle of ground, together by estimation fifteen acres, known by the name of Smithesland als Tylers, to be holden of the chief lord of the fee by the rents &c. It is recorded that a lease had been made by the vendors to Francis Atkinson on 20 of the preceding April, for 21 years, at a rent of 40 marks, payable henceforth to Mr and Mrs Grigge.

By Indenture made 7 *May* 1633,[b] between Robert Kympton, of London, gent. son and heir of William Kympton, late of Hadley, gent. deceased (which William was the brother and next heir of Robert Kympton, gent. deceased), of the one part, and Michael Grigge of London esq. of the other, Robert Kympton conveys any right or claim he has to the manor or lordship of Hadley and the vicarage &c. "and also one other messuage &c. with 2 acres of land adjoining now or late in the occupation of Ely Turner clerk."

By Indenture made 31 *May* 1647,[c] between Michael Grigge, of Hadley, esq. Sir Edmond Pye, of St. Martin's in the fields, knt. and bart. Sir Thomas Allen

[a] Close Roll, 3 Charles I. pt. 27, No. 2.

[b] Close Roll, 9 Charles I. pt. 25, No. 3. This deed was perhaps confirmatory of the preceding.

[c] Close Roll 3379. 23 Charles I. pt. 20, No. 30.

of Finchley, knt. and Richard Peacock of Finchley esq. of the one part, and John Langham citizen and alderman of London of the other, in consideration of £3000 (£1700 of which is paid to the said Grigge by Langham, and the remaining £1300 by the same to the said Allen, at the request of Grigge), the said parties of the first part, at the request of Grigge, convey to Langham and his heirs for ever "all the manor of Hadley, the capital messuage, and one free Chapel, called the advowson, donation, free disposition, and right of patronage of the said free chapel, and of the church of Hadley aforesaid," (here follows a reference to the Indenture of 15 Jan. 2 Car. inrolled in Chancery, of a grant to Michael Grigge and Mary his wife, since deceased, by Jane Emerson widow and others) "and all that messuage known by the name of the vicarage in or near the churchyard of Monken Hadley," . . . . . . (Here follows a reference to the Indenture of 15 June, 3 Charles, inrolled in Chancery, and to one of 30 Nov. 3 Charles, likewise inrolled in Chancery, and made between William Hitchcock gent. and the said M. Grigge) "and all the messuage called the White Bear," . . . . . . "and all tenements &c. sometime in the occupation of Ely Turner, Rowland Backhouse and others, conveyed to the said M. Grigge, as to the one moiety, by Indenture of 2 Nov. 1 Charles, by William Oxenbridge and Mary his wife, and as to the other moiety, conveyed to the same by Indenture of 23 Jan. 8 Charles, by Thomas Hilliard gent. and Elizabeth his wife."

By Indenture made 31 *Dec.* 1647,[a] between the same parties, of the one part, and John Musters of Lincoln's Inn esq. of the other part, in consideration of £4000, the same premises are conveyed to Musters.

14 *Feb.* 1653,[b] Abraham Grigge of London gent. son and heir of Michael Grigge, of Hadley, deceased, conveys to Langham, for a nominal consideration, the vicarage house adjoining the churchyard of Hadley.

By Indenture made 21 *March* 1656-7 [c] between Anne, relict of George Brinsmeade, or Brymsmeade, late of High Holborn, gent. of the one part, and Justinian Pagitt, of Monken Hadley, esq. of the other, in consideration of £180, Anne Brinsmeade sells to Justinian Pagitt "the vicarage house adjoining or near the churchyard of Monken Hadley, heretofore in the tenure of Barnard Carier clerk

[a] Close Roll 3383. 23 Charles I. pt. 24, No. 35. This and the preceding deed were probably mortgages.

[b] Close Roll 1654, pt. 41, No. 16.

[c] Inrolled 15 May, 1657. King's Bench. Coram Rege Roll, Trin. 1657. No. 250. On Friday next after the morrow of the Holy Trinity, before Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, 15 May, 1657, came Anne Brinsmeade to ask for an Indenture to be inrolled.

deceased, and afterwards in the occupation of Francis Atkinson gent. and now divided into two several tenements, in the several tenures of John Minshaw and Thomas Becham, and all houses &c. sold by Thomas Scott and William Sharpe to George Brinsmeade and Anne his wife by indenture dated 26 Aug. last past," Anne Brinsmeade covenanting that she has full title to sell.

By Indenture made 2 *Oct.* 1678,[a] Justinian Pagitt of Hadley, als Monken Hadley, esq. and Anthonina his wife for a nominal consideration convey to Simon Hayes gent. Abraham Stanyan, and William Cotton esquires, Thomas Cuthbert, John Honnor, Luke Cropley, John Chapman, Gilbert Wallis, gentlemen, John Holdbridge, Richard Sanders, and Robert Peck, yeomen, all of the same place, "all those his the said Justinian's messuages &c. with the appurtenances, knowne by the name of the vicaridge house &c. now divided into three tenements, now or late in the tenure of Susannah the wife of John Arnold, late Susannah Webb widow, Edward Wright and Diana Beacham (except one pew or seate in the south side of the Church and neare unto the vault belonging and appropriated to the aforementioned vicaridge house). To have and to hold the same unto the full end of one whole yeare, yielding the rent of one peppercorne, to the intent that they may take a grant and release of the Reversion and Inheritance of the same premises to them their heirs and assigns for ever." These were the premises, still held in trust, to which reference has been already made,[b] and which constitute the present Rectory, Clerk's house and Alms Cottages.

A few words seem necessary here respecting the Pagitt family. James Pagitt, of the Middle Temple, Controller of the Pipe, and afterwards a baron of the Exchequer, son of Thomas Pagitt[c] of the same, gent. died at his house at Tottenham High Cross 3 Sep. 1638, aged 56. His will nuncupative was proved P.C.C. by his son Thomas 5 Sep. 1638.[d] By his first wife Katharine, daughter of Dr William Lewin, Dean of the Arches and judge of the Prerogative Court, sister of Sir Justinian Lewin knt. of Otterden in Kent, he left four children. He married, secondly, Bridget, daughter of Anthony Bowyer of Coventry, draper, and widow of John Moyse, of London, grocer, by which marriage he became connected with Elias Ashmole, the antiquary, whose father Simon Ashmole, a saddler of

[a] Indorsed in the handwriting of Mr. Robert Tayler, and now in the possession of the trustees.

[b] Vide *supra*, p. 80.

[c] Admin. 27 May, 1614, as of the parish of St. Dunstan's in the West, granted to James the son.

[d] Book Lee 106. Admin. of goods unadministered was granted to Justinian, his son, 25 March, 1650, and again to the Venerable Richard Pagitt, Doctor of Laws, great nephew and next of kin 8 July, 1698.

Pedigree of PAGITT.[1]

Thomas Pagitt, = of Barton Segrave, near Kettering, co. Northampton, gent.

Euseby Isham. = Anne, dau. of Giles Pulton, or Poulton.

Richard Pagitt, = Katharine. of Cranford, co. Northampton.

John Isham, 4th son. Ancestor of the Ishams, of Lamport, baronets.

Ely, = Henry Bellamy, bur. at Hadley | mercer, of London, afterwards of Hadley. Bur. at Hadley. Vide *supra*, p. 136.

= William Lewin, doctor of Laws, Dean of the Arches, of Otterden, co. Kent.

Thomas Pagitt, = of the Middle Temple, eldest son.

Euseby Pagitt, = Frances .... rector of St. Anne and St. Agnes, Aldersgate. Admin. 17 June, 1617. Newcourt i. 278. Ath. Ox. i. 357.

Sir Justinian Lewin, knt. m. Elizabeth, dau. of Arthur Capel of Little Hadham, Herts, and d. 8 July 1620.

Katharine = Lewin. 1 wife.

James Pagitt, baron of the Exchequer 1631. Bur. at Tottenham 10 Sep. 1638. Mar. 3rdly Nazareth, dau. of Robert Harris of Linc. Inn. Erm. on a bend az. three hedgehogs or.

= Bridget Bowyer, widow of John Moyse, grocer. D. 12 Oct. 1626, aged 48, and bur. at Tottenham. Admin. 2 June 1638. Arg. a lion ramp. betw. three crosses crosslet fitchée gu.

Ephraim Pagitt. 40 years rector of St. Edmond the King, Lombard St. d. circ. 1648. Newcourt i. 344. Ath. Ox. ii. 51.

Justinian Pagitt. = Dorcas Wilcox, Admin. 11 Jan. 1668-9, as of St. Giles' in the fields. | mar. at Tottenham 7 July, 1636. Will pr. P.C.C. as of Holborn, 18 Sep. 1669.

Timothy = Rachel, dau. = Thomas Pagitt, Eman. 1 husb. Goldsmith. Will pr. P.C.C. 9 Apr. 1638. | of Richard Vaughan. Bur. at Tottenham, 24 Sept. 1657. | of Tottenham High Cross. Serjeant to the Sumpter. Will pr. P.C.C. 23 May, 1650.

Anne, mar. Godfrey Maydwell. Or on an inescutcheon gu. a crescent arg. within an orle of eight martlets of the second; quartering *Brackenbury*. Crest: Out of a ducal coronet or a pyramid of laurel leaves, vert.[2]

Elizabeth, d. unm.

James. Bapt. at Tottenham, 24 Sep. 1637.

Justinian Pagitt, = Anthonina. of Gray's Inn. Admin. May 1681, to Allan Swanwick, guardian of the infant children, the widow renouncing.[3]

Thomas Lewin Wilcox, Mary Dorcas, d young.

Timothy Eman, = Elizabeth, of New Windsor, co. Berks, gent. born in 1624. Will pr. P.C.C. 12 Apr. 1681. | dau. of John Copley of Batley-house, Yorkshire.

Ven. Richard Pagitt, doctor of Laws.

Dorcas. Toby. Dorothy. Justinian. Henry.

Timothy, son and heir, born in 1661. John. James. Charles.

Arms of Pagitt.—Sa. a cross engr. arg. in the dexter quarter an escallop of the last. Crest: A cubit arm erect, habited sa. cuffed arg. holding in the hand ppr. a scroll of the second, thereon the words "Deo Pagit," a seal affixed hereto pendent gu.

[1] Harl. MS. 1468, f. 129b. Collins' Eng. Baronetage, ii. 33. Robinson's Hist. of Tottenham 90, 91, 92, 130. Burke's General Armory, ed. of 1878.

[2] Harl. MS. 1358, ff. 22b, 38b; 1476, ff. 178, 351b; Add. MS. 5533, f. 56.

[3] Coheir with Walshington, earl Ferrers, of Elizabeth duchess of Richmond. This lady, who was the only child of Richard Rogers esq. by Elizabeth his wife, only child of Sir Justinian Lewin knt. m. 2ndly Charles duke of Richmond and Lennox, 16 Mar. 1653, and d. s. p. Add. MS. 5507 f. 255.

Lichfield, had married Anne Bowyer, the sister of Bridget. The diary[a] of Elias Ashmole shews that in the year 1642 he held a clerkship under Mr Justinian Pagitt in the Nisi Prius Court. Justinian, the judge's eldest son, married Dorcas daughter of Richard Wilcox of London, draper. He, like his father and grandfather, was of the Middle Temple, and became Custos brevium and Recorder of the Court of King's Bench.

The following inscriptions to his memory and that of his wife were in the church of St. Giles' in the fields.

Cubat hic inhumatus
Justinianus Pagitt Ar.
Custos brevium et Recordorum
De Banco Regis.
Clausit ille diem extremum
An° Orbis redempti
1668
Mens. Decemb.
die 29°.[b]

Here lyeth interred the Body of Mrs Dorcas Pagitt,
Widow, Daughter of Richard Wilcox Citizen & Haberdasher of London, who married Justinian Pagitt
Esq. Custos Brevium of the King's Bench, by
whom she left 3 sons & two daughters.
She dyed 14 Sept.
An° Salutis
1669.[c]

The compiler of these pages brings his undertaking to a close, sensible of many redundancies, of many omissions, and of very much that might have been better executed. He has felt nevertheless throughout that, in a work of this nature, it is scarcely possible for the author to assume the decision of what may or may not be of interest, and determined accordingly that error in the direction of over-insertion would be safer than to omit references, of little apparent value to himself but, which might indirectly illustrate points of family history. Every attempt to resuscitate local events, enacted on a comparatively obscure stage, should be an humble endeavour to aid the historian, the genealogist, or the

[a] London, A.D. 1717, 12mo. On July 11, 1635, Elias Ashmole came to Mount Pleasant (Belmont), East Barnet, and stayed there the rest of the summer.

[b] Le Neve, Monumenta Anglicana, iii. 132.

[c] Ib. iii. 140.

statistician of a larger field. In the present instance the task has been both long and laborious, carried through in the midst of parochial claims, and under the drawbacks of indifferent health and considerable family anxiety, but it has been a labour of love, for, from his earliest years, the scene with which he has had to deal has been familiar to the writer. Added to which, it is one of the cases in which new matter, perpetually coming to light from unexpected sources, requires to the last that what seemed already completed should be not once, but frequently, re-cast or added to. Nor again can the history of a spot like Monken Hadley, village though it has been and still is, be compared with that of some remote country hamlet, where, when you have traced its relation to the county, in which it is locally situate, with perhaps an occasional reference to the mother church of the diocese, all interest settles upon the one family or succession of families, who have owned the manor, whose tombs are in the church, whose armorial bearings reveal their alliances, and whose baptisms marriages and burials constitute the only names of interest in the registers.

At Hadley, on the contrary, an echo from the neighbouring metropolis has always been heard and, on the confines of the broad Chace separating it from Enfield, citizens from an early period fixed their habitation. Probably at even a remoter day, but certainly from the time when the Reformation threw monastic property into lay hands, Londoners have uninterruptedly, down to the present, succeeded one another as owners or occupiers. For a like reason property has undergone rapid changes and, instead of a few well-defined families, we are perplexed with a multitude of names. Rarely did the manor continue for many years in the same ownership, and from the days of the stout alderman William Kympton downwards, we are confronted with a quick succession of dealings, in evidence of the mutability of proprietorship. It was perhaps not regarded as of sufficient value to be made at any period the subject of a strict entailment. Amongst the lower ranks of the community the descendants of families, who have had the longest connection with the neighbourhood, must be looked for. There are names still lingering in our midst, which were familiar in the village two hundred years and more ago.

As the writer traces these lines in the fresh flush of spring, with the varied colouring of the year's young vegetation, in its tender shades of green and brown, stealing over the woods that fill the place of old Enfield Chace and gladdening the eye with the promise of approaching summer, the chestnut avenue on the Common heavy with blossom, and lilac and laburnum in the gardens uniting one of those delicate harmonies of nature's handiwork which art may approach, not

equal, he can appreciate the feelings of sympathetic interest with which Hadley seems always to have been regarded by those whose connection with it has lasted for any length of time. To himself there is a lively satisfaction in reviving in imagination the forms and outward appearance of those who in byegone days occupied the scene where his own lot has been cast, beginning with the distant period when Saffron Walden sent forth its solitary Benedictines across the intervening forest to take possession of the obscure monastic cell, whence Monken Hadley derives its designation.

With the exception indeed of the great battle, when York and Lancaster marshalled their levies for a struggle *à outrance* within earshot of the Easter worshippers of 1471,—if priests and people were found to fulfil their religious observances at such a crisis,—there is little to connect Hadley with the broad stream of national history. Its population, notwithstanding, closely identified, as we have seen, with the commercial and professional life of London, could hardly have failed, at any epoch, to be keenly observant of the shifting phases of thought and feeling by which the progress of events has been governed. Amongst the inhabitants of the village were doubtless men, who trimmed under Elizabeth, when the strife between old and new forms of worship was still undetermined, or who sided with King or Parliament two generations later. There was probably no little stir in the neighbourhood when the rumour spread that Jerome Bellamy had been arrested at Harrow for complicity in Babington's conspiracy, and we may be sure that the arrival of Lord Essex at Barnet "wh a greate armie & diu'se peeces of greate ordinance,"[a] in Sep. 1642, gave rise to animated controversy between the favourers of his party and their opponents.

Uneventful, however, though the annals of Hadley may have been, it is undeniable that from more points of view than one the place can be contemplated with satisfaction. Pleasant associations are connected with the names of many of its former inhabitants, and the surrounding scenery is agreeable, still retaining much of country aspect, though the invading bricks and mortar annually become more threatening. The beautiful Wood and Common are a possession for which the freeholders legislate with interest at the Vestry held annually for the purpose on Easter Tuesday. Their management constitutes at this day the principal burden attaching to the office of Churchwarden.

[a] Letter of Robert, viscount Cholmondeley, without address or date, but written in the beginning of September 1642. Coll. Top. et Gen. vi. 21.

> I know each lane, and every alley green,
> Dingle or bushy dell of this wild wood,
> And every bosky bourn from side to side,
> My daily walks and ancient neighbourhood.

To many the church and churchyard, with their memorials and memories, will awaken holier and tenderer reminiscences, for there haply rest the mortal remains of some, who have preceded relatives, still surviving, to the unseen. And who is there that does not

> Like that ancient Saxon phrase, which calls
> The burial ground God's Acre?
> God's Acre! Yes, that blessed name imparts
> Comfort to those, who in the grave have sown
> The seed, that they had garnered in their hearts,
> Their bread of life, alas! no more their own.

Our predecessors furnish on the whole a contingent of not unworthy names. Sir William Staunford, Sir Roger Wilbraham, and Sir John Langham were men held in estimation in their day. Mr. Henry Coventry, as Secretary of State, would naturally have brought down to his country residence at West Lodge the latest news of the Court, with the questions that from time to time engrossed the attention of statesmen; whilst in conversations with his neighbour of Hadley, Sir Charles Cottrell, frequent opportunity must have been found for discussing the merits and personal characteristics of those foreign visitors, whom it pertained to the latter's office, as Master of the Ceremonies, to introduce. In times more near our own Mr. Burrows, the rector, was not unknown to the literary society of his day, and Hester Chapone found a last resting-place in the churchyard. To Charles Herbert Cottrell, within recent memory, was assigned a high place, by judges not incompetent, amongst German and Italian scholars, and for many years to come there will be some to recall the fine presence of John Richard Thackeray, the sterling worth of Samuel Francis Thomas Wilde, the composed and stately bearing of Joseph Henry Green, and the cultured intelligence of Cecil Monro. When a new generation occupies the places which we of the present fill, may it have an equal warrant for carrying on the testimony.

The author cannot conclude without expressing the obligations under which he lies to Col. J. L. Chester, D.C.L., the results of whose accurate research

have been so freely given,—to Mrs. Hyde, lady of the manor of Hadley, Mrs. Wilde of Hadley Grove, Louis Charles Tennyson-D'Eyncourt, esq. of Hadley House, Col. Charles T. J. Moore, of Frampton Hall, Lincolnshire, and the Rev. G. H. Hodson, vicar of Enfield, who have readily placed information within his reach,—to J. C. C. Smith, esq. of the Probate Registry, Somerset House, and to many other friends.

HISTORY OF MONKEN HADLEY.

INDEX.

C.

D.

I.

J.

K.

L.

M.

N.

O.

P.

Q.

R.

S.

T.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.